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HISTORY OF THE BENGAL ARTILLERY.

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HISTORY OF THE ORGANIZATION, EQUIPMENT, AND WAR SERVICES OF THE REGIMENT OF BENGAL ARTILLERY,

COMPILED FROM PUBLISHED WORKS, OFFICIAL RECORDS, AND VARIOUS PRIVATE SOURCES.

By FRANCIS W. STUBBS,
Major-General, Retired List of the Royal (late Bengal) Artillery.

WITH NUMEROUS MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. III.

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FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, K.G., &c.,

COLONEL-IN-CHIEF,

AND THE

OFFICERS OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

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PREFACE.

HAVING now completed the last part of this history, it is with pleasure that I record my thanks to all those who have assisted me in compiling it. The India Office,

BENGAL ARTILLERY.

ADDENDA.

Page 122, line 5, *insert* "Lieut.-Colonel G. Hicks, officiating."

Page 122, line 15, *insert* "Major C. Barnewall, officiating."

Page 247, D. Company, 3rd Battalion, after 2nd Lieutenant L. Bridge *insert* "2nd Lieutenant G. W. Onslow. Died March 8th, 1854, at the Cape of illness contracted on service."

Page 462, opposite the name of J. R. Pearson, *insert* p in columns 9, 10 11, and 14.

Page 605, third line from bottom, *for* "not long ago" *read* "now."

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PREFACE.

HAVING now completed the last part of this history, it is with pleasure that I record my thanks to all those who have assisted me in compiling it. The India Office, where the officials have most kindly afforded me every information and facility for examining records, etc.; the various Departments under the War Office to which I have had occasions to refer; the Accountant-General's and the other Government Offices in Calcutta; the Royal Artillery Staff of the three Presidencies in India—all have accorded me every possible aid. Especially I wish to tender my thanks to the Council of the Royal Artillery Institution and my brother officers of the regiment for their liberal and ready assistance, and for much information elsewhere unobtainable. Many officers and the relatives of others now deceased have been kind enough to entrust me with journals and letters of the greatest interest; and I hope that in endeavouring to describe events as they happened I have made a judicious use of these materials, especially those received from other branches of the service.

Many years ago the late Major-General E. Kaye, C.B., drew up for me accounts of the Afghan and both Sikh

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Wars, recording his own experiences; and as he was on the Regimental Staff in both the latter campaigns, they were of the greatest value. His lamented death deprived me of a like account of the Siege of Delhi and some of the operations in Oudh in 1858.

This work does not pretend to be more than a sketch of the events it records. The part about organization and equipment might easily have been expanded into a volume of itself. It has, indeed, been abbreviated from what I had written many years ago. But it may be a contribution to history, and it is to be hoped will be found a reasonably accurate one.

June, 1895. F. W. S.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

AFGHAN WAR—INVASION—1838–1839 1

CHAPTER II.

AFGHAN WAR—OCCUPATION—1840–1841 24

CHAPTER III.

AFGHAN WAR—EVACUATION—1842 51

CHAPTER IV.

GWALIOR CAMPAIGN 87

CHAPTER V.

FIRST SIKH WAR 108

CHAPTER VI.

SIEGE OF MULTAN 161

CHAPTER VII.

SECOND SIKH WAR 184

CHAPTER VIII.

SECOND BURMESE WAR—1852-1853 233

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IX.

PAGE

SEPOY WAR—OUTBREAK—SIEGE OF DELHI 248

CHAPTER X.

THE PUNJAB 302

CHAPTER XI.

SEPOY WAR—OUDH 337

CHAPTER XII.

SEPOY WAR 379

CHAPTER XIII.

END OF SEPOY WAR 428

CHAPTER XIV.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PUNJAB FRONTIER FORCE ... 469

CHAPTER XV.

ORGANIZATION—1748-1779 486

CHAPTER XVI.

1780-1808 512

CHAPTER XVII.

EQUIPMENT OF BATTERIES 549

CHAPTER XVIII.

1809-1862 585

INDEX 607

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LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Map of the Punjab, Afghanistan, Biluchistan, and Sind.

To face page 1

Major E. D Arcy Todd ... ... „ „ 23

Route from Peshawur to Kabul ... . „ „ 25

Jalalabad ... ... „ „ 59

Field-Marshal Sir G. Pollock ... ... *page* 67

Action of Rear Guard, 13th September 1842 ... ... „ 76

British position previous to the Battle of Maharajpur ... „ 90

Battle of Maharajpur ... ... „ 94

Battle of Paniar, 29th December, 1843 ... ... „ 102

Theatre of War, First Sikh Campaign, 1845-46 ... ... „ 110

Sikh Army before Ferozepore ... ... „ 111

Battle of Mudki, 18th December, 1845 ... ... „ 114

Sir George Brooke, G.C.B. ... ... „ 117

Battle of Ferozeshah, 21st December, 1845 ... *To face page* 121

General Sir Edward Huthwaite, K.C.B. ... ... *page* 124

Position of the British Army at Ferozeshah on the night of 21st December, 1845 ... ... „ 128

Battle of Ferozeshah, 22nd December, 1845 ... ... „ 132

Action of Badhowal ... ... „ 138

Plan of the Battle of Aliwal, 28th January, 1846 ... *To face page* 139

Battle of Sobraon, 10th February, 1846 ... ... „ 142

Siege of Multan, 5th Sept., 1848–22nd Jan., 1849 *To face page* 167

Digitized by Google

Theatre of Operations of the Army of the Punjab ... *page* 186
Action of Ramnagar ... ... „ 187
Battle of Sadulapur, 3rd December, 1848 ... ... „ 194
Battle of Chilianwala, 13th January, 1849 ... *To face page* 199
Battle of Gujarat, 21st February, 1849 ... ... „ „ 215
Theatre of Operations in Lower Burmah, 1852-1853 ... *page* 232
Delhi ... ... „ 258
Major Reid's Post and Right Attack ... ... *To face page* 261
Picquets Covering Left Attack ... ... *page* 262
Major-General Sir Henry Tombs, K.C.B. ... ... „ 264
Oudh and Provinces Adjoining ... ... *To face page* 303
The Doab between the Rivers Ganges and Jumna ... *page* 310
Cawnpore Magazine and Fort ... ... „ 326
Sir H. Lawrence ... ... *To face page* 337
Lucknow ... ... *page* 340
Plan of Residency Entrenchment... ... ... „ 348
Operation against Lucknow, November, 1857 ... *To face page* 385
Actions at Cawnpore, 26th, 27th, and 28th November, 1857 *page* 388
Battle of Cawnpore, 6th December, 1857... ... ... „ 394
Capture of Lucknow, March, 1858 ... ... „ 410
Shajahanpur ... ... „ 422
N.W. Frontier ... ... *To face page* 469
Monument at Dum Dum erected to the Memory of Colonel Thomas Dean Pearse ... ... *page* 518

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HISTORY OF THE BENGAL ARTILLERY.

CHAPTER I.

AFGHAN WAR—INVASION—1838-1839.

FORMATION AND COMPOSITION OF FORCE.—Bengal Artillery—Bombay Artillery—Assembly of Bengal Troops at Ferozepore—Reduction of the Force—Bengal Column—Bombay Column—Reserve Force—Sikh Contingent—Interview of the Governor-General and Ranjit Singh at Ferozepore—March to Sukkur—Order Regarding 4th Troop 3rd Brigade—March to Quetta—To Kandahár—Halt—Major Todd's Mission to Herat—March to Ghazni—Its Capture—Flight and Pursuit of Dost Muhamad—Kabul—Order of Durani Empire—Return to India of Part of the Force: Sir John Keane by Punjab; General Willshire by Quetta—Kalat Stormed and Taken.

WHEN Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, decided on the fatal experiment of dethroning the Amir Dost Muhamad and restoring Shah Shuja to the sovereignty of Kabul, which he had three times unsuccessfully tried to regain, he did not contemplate that it was to be effected only by a British Army. But an inevitable necessity compelled him to organise a larger force than had ever before crossed the frontiers of India. Part of the original programme was the formation in India of a contingent called, with even less than diplomatic truth, "Shah Shuja's own troops." 1838.

This contingent consisted of 6,000 men, under command of Major-General F. H. Simpson, two regiments of Cavalry, five of Infantry, and two troops of Horse Artillery. The unpopularity of the service in our own territories was evident. Government 4 per cent. paper fell from 2 to 9 per cent. discount. Hostile reports came from Nipal; symptoms of discontent appeared in Bandelkhand; and

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1838. the disturbances in the district of Jhansi were serious enough to call for the employment of a regular force. Captain W. Anderson was employed in raising at Delhi and Meerut the two troops of Native Horse Artillery under Lieutenants G. L. Cooper and F. Turner,* and no less than thirty-five desertions were reported in one day at the last-mentioned station, where they were undergoing instruction. And though Captain Anderson's energy finally overcame the difficulties he encountered, the troops were not ready when the army for Afghanistan assembled at Ferozepore on the 29th of November.

This force consisted of a Brigade of Cavalry and two Divisions of Infantry. The Artillery were :—

Brigadier C. Graham, C.B., Commanding.

Major P. L. Pew.

Bt.-Captain J. B. Backhouse, Brigade-Major.

Captain E. F. Day, Commissary of Ordnance.

52 Fd. Batt. R A. 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A., Captain C. Grant.

2-2 Dep. Div. 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A., Captain J. Alexander.

13 Co. S. Div. 3rd Company 2nd Battery No. 5 H.F.B.,† Captain T. Sanders.

35 Fd. Batt. 4th Company 2nd Battery, Captain H. Garbett.

2nd Company 6th Battery (Native) No. 6 Camel F.B., Captain A. Abbott.

Along with this force another was sent from Bombay under command of Lieut.-General Sir John Keane, K.C.B., G.C.H., a Brigade of Cavalry and a Division of Infantry. The Artillery were :—

Brigadier T. Stevenson, Commanding.

Captain W. M. Coghlan, Brigade-Major.

Lieutenant J. B. Woosnam, Aide-de-Camp.

Bt.-Captain R. Warden, Commissary of Ordnance.

Q., R.H.A. 3rd Troop H.A., Captain J. H. M. Martin.

* G.G.O., 13th September.

† Draft had only just been changed from bullocks to horses. Drivers had not been supplied when the order to join the force arrived.

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4th Troop H.A., Captain T. E. Cotgrave. N.A., R.H.A. Reduced 1884.

1st Company 2nd Battery Mule Battery,* Captain T. J. Pontardent. B. 21, R.A. Reduced 1865.

2nd Company 2nd Battery Horse Battery, Captain J. Lloyd. 7 Co. E. Div.

1st Company Golandáz.

On the arrival at Ferozepore of the troops forming the Bengal Column, they learned that the Persian Army, foiled in its attempt upon Herat by the gallantry of one man, Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, of the Bombay Artillery, and tardily yielding to the representations of Mr. McNeill, British Minister at the Persian Court, had raised the siege of that place and retired on Teheran. The ostensible reason for the expedition was removed, but the Governor-General did not relinquish his intention of replacing Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul. The Army of the Indus, on the Bengal side, was reduced by General Duncan's Division, which remained at Ferozepore as a reserve. Captain Alexander's Troop and Captain Sanders' Battery were attached to it, and Colonel C. Graham, an excellent and experienced Horse Artillerymań, gave over charge of their Artillery to Major Pew. Captain Anderson, as before mentioned, not being prepared to move, Captain H. Timings' Native Troop (4th-3rd H.A.), on the escort of the Governor-General, was directed to proceed with General Simpson. Its place on the escort was taken by Captain Nicholl's Troop (1st-1st), (G.O.C.C., 31st October), destined not long afterwards to shed a halo of glory round the greatest disaster that ever happened to our Arms. 1838. November. K.-C., R.H.A. Reduced 1879.

The force as now (G.O.C.C., 27th November) constituted was brigaded as follows :—

BENGAL COLUMN.

Cavalry.

Brigadier R. Arnold, C.B., 16th Lancers, Commanding.

H.M. 16th Lancers, 2nd and 3rd Light Cavalry Detachment, 1st (Skinner's) and 4th Local Horse.

* See Note C, Appendix to this Chapter.

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Infantry.

1838. November. Major-General Sir W. Cotton, K.C.B., K.C.H., Commanding.

1st Brigade: Brigadier R. Sale, C.B., H.M. 13th L.I.; 16th and 48th N.I.

2nd Brigade: Major-General W. Nott, 31st, 42nd, and 43rd N.I.

4th Brigade: Brigadier A. Roberts, Bengal European Regiment, 35th and 37th N.I.

Engineers.

Captain G. Thomson, Commanding two Companies Sappers.

Artillery.

Details given above.

There was no siege-train worthy of the name—merely four 18-pounder and four iron 9-pounder guns; two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars. Also two spare field howitzers.

BOMBAY COLUMN.

Cavalry.

Brigadier Bentham Sandwith, 1st Light Cavalry, Commanding.

Two Squadrons H.M. 4th Light Dragoons, 1st Light Cavalry, and Poonah Horse.

Infantry.

Major-General T. Willshire, C.B., Commanding.

H.M. 2nd Queen's Royals, 17th Regiment, and 19th N.I.

Engineers.

Captain A. C. Peat, Commanding.

Sappers and Miners, Lieutenant F. Wemyss.

In addition to these two Columns, a reserve force was sent from Bombay to Sind under Brigadier T. Valiant, H.M. 40th, three regiments N.I., and the following Artillery:

Major G. W. Gibson, Commanding.

Lieutenant G. Hutt, Adjutant.

Bt.-Captain E. A. Farquharson, Commissary of Ordnance.

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3rd Company 1st Battery, Captain W. Brett. 30 Fd. Batt. R.A.

5th Company Golandáz.

Lieutenants Elliot D'Arcy Todd, Bengal, and Eldred Pottinger, Bombay Artillery, were (G.G.O., 1st October) appointed Political Assistants, the former also Military Secretary, to Mr. W. H. MacNaghten, Envoy and Minister. 1838. November.

It had been the Governor-General's wish that a Sikh force should co-operate with the other British troops it might be found necessary to send. But Ranjit Singh limited his co-operation within very narrow bounds. After the interview at Ferozepore it was arranged that the ex-King's eldest son, Timur Shah, should proceed with his father's family by the direct route through the Punjab and Khaibar Pass to Kabul. An escort, chiefly of newly-raised levies, was sent as a protection. Lieutenant W. Barr, of the 4th Troop 2nd Brigade, with forty of his men and two 24-pounder howitzers, was attached. Lieutenant R. Maule of the Artillery, Assistant to the Political Officer, Lieut.-Colonel Claude Wade, who commanded the whole, brought two 6-pounder guns. Two companies of Native Infantry, under Captains J. Ferris and C. Farmer, accompanied. Lieutenants R. Dowson and W. R. Hillersdon and some native officers commanded the miscellaneous levies. Besides these, which numbered some 4,700 men, there was a Sikh force of 6,100 men, under Colonel Shekh Basáwan, who in his younger days had been a gunner in our service.* I.-C., R.H.A. Reduced 1882.

The British troops assembled at Ferozepore in the end of November. On the 27th the Governor-General arrived. Ranjit Singh's camp was on the further side of the Sutlej River. On the 29th Lord Auckland received the Maharaja in public durbar, and on the 30th returned the visit. Two December.

* He was a native of Patna, and served in the Artillery which went to Egypt in 1802. In 1812 he entered the Sikh service as an adjutant; served in the expedition against Multan by Ranjit Singh in 1819, when he was raised to the rank of Commandant, and was made Colonel in the Sikh Army in 1821. He was afterwards poisoned at Peshawar by a subordinate. For this information I am indebted to Mr. T. H. Thornton, formerly Secretary to Government of the Punjab.

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1838. December. more days were spent in martial displays, and then, the "Field of the Cloth of Gold" having terminated, the army on its reduced footing commenced its march on the 10th.

Shah Shuja's contingent had already left Ludhiána, and was on the way to Bháwalpur. The army marched on successive days as follows :—

Dec. 10th.— Headquarters ; Horse Artillery ; Cavalry.
Dec. 11th.—1st Infantry Brigade ; Camel Battery.
Dec. 12th.—2nd Infantry Brigade.
Dec. 13th.—3rd Infantry Brigade.
Dec. 14th.—Artillery Park ; Commissariat Stores.

Each Column had its own supplies for immediate consumption, and there were two months' supply of grain in reserve at Ferozepore. Nevertheless, the want of forage along the left bank of the Sutlej and Indus told heavily on the cattle. The leading Column was not many days distant from Ferozepore when the horses of Shah Shuja's Cavalry had greatly fallen off in condition. Captain Timings' horses, being well looked after, were in good order. Some of the Irregular Cavalry fed theirs on moth, a coarse grain boiled with gur, the unrefined product of the sugarcane.* Letters from camp told of great losses by death, desertion, or theft among the camels. The animals stolen, it was said, were often sold the following day to the next Column, the process being sometimes repeated more than once, to the great profit of the owners and commissariat gomashtas.

The great amount of baggage taken and the number of camp-followers increased the difficulties of the army, and were a temptation to theft. Dr. Kennedy says there were four times the quantity of stores necessary. Brigadier Arnold is said to have had sixty servants ; he certainly had a buggy, which survived its master and returned to India. Dr. Kennedy himself confesses to plated dishes, twelve servants, and four camel-men. He was, however, a Superintending Surgeon. By the time the army reached

* A diet that encourages flesh more than muscle.

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Kandahár, the greater part of the baggage had passed through the sieve of fate, though even then it was excessive. Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, had issued an order on the subject, but no limit was laid down and no measures were taken to enforce obedience to the spirit of the order. 1838. December.

The Bombay Column landed at the Hajamri mouth of the Indus in November. As some opposition from the Amirs of Lower Sind was apprehended, Sir Willoughby Cotton moved down with part of his force to co-operate with Sir John Keane; but they submitted, and he returned from Khandiári to Rohri.

In the middle of the wide stream of the Indus, between Rohri on the left bank and Sukkur on the right, stood the fort of Bukkur, the cession of which was demanded from the Amirs, to be held during the campaign as a security for the communication, and this was finally given up on the 29th of January. But it was so uncertain that the garrison would admit our troops, that Captain Abbott was sent in one of the boats to blow open the gate should this be necessary. Captain Thomson, with Captain Sanders, began to throw a bridge of boats across just above the fort where it was only five hundred yards broad. This was finished on the 3rd of February, and the force commenced to pass over—Cavalry dismounted in single file; guns by hand; the heavier ordnance ferried over. All had crossed by the 18th. 1839. January. February.

Sir John Keane arrived at Sehwán the same day, and continued his advance along the right bank to Larkhána. The headquarters of the Bengal Column reached Shikarpur on the 20th. Shah Shuja held some reviews of his troops and presented colours to the regiments. The order published on this occasion said:— January.

"Major-General Simpson cannot conclude this order without expressing the high opinion he entertains of Captain Timings and the Honourable Company's 4th Troop 3rd Brigade Horse Artillery under his command. The Major-General has not been

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1839. January. unobservant of the orderly and soldierlike conduct of the native officers and men composing the troop. To Captain Timings and Lieutenant Hawkins he tenders his warmest approbation.—Camp, Shikarpore, February 27th, 1839."

March. Captain Anderson's two troops of the Shah's Horse Artillery were on their way down. He had not been able in the time to procure the best horses, and the march of 766 miles from Meerut was a severe test. So when he reached Rohri on the 4th of March he had to halt. Second-Lieutenant E. Kaye had come with him, and went on to Shikarpur to join the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade, to which he belonged.

From Shikarpur the line of the Bengal Column was directed through Kach Gandáva by Dhádar and the Bolán Pass to Quetta in the Shál Valley. The 2nd Brigade halted for a time. General Thackwell with the Cavalry and Captain Grant's Troop H.A. marched on the 23rd of February from Shikarpur. Shah Shuja, with his contingent previously in advance, now come on in rear. Along the south-east side of Kach Gandáva was a hard level plain separating it from Upper Sind. The rivers flowing towards the Indus disappeared when they came to its margin. No water, no vegetation beyond some patches of hardy tamarisk shrubs were to be seen there. It was called the Pat, or Rann. The distance across it from Rojhán to Barshori, 26½ miles, had to be made in one march. The leading portions of our force crossed it without much difficulty, but those which had to do so in hotter weather, especially some small detachments, underwent extreme suffering and lost many lives.* From Barshori to Dhádar six marches covered 79 miles. This was reached on the 10th. To Quetta the road lay for eight marches (86 miles) all but the last through the Bolán Pass The hills on either side, formed of a coarse conglomerate overlaid with clay and pebbles, in some places closed to within a few feet of

* Sir Thomas Seaton gives a graphic account of this.—"From Cadet to Colonel."

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the road; in others widened out into a valley intersected by a stream which after rain was a roaring torrent. The way, for road there was none, along this defile crossed and re-crossed the river. It was necessary to increase the teams frequently, and assist them with drag-ropes. The level of the Shál Valley is about 5,600 feet, or 4,800 above that of Dhádar. In the march from Ab-i-gum to Sir-i-Bolán the rise is 1 in 25 feet, so that the labour on the Artillery horses was considerable. The mornings were very cold. Major Cureton, 16th Lancers, with the advance party, was overtaken on the 15th of March by a snowstorm which caused much loss of animals and baggage. Forage was scanty and of bad quality. Karbi* was a poor substitute for grass: Captain Grant's Troop had made 73 marches—857 miles—on such fare. 1839. March.

Sir W. Cotton moved on to Quetta without waiting for the Bombay force to come up. The crops in the Shál Valley were still green, but delay would not have added much to the supply of forage. It was a clear gain to have crossed the desert while as yet the nights were cool; and to secure the formidable defile of the Bolán before the people whose land was being invaded had become awake to its value was imperatively necessary. As yet only bands of Biluch plunderers had hovered about, to carry off what they could. Two sergeants of Artillery went out shooting on the 3rd of April, and while in the act of giving a Kákar a pinch of snuff were suddenly surrounded and slain after killing several of their assailants.

The Bombay Column had been much crippled for want of carriage, and had to be assisted in this respect from the front. It had moved for the sake of forage and supplies of food from Larkhána on Gandáva. But the latter were so scarce they were nearly starving. Sir Alexander Burnes had gone to Kalát, the Khán of which place agreed to provide what he could. But Mahráb Khán could not April.

* The stalk of bajra (*Holcus sorgum*) or joár (*H. spicatum*).

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1839 April. furnish much. This was afterwards made one of the pretexts for attacking him. Sir John Keane had gone on, and at Quetta on the 6th of April assumed the personal command. He determined to push on at once towards Kandahár. Major-General Nott, with part of the 2nd Brigade and Captain Pontardent's Field Battery, was left at Quetta ; the rest moved on.

The order of march had varied according to the nature of the ground. In the Bolán Pass H.M. 13th L.I. led ; in more open ground the 16th Lancers. But Captain Grant's Troop and Captain Abbott's Camel Battery occupied the second and fourth places. The army left Quetta on the 7th of April, and entered the Kojak Pass on the 14th. The road here was steep and difficult, occasionally only wide enough to allow a carriage or camel to pass. Drag-ropes were again in requisition. But all got clear at last.* From the summit of the pass, 7,457 feet elevation, the hills behind which lay Kandahár were visible. Short as it was, the Kojak defile might have cost more than a day's fighting before it could have been won. From the rear came the intelligence that General Willshire had been attacked at the head of the Bolán Pass. The Kandahár chiefs were preparing to fight. But on the 20th of April Tej Muhamad Khán, chief of the Kákar tribe, came into camp and tendered his submission to Shah Shuja, with whom he had been before this in correspondence. He was better known as Háji Khán Kákar, and was notorious even among Afghans for treachery. His defection was a warning plainly read by the Kandahár Sirdars, and they fled. So Shah Shuja took the advance, and, attended by the Envoy, made his public entry into the chief city of Western Afghanistan on the 25th of April.

The army was halted at Kandahár till the 27th of June. During that time, Colonel R. H. Sale, 13th Regi-

* One of Captain Grant's guns with its team rolled down the first descent into the pass, but without any serious injury to men or horses : a wheel smashed.—"Corresp. Gen. Abbott," p. 81.

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ment, was despatched with a brigade in pursuit of the Sirdars in the direction of Girishk, some 75 miles to the west. But they had got across the Persian frontier, and the force returned. 1839. April.

From Kandahár a political mission to Herat was also sent. It left on the 21st of June and reached Herat on the 25th of July. As the three principal officers on this mission belonged to the Bengal Artillery, a brief sketch of it is given in Note D.

Major-General Willshire had joined with the Bombay Column while the army rested at Kandahár. As it marched away on the 27th of June, the old Lion of the Punjab was breathing his last at Lahore. The 4th Troop 3rd Brigade, the 4th Company 2nd Battalion, Lieutenant Cooper's Troop, Shah's H.A., and the four 18-pounder guns under Lieutenant A. W. Hawkins were left there. Lieutenant Hawkins was transferred to the Shah's H.A. about this time. Captain Martin with the 3rd Troop Bombay H.A. took Captain Timings' place with the Shah's contingent.* Lieutenant Murray Mackenzie, who had been doing duty with the 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade, rejoined the 4th of the 3rd. June.

Kalát-i-Ghilzai was reached on the 4th of July. There was an old fort, but in ruins, on a hill, soon after the scene of a gallant defence. The headquarters and first Column reached Mukúr on the 14th and halted a day. The second Column joined it at Ahmad Khel on the 19th, and General Willshire, with the third Column, joined the next day at Náni. It was reported that Sirdar Afzal Khan, Dost Muhamad's eldest son, was preparing to attack, but no enemy appeared. July.

On the 20th Lieut.-Colonel Wade, with the Sikh contingent, moved out of Peshawar to Jamrud at the entrance of the Khaibar Pass.

* The reason of this change is not clear. Captain Timings' horses were in very good condition, but being a Native Troop it was, one might think, better suited to the contingent.

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1839. July. On the 21st the army moved on Ghazni, the Cavalry in column of troops right in front, on the right, the Artillery by the main road, and the Infantry in column of companies left in front, on the left. On approaching the town some skirmishing took place with the enemy, who were posted in the villages and gardens close to the fort. The 13th Light Infantry and Light Company of the Bengal European Regiment on the right, the 48th N.I. in the centre, and the 16th N.I. on the left, were pushed forward and dislodged them; the Horse Artillery and the Camel Battery opening upon them with shrapnel until they retired within the outworks.

Ere this, Sir John Keane had seen the mistake he had made in leaving his heavy ordnance behind. A reconnaissance was made by the Engineer officers, and it was decided to move round to the Kabul side. This was effected during the night. Abd-ul-Rashid Khán, a nephew of the Dost, had come over to us. From him we learned that all the gates had been built up inside except the Kabul gate. Sir John Keane had one resource left, that of blowing in this gate and attempting an assault, and this, on the advice of his Engineers, he resolved to try.

The arrangements were well-made and carefully carried out, in accordance with the orders of the 22nd. All the batteries were to be in position during the night of the 23rd, their right above the village on the hill north-east of the fortress, and their left among the gardens on the Kabul road. About three a.m. they were to open fire, and draw the attention of the enemy from the actual point of attack.

It was a gusty night. The Engineer party carrying the bags of powder under Captains Thomson and Peat, with Lieutenants Durand and MacLeod (Bengal), were followed by the advance stormers, under Colonel Dennie, H.M.'s 13th Regiment, the Light Companies of the 2nd, 17th, and Bengal Europeans, and one company of the 13th. The main body, under Brigadier Sale, were the rest of the 2nd,

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1839. July.

13th, 17th, and Bengal Regiments, while Brigadier Roberts led the 35th, the 16th, and 48th N.I. as a reserve.

The explosion was rather too successful, for Captain Thomson had, to guard against failure in the event of the gate having been built up, partially or altogether, inside, applied a heavier charge * than the mere woodwork required, and it "not only destroyed the gate, but brought down a considerable portion of the roof of the square building in which it was placed." The bugle sounded the advance, Dennie, at the head of his men, rushed through the smoke and dust over the ruins, and were soon inside, engaged with those of the garrison who had hurried to the spot. Captain Peat had been thrown to the ground, stunned by the concussion. Sale pressing on, heard from him, unconscious of Dennie's success, that the entrance was blocked up, and for a few minutes they were halted, till another Engineer officer † reported that the advance party had got in, when they pressed on, but in that brief time the number of the defenders had rapidly increased. In the struggle on the ruined masonry Sale was wounded in the face by a cut from a sabre, but, aided by Captain Kershaw of the 13th, as he was engaged on the ground with his opponent, mastered and slew the Afghan. Soon the colours of that regiment (the first planted on the ramparts by Ensign Frere) were seen flying in the breeze, and Ghazni was won.

The casualties were comparatively small, amounting for the 21st and 23rd to 18 killed, 172 wounded, and one missing;

* So said Captain Peat, who assisted in the necessary calculations, but without inferring any blame, for he added in his report that it is impossible, even now, to say how much the charge might have been reduced with safety. But in truth, as gateways of Oriental forts were commonly constructed, a charge of 100 lbs. would be very likely to bring down some masonry as well as woodwork, especially if the upper portion of the buildings on either side rested at all on the cross-beams forming the roof described by Captain Peat, and it would seem that the charge was more than the 120 lbs. assigned as the limit by Colonel Pasley.

† Colonel Dennie gives his name, Captain Thomson.—"Pers. Narr.," p. 77.

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1839. July. of them the 3rd Troop Bombay H.A. had two men wounded. The names of Brigadier Stevenson, Captains Coghlan and Backhouse were honourably mentioned in Sir John Keane's despatch.

The army resumed its march on the 30th. Lieutenant G. P. Sealy, with the Bombay Company of Golandáz, and a small detail of the Shah's H.A., was left in charge of the captured ordnance. Lieutenant G. A Pruen (2nd Co. 2nd Batt.), who was ill, was also left behind. Both these officers rejoined their battery when it passed through again in September.

August. Dost Muhamad had intended making a stand at Maidán, but the treachery of his followers prevented him, and he fled across the hills towards Bamián. His guns were found in position, abandoned, near Arghandi, west of the city of Kabul, before which the army encamped on the 6th of August.

A party of Cavalry, under Captain J. Outram, had been sent in pursuit of the Dost. Twelve officers, all dashing riders and bold men, volunteered for this service, and were sent. They were Captains J. B. Backhouse, Artillery; F. Wheler and G. St. P. Lawrence, 2nd Bengal Cavalry; J. Christie (Shah's service) and R. S. Trevor, 3rd Bengal Cavalry; G. K. Erskine (Poonah Horse), 1st Bombay Cavalry; Tayler, 1st Engineer Regiment; Colin Troup, 48th Bengal N.I.; Lieutenants W. Broadfoot, 1st European Regiment; Hogg, 2nd Bombay N.I.; W. H. Ryves, 61st Bengal N.I., and Assistant-Surgeon Worral.

But along with them the noted Háji Khán Kákar was sent. This man was now in correspondence with the Dost, as he formerly had been with Shah Shuja, and, by interposing obstacles and delay the whole way, so effectually hindered Outram's progress that the Dost had crossed the frontier while he was yet thirty miles distant. So he had to return. It was as well, perhaps. Had he been brought back a prisoner some harsh treatment might have been added to the injustice of deposing him. Sir W. MacNaghten

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would not have written to Mr. Robertson * the remarkable confession that he was the unoffending victim of our policy, and Lord Auckland might not have had the opportunity of receiving him, not as a captive rebel, but with the courtesy due to a prince.† 1839. August.

After the army had reached the capital, the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade, which had been left at Kandahár in June, marched up to headquarters in August. Captain Timings' health had been failing, and Lieutenant Mackenzie was in virtual command.

On the 3rd, Lieut.-Colonel Wade, with the Shahzáda Timur, arrived at Kabul. The opposition met with was not serious. Lieutenant Barr, in a pleasantly-written book, described the events of the march. On the 17th a grand durbar was held, at which certain officers were invested by Shah Shuja with the insignia of an order newly-created by him—that of the Duráni Empire, or, as it was called, the Darr-i-Duráni.‡ The following Artillery officers received the decoration :— September.

Brigadier T. Stevenson, Bombay ...	2nd Class.
Major E. D'A. Todd, Bengal ...	
Lieut.-Colonel P. L. Pew, Bengal ...	3rd Class.
Major Eldred Pottinger, Bombay ...	
Captain A. Abbott, Bengal	
Captain W. Anderson, Bengal ...	
Captain H. Garbett, Bengal	
Captain J. Abbott, Bengal	
Lieutenant R. C. Shakespear, Bengal ...	

The time had now arrived when, according to the original intention of the Governor-General, the troops should be withdrawn from Afghanistan. But it was plain to the Envoy and everyone else that on our withdrawal the King we had set up would fall, and the fall proclaim

* "Kaye," I., p. 568, note.

† It is plain from Kaye's account, which only repeats all others, that the sympathies of British officers were on the side of Dost Muhamad.

‡ "Pearl of the Duráni."

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1839. September. cur failure. Lord Auckland decided, therefore, that a brigade of Bengal troops must remain, Sir John Keane returning with the rest through the Punjab, and that General Willshire was to take the Bombay troops back by the southern route; one Bengal company of Artillery, the 3rd Company 2nd Battalion, proceeding to Sukkur.

October. The 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A., 16th Lancers, 3rd Light Cavalry, 3rd Local Horse, and the N.I. which had come with Colonel Wade, went by Peshawar. The first Column left Kabul on the 15th of October passed through the Khaibar defile without opposition, and got to Peshawar on the 7th of November. The second Column had some attacks in the pass to repel, especially on the rear guard and baggage, but all were got through with comparatively little loss. On the 2nd of January, 1840, Sir J. Keane having crossed the Sutlej, published a general order at Ferozepore, breaking up that portion of the army of the Indus.

Major-General Willshire with the Bombay Column left Kabul the 18th of September. He took, after passing Ghazni, the more direct route to Quetta, about 85 miles less than that by Kandahár. His orders were to move upon Kalát, the chief of which the Sind politicals had declared guilty of treachery, on very doubtful evidence.* On reaching Quetta, it was found necessary to reduce the force for this service owing to the want of carriage and supplies there, as well as forage on the road. Most of the Horse Artillery, Captain Pontardent's Mule Battery, and the Cavalry marched by Gandáva, while the General, with two guns of the 3rd Troop (Lieutenants Forster, H. Creed, and Woosnam), four of the Shah's H.A. (Lieutenant G. L. Cooper), the Engineers, two risálas Local Horse, the

* He had not been proved guilty of any overt act of hostility; the worst that was said was that he had thrown difficulties in the way of our obtaining supplies. So the attack on our part in defiance of national rights went far to justify Akbar Khán's bitter remark that we had taught every chief to lie and cheat by our example (Buist, p. 252).

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Queen's Royals, 17th Regiment, and 31st Bengal N.I. took the direct route to Kalát. 1839. September.

As General Willshire drew near, it was seen that three heights on the north-west face of the town were held by the enemy with five guns. Captain Peat, reconnoitring, reported that it was necessary to carry these first. Major Pennycuick, 17th Regiment, with two companies took the gardens and enclosures on the north-east face; two companies acted as supports and maintained connection with the main attack by three columns on the heights. Brigadier Stevenson, moving on rapidly to the front, opened an effective fire which compelled the enemy to retire, leaving their guns. Lieutenant H. Forster commanded the two guns of his Troop; Lieutenants Cooper and Creed each two of the Shah's. The two former next took up a position on the heights, firing on the defences of the city; while Lieutenant Creed moved round on the left to within two hundred yards of it. A few rounds opened a passage, through which Major Pennycuick and his men effected an entrance. The citadel was next carried, and the chief fell fighting to the last—a victim to our policy of injustice. November.

The only casualties in the Artillery in this business were two privates and one gun lascar of the Shah's wounded. The thanks of the General in his despatch were given to the Brigadier, Lieutenants Forster and Cooper; and Captain Coghlan, Lieutenants Woosnam and Creed were also recorded for approbation.

From thence the force proceeded southward on its way to Bombay, having accomplished the last act that marked the invasion of Afghanistan.

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APPENDIX.

A. Names of Officers, Bengal Artillery.
B. Names of Officers, Bombay Artillery.
C. Equipment of Bombay Batteries.
D. Major Todd's Mission to Herat

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Names of Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in Afghanistan from December, 1838, till December, 1839.

Major Bt.-Lt.-Col.	Peter L. Pew	4th Batt.	Commanding
Captain	Henry Timings	4-3 H.	Died at Kabul, September 12th, 1839
,,	Augustus Abbott ...	2-6	
,,	Charles Grant	2-2 H.	
,,	Hubert Garbett * ...	4-2	
,,	Edward F. Day ...	Comy. Ord.	
,,	William Anderson ...	Shah's H.A.	
,,	Julius B. Backhouse † ...	Bde. Major	
Bt.-Captain	James Abbott	4-2	Political Attached to Herat Mission
,,	Francis K. Duncan ...	2-2 H.	
,,	Elliott D'Arcy Todd ...	...	Political—Mily. Secy. to Envoy
(Major in Persia) Lieutenant	John Anderson	2-2 H.	
,,	Geo. Hall MacGregor	...	Political—Asst. to Envoy
,,	George L. Cooper ...	Shah's H.A.	
,,	Richmond C. Shakespear	4-6	
,,	Robert Walker	4-2	
,,	Murray Mackenzie ...	4-3 H.	Did duty with 2-2 H.A. till the army reached Kandahár, when he rejoined his Troop
,,	Michael Dawes... ...	2-6	
,,	William Barr	4-2 H.	
,,	Frank Turner ...	Shah's H.A.	
2nd-Lieutenant	Robert Warburton ...	2-6 / Shah's H.A.	
,,	Alexander W. Hawkins	4-3 H. / Shah's H.A.	
,,	Edward Kaye ‡... ...	2-2 H.	
,,	Charles A. Greene ...	4-2 / 2-2 H. / Shah's H.A.	
Asst.-Surgeon	G. Rae	S.S. H.A.	

* Appointed to the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., *vice* Timings.
† Appointed at Kabul to raise a mountain battery for the Shah's service, for which purpose he returned to India with the troops under Sir J. Keane.
‡ Was attached to 4-3 H.A. at Shikarpur.

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every Khan participated, none worse in this respect than Yar Muhamad, Minister of Herat, the Khan of Khiva, and the Turkoman tribe towards the Caspian Sea.

During the protracted stay of the Mission at Herat, General Peroffski was sent from Orenburg towards Khiva with a force to compel the release of some hundreds of Russian captives detained in slavery there. But his cattle perished from the severity of the weather, the snow lay five feet thick, and he had to retreat in the early part of 1840. Colonel Stoddart, who had been on the Persian Legation with Todd, was at Bukhára, but unable to communicate with his countrymen.

Major Todd, therefore, selected Captain Abbott to proceed to Khiva to negotiate for the release of the Russian captives. This officer, if possessed of the romantic cast of mind attributed to him by Kaye, had an intrepid soul, and a high sense of duty that would face any danger, and yet not be swayed too much by the natural kindliness of his disposition. The task, therefore, was a congenial one.

When Captain Abbott left Herat for Khiva in December, 1839, General Peroffski was advancing on it, and the Khán Hazrat still professed willingness to accept British friendship. After the Russian force fell back, one motive in that direction disappeared. The underhand intrigues of Yar Muhamad while he accepted British gold, were steadily directed to foil the efforts and influence of our political officers. They contributed to keep Colonel Stoddart in a dungeon at Bukhára, and followed Abbott on his perilous journey.

Finding that the Governor of Orenburg had stopped all communication between Khiva and the Russian Emperor, Captain Abbott, at the Khan's entreaty, undertook to visit the Russian Court, bearing the Khan's offer to search out and liberate all Russians enslaved in Khárism. The Chief of the Chaodúr Turkomans was sent as his guide with orders to escort him to Novo Alexandroff, called by the Turkomans Dasht Kulla, or the Stone Fort. But he, at the instance of Yar Muhamad it was believed, on reaching a part of the Caspian Sea where no boats were to be had, refused to go on to Alexandroff, higher up, and left him, and at his instigation a party of Kazáks attacked Abbott on the 22nd of April. The latter escaped indeed with life, by a providential combination of circumstances, but with a severely mutilated right hand. For eighteen days he and his servants were prisoners in the Kazák tents till the Akhunzáda, who had followed from Khiva, arrived with an escort, released and conducted him to Novo Alexandroff, whence he went to Russia and afterwards to England.

Five months subsequently, Lieutenant R. Shakespear left Herat to complete what Abbott had prepared the way for, and was the

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did not know how long this had been the case, or why it was so.* Captain Lloyd had only just replaced bullocks with horses, which were not received by him till he was starting for Afghanistan. They had to be broken in as they went along.†

Captain Pontardent's battery had mule draft. Sir Charles Colville, the Commander-in-Chief, had suggested the employment of this animal for Horse Artillery wagons, and some were imported from Persia about 1823. Five years after that, they were turned over to the Foot Artillery, and in 1836 there was in addition to the four troops of Horse Artillery only one organised field battery of four guns drawn by mules, and stationed in Kutch.

The Board of Artillery Officers convened in Calcutta in 1836 to consider the assimilation of battery equipments throughout India, recommended horse draft for all field batteries, but there were none supplied till the outbreak of the Afghan War. Captain Pontardent's battery had before that been supplied with the number of mules laid down by the committee as necessary, viz., teams of eight for both guns and wagons, two for two staff-sergeants and two for the buglers, and twelve spare. Total 112.

NOTE D.

MAJOR TODD'S MISSION TO HERAT.

Major Todd had been employed in Persia since 1833, instructing the artillerymen of the Shah, who conferred upon him the Order of the Lion and the Sun. At the time of the siege of Herat, he was acting as Secretary of Legation to Mr. McNeill, who deputed him to wait upon the Governor-General of India at Simla. Thence he was appointed Military Secretary to Mr. MacNaghten, Envoy with the army of the Indus.

From Kandahár, Mr. MacNaghten deputed him to Herat, to negotiate a treaty with its ruler, Shah Kamrán. Captain James Abbott‡ was his assistant. Captain E. Sanders, Bengal Engineers, with Lieutenants R. C. Shakespear, Bengal Artillery, and C. F. North, Bombay Engineers, and thirty sappers accompanied them, as also Drs. Login and Ritchie. The mission arrived at Herat on the 25th of July, 1839.

One of its objects was to stop, as far as possible, the cruel traffic in slaves carried on by all the central Asia tribes, in which

* As a 9-pounder gun with limber, stores, and ammunition weighed a little over thirty-four cwt., and a 24-pounder howitzer thirty-six, weight could not have been taken into account.

† Major-General G. P. Sealy and Major T. Gaisford.

‡ Todd was junior in the regiment to Brevet-Captain Abbott, but had the local rank of Major in Persia and Afghanistan, and the latter was only then appointed to political employ.

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means of delivering the wretched captives. For this he was knighted on reaching England. The honour was well deserved, but Abbott should not have gone unrewarded.

Meanwhile, Major Todd was maintaining his post at Herat under the greatest difficulties. Shah Kamrán had for some time been receiving annually large sums from the Indian Government, but the treachery and insolence of Yar Muhamad became more and more unbearable. Dost Muhamad was in India, his sons as yet had not acquired a leading influence in Afghanistan, but the intrigues of the Herat Minister kept alive a spirit of resistance to us. Todd knew all this, so did our Envoy at Kabul, so did the Governor-General at Calcutta. There were proofs that Yar Muhamad was plotting the destruction of the Mission, and an attack on the British garrison at Kandahár. The subsidy to Shah Kamrán was stopped. Yar Muhamad demanded its payment and a large additional sum, but was refused, and this brought matters to a climax. Major Todd was told he must either pay the money or leave Herat. He chose the latter alternative as the only one consistent with the honour of the Government he represented, broke up his camp, left Herat, and returned to Kandahár.

But Lord Auckland judged differently, and with a hasty injustice foreign to his nature, begotten perhaps of a feeling that his policy in Afghanistan was all a mistake, he repudiated Major Todd's act, and removed him from political employment. So he went back to his regiment; but deeply as he felt the blow to his public reputation and his prospects, his strict sense of duty and upright Christian character, shone as brightly in the routine of battery duty as it had done in the important and more difficult position of Political Officer.

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CHAPTER II.

AFGHAN WAR—OCCUPATION, 1840-1841.

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTILLERY.—Operations in Biluchistán—Defence of Káhan—Death of Brigadier Stevenson—Action at Pirchatta—Kabul—Site for Cantonment—Pashút Taken—Expedition to Bamián—March of 4th Troop 3rd Brigade over the Passes under Lieutenant M. Mackenzie—Captain Garbett joins—Operations in the Valley—Return to Kabul and India of the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade—Sale's Operations in Kohistan—1st Troop 1st Brigade and Mountain Battery come from India—Kandahár—Nott's Operations—Tázi—Disturbed state of Biluchistán—Movements of Artillery—Attack on Sibi—Lieutenant Creed Killed—Operations in Zamindawar—Kabul—Zurmat Expedition—Distribution of Artillery—Sale goes towards Jalálabád—Outbreak at Kabul—Murder of Burnes and Broadfoot—Of Maule—Envoy Negotiates—Preparations for Retreat—Envoy Murdered by Akbar Khán—Retreat and Destruction of Kabul Force—Artillery Regimental Order—Eyre's Letter—Noble behaviour of the 1st Troop 1st Brigade—Its Devotion and Glorious end.

1839. October. WHEN Sir John Keane returned to India, Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton was left in chief command in Afghanistan, with his headquarters at Kabul. Portions of the northern force were on detached duty at and about Jalálabád, in the Bamián Valley and at Ghazni.

Major-General Nott commanded at Kandahár, with the troops at Quetta under him.

Brigadier T. Stevenson, of the Bombay Artillery, commanded in Upper Sind, with his headquarters at Sukkur. The communication with the Punjab was not yet closed; that by Sind was open.

The Artillery were at first stationed as follows:—

At Kabul.—Half of No. 6 Field Battery* under Lieutenant Dawes.

* Camels had been found very unsuitable for the ground they had to work over, and Captain Abbott had got leave in August, after the capture of Ghazni, to replace them with horses, for which harness had been brought. The change was made without loss of time, and the Kabuli horses, though small, were so capable of work and so soon

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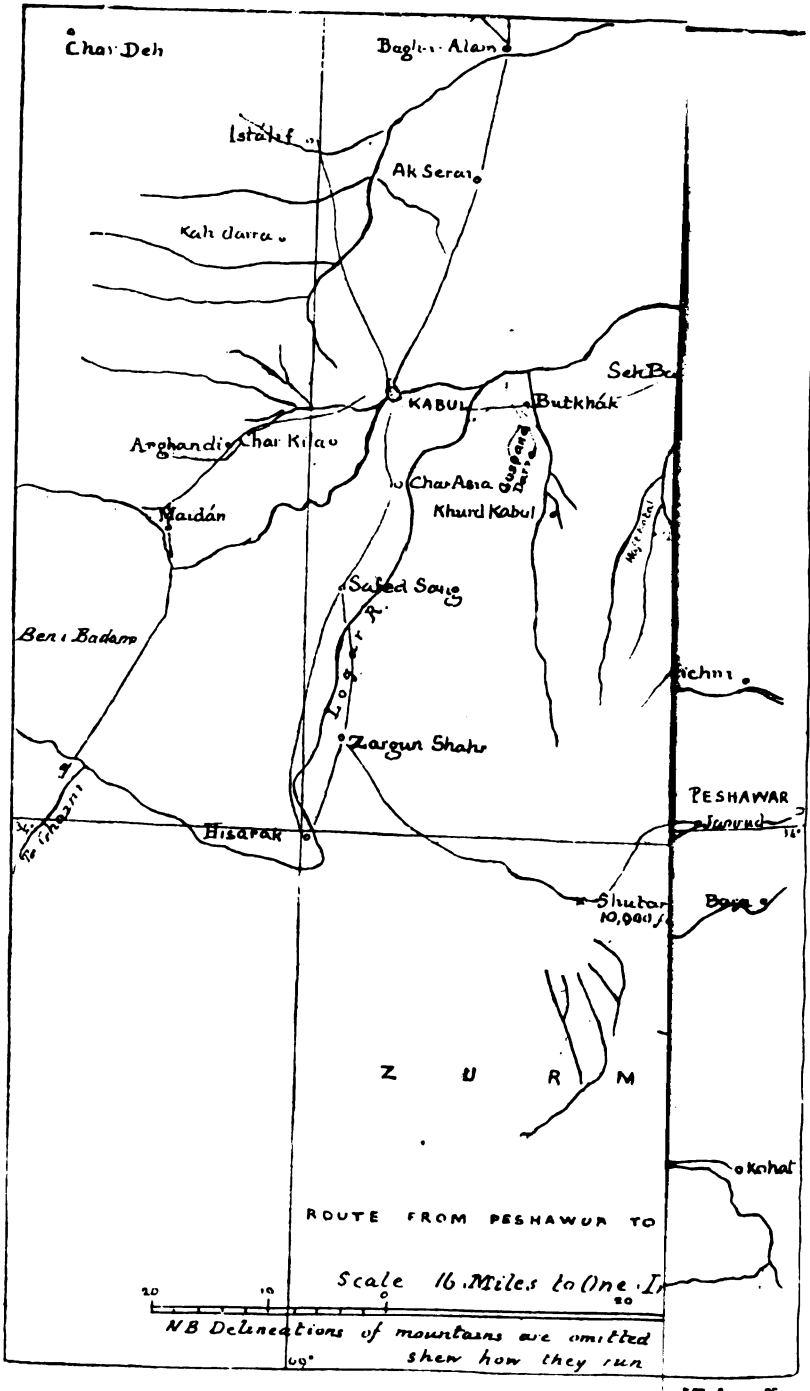

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At Jalálabád.—Half of the same battery under Captain Abbott. 1839. October.

At Bamián.—4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., Lieutenant M. Mackenzie.

At Kandahár.—4th Company 2nd Battery, Lieutenant R. Walker.

At Quetta.—Shah's H.A. (some details at Kandahár).

In Upper Sind, after General Willshire had left for India, the place of the 3rd Troop H.A. was taken by the 1st under Captain J. T. Leslie. The 4th Troop had gone to Deesa, but returned to Sind towards the end of 1840. Its commander, Captain Cotgrave, went on sick leave and was transferred to the 3rd Company 1st Battalion in Lower Sind, and Captain J. S. Leeson was posted to the Troop. The 5th Company of Golandáz was also in Upper Sind, and the 3rd Company 2nd Battalion (Bengal) was at Sukkur.

The operations in Upper Sind and Biluchistán form part of the Trans-Indus Campaigns, but it will only be possible to notice briefly what took place there, premising that most of them were undertaken at the instance of political officers, some of whom were disposed to dragoon the Biluch chiefs into submission.

The defence of Káhan, a fort in the Marri Hills, about 100 miles north of Shikarpur, was the most notable event. Captain Lewis Brown was sent with a small detachment of Native Infantry and Cavalry to occupy it in April, 1840. Lieutenant D. Erskine was sent from Shikarpur with two 12-pounder howitzers. He was attacked with fever at Puláji, and was ordered back, but on Captain Brown's urgent application one howitzer was allowed to go on, and Lieutenant Erskine got up from his bed to accompany it. Káhan was reached on the 11th of May, and Lieutenant Wyndham Clarke was sent back with camels, but his 1840. May.

broken in that Lieutenant Dawes took half the battery to Ghazni with the 48th N.I. the following month, and returned to Kabul escorting Haidar Khán and other State prisoners.

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1840. detachment was attacked by numbers of Marri people and destroyed, when only a few miles on their way. Captain Brown's position with his small force was very perilous, but he and Lieutenant Erskine held the post gallantly. In August. August Major Clibborn, 1st N.I., was sent to reinfore him with a detachment of 464 Infantry, 200 Cavalry, and three field howitzers under Captain H. Stamford, encumbered, however, with a convoy of 1,200 camels and 600 bullocks. Close to Káhan the road went over the Nafusk Hills about 3,000 feet high. A formidable ascent led up to the top of the pass. When Major Billamore had been here in the January before, Lieutenant J. Jacob, of the Bombay Artillery, accomplished the difficult task of making a road over this and the Sartof Pass, otherwise it would have been impracticable. But now the tribes had collected to bar the way; the terrible heat was intensified by the want of water as they went up the hill; and Major Clibborn, after losing 179 killed and 92 wounded and spiking his guns, had to retire to Puláji. Captain Brown subsequently concluded a treaty with the Biluch chief and marched with his men unmolested to Puláji on the 1st of October.

Brigadier Stevenson had died at Sukkur on the 9th of August, and Major-General G. B. Brookes was commanding in Upper Sind. Hearing that Nasír Khán, the young son of the late Khán of Kalát, had collected a large force at Kotra, about seven miles south-west of Gandáva, Colonel Marshall was sent against him. He found a force at December 1st. Pirchatta, attacked and defeated them with loss. Lieutenant Pruen, commanding two guns and a detail 5th Company of Golandáz, was honourably mentioned.

1839. It will be more convenient now to detail the operations immediately under the officer commanding at Kabul.

Some of the chiefs had nominally given in their adhesion to Shah Shuja, but Dost Muhamad was hovering about, and the country was unsettled. As winter approached it was necessary to assign quarters to the troops. At first

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they were placed in the Bálá Hissár, which Lieutenants Durand and Sturt held was the only defensible spot. But the Bálá Hissár belonged to the King; our stay was to be but brief. Shah Shuja would not hear of this being continued, so we yielded to him and the Envoy, and fixed upon a spot to the north of the Kabul River, where an extensive parallelogram was marked out for a cantonment; as a defensive post it was quite unsuitable, not so much from the weakness of the ramparts, for stout hearts behind weak walls will not fear, but it was on low ground commanded on every side, had no flanking defence, and the city itself was a bar to its communication with Ghazni on the south and the Punjab on the east. 1839.

Immediately after the return of Lieutenant Dawes from Ghazni, Captain Abbott's Battery marched, on the 2nd of November, for Jalálabád as part of an escort with Shah Shuja. They only reached that place on the 12th of December. Next month half the battery formed part of a force under Lieut.-Colonel Orchard, C.B., 1st Bengal European Regiment, sent to the Kunar Valley, the chief of which was refractory. The town of Pashút, about forty miles in a direct line north-east of Jalálabád, was reached on the 16th of January. About 400 yards from Pashút stood a fort with a rampart 18 feet high and 10 feet thick at base, with an outer wall at a distance of 10 feet. Such a work could not be breached with field pieces. They demolished the outer gate, however, but a traverse hid the inner one from sight. It had been raining since morning. Lieutenant Pigou took up some bags of country powder to blow open the inner gate, which was of massive construction, but the powder, absorbing additional moisture from the clouds, would not ignite. A second attempt was made with all the powder Captain Abbott could spare, which he advised should be taken up in barrels. The weight, 133 lbs., was thought too great, and it was taken up in two baskets. One did not reach the gate, the other failed, and the

1840 January.

January 18th.

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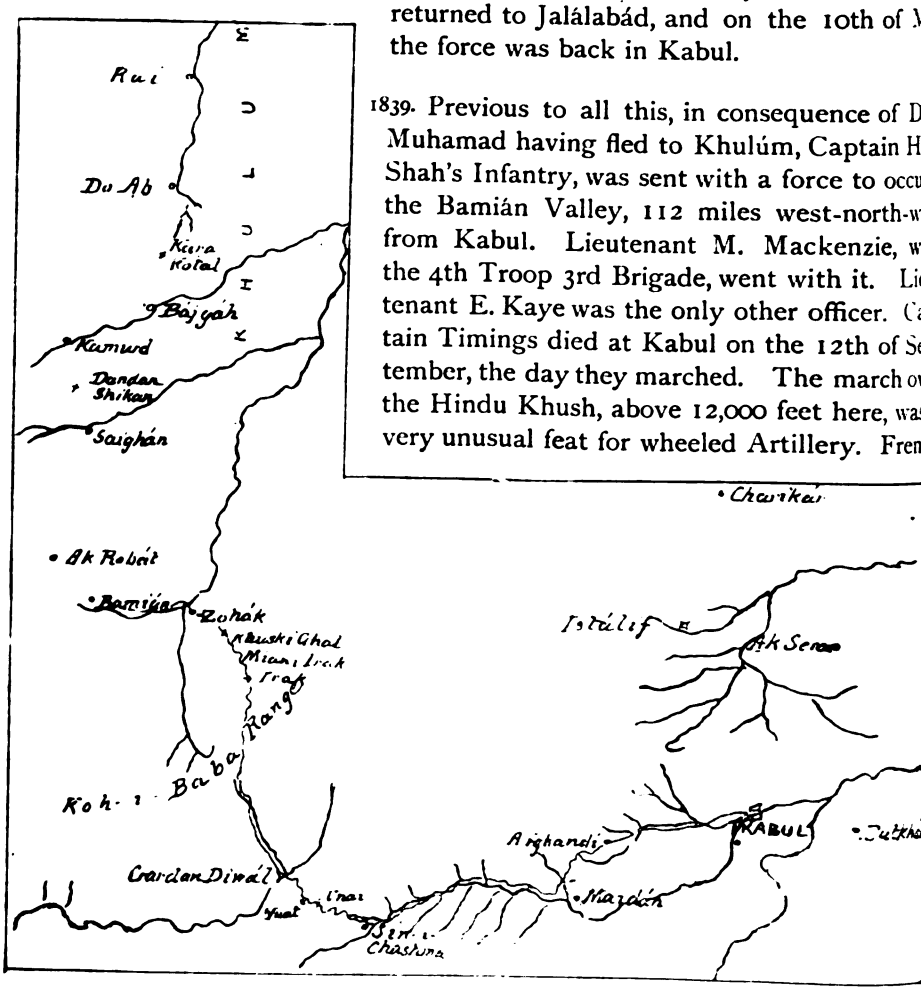
1840. January 18th. attempt was not renewed, but the garrison evacuated the fort t afternoon.

After remaining some time longer in the valley, Colonel Orch returned to Jalálabád, and on the 10th of M the force was back in Kabul.

1839. Previous to all this, in consequence of D Muhamad having fled to Khulúm, Captain H Shah's Infantry, was sent with a force to occu the Bamián Valley, 112 miles west-north-w from Kabul. Lieutenant M. Mackenzie, w the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade, went with it. Li tenant E. Kaye was the only other officer. Ca tain Timings died at Kabul on the 12th of Se tember, the day they marched. The march ov the Hindu Khush, above 12,000 feet here, wa very unusual feat for wheeled Artillery. Fren



troops had done the like before, but not with Hindustani soldier

The difficulties commenced at Arghandi, about 18 miles fro Kabul. After surmounting a steep and rugged pass, they wer

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met by an exploring party under Lieut.-Colonel Salter of the Cavalry, Captain Thomson and Lieutenant Sturt of the Engineers, who reported the ranges beyond impossible for guns, and said they would recommend their recall. Mackenzie, however, went on. The descent from the summit of the first range, somewhat less rough, led into a beautiful valley, through which flowed the Kabul River. The guns were taken along this, ascending to Sir-i-Chashma, the source of the river, as its name signifies. Beyond this, the Koh-i-Bába range separated the Bamián from the Kabul Valley. The Unai Pass (about 11,400 feet) was reached, and the cold was intense. After considerable difficulty, and two days' hard work, the troop encamped on the 21st on the plateau of Yuat, a small mud fort. 1839. September.

Here, in consequence of Major Thomson's report, orders to halt were received. The horses, three guns and their ammunition-wagons were to be sent back, the remaining three to be transported to Bamián on elephants. This was a great disappointment. So much had already been accomplished, the Artillery officers thought the rest might be achieved. Lieutenants W. Broadfoot, of the Shah's Gurkha Regiment,* and M. Mackenzie went on to examine the Irák, the highest pass to be crossed. They reported there was no difficulty which might not be overcome with a little labour. On this, Captain Hay asked for permission to take on the whole troop; and while they waited for a reply from Kabul, Broadfoot collected some Hazáras, and went forward to improve the road, while the troop, for convenience of forage, went on down to Gardan Diwál, on the River Helmand. The permission to proceed was received on the 30th. Three difficult marches brought them to the foot of the Irák Pass. October.

Then commenced a longer and steeper ascent. The guns, limbers, and wagons were dragged up separately, the Infantry and about 200 Hazáras assisting; and after a hard day's work the troop was safely encamped at the October 3rd.

* Belonged to the 1st European Regiment.

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1839. north-west foot of the mountain. The snow of the preceding winter here lay still on the ground.

October 4th. Next day they got through a defile enclosed by steep rocks, keeping it in almost perpetual gloom. Even now the sun's rays only reached the small brook flowing northward for four hours of the day. Then, after many interruptions from dangerous ledges of rock, down a rapid descent to Miáni Irák, where the glen opened out into a small valley with some cultivation and a few inhabitants, many of whom lived in caves.

October 5th. The Khuski ghát was yet to be passed. It was of insignificant height compared with the others, but of greater difficulty, and the march occupied 17 hours. The night was passed in a narrow defile, a mere fissure in the mountain.

October 6th. Crossed the last ridge and encamped at Zohák, where the first snow fell. Next day the troop marched to Bamián, where it was destined to remain for a year and a day. The gunners, being natives of India, were unaccustomed to the cold temperature, but all worked well. The horses were not very much the worse for the scarcity of forage, which lasted till summer crops appeared. The carriages had stood the rough work well, and were favourably reported upon by Lieutenant Mackenzie, to whom, as well as to Lieutenant Kaye, the greatest credit is due for the manner in which the difficulties they encountered were overcome without any accident to either men, horses, or matériel.

The Bamián Valley is a small one, only about 14 miles from Zohák to Surakh-darra (red gate), and from half a mile to less than a hundred yards broad. Three forts, sufficiently contiguous for mutual defence, were selected as winter quarters. They were afterwards connected by field-works.

November. On the 2nd of November a small force was sent to Saighán, 37 miles north of Bamián. Two rivals were contending for the mastery of this valley. Gholám Beg,

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son of the Khulúm chief, was besieging the fort of Sar-i-Sang for the claimant who was in the interest of the Dost. Dr. Lord, the Political Agent, wished to surprise him, and Lieutenant Mackenzie with 65 of his troopers acting as Cavalry, a small party of Christie's Horse, and Lieutenant Broadfoot with 120 of the Shah's Gurkhas mounted on ponies, were sent. The Cavalry out-marched the mounted Infantry, and the Usbegs, caught at their morning meal, fled without a fight. Trifling as the affair was, it led to important results. Dost Muhamad fled from Khulúm to Bukhára, where the Amír made a prisoner of him. 1839. November.

Captain H. Garbett had been posted to the native troop *vice* Timings, and joined it in the beginning of March. He travelled alone from Kandahár, the country being peaceful, and had performed the hundred miles from Arghandi on foot, as the mountains were deeply covered with snow. As senior, he assumed command of the Bamián force. On the 14th he, with two guns under Mackenzie, and four companies of Infantry under Captain Hay, went against some Hazáras who had become defiant. They occupied the fort of Fuládi, six miles from Bamián, and a neighbouring hill. The gate of the fort was forced by round-shot at 30 paces, and after a severe but short resistance the place was taken. A gunner of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion, a laboratory man, killed while trailing one of the guns, and a trooper wounded were the only Artillery casualties. 1840. March.

In May a further advance was made by the Political Agent towards Khulúm, and the fort of Bájgáh in the Kamurd Valley was occupied. It was a wrong move. Sir W. MacNaghten, the Envoy, did not object, for he did not see that we were everywhere occupying more ground than we had men to hold—a common mistake. It roused the jealousy of tribes hitherto generally quiet, and when the Dost escaped from confinement at Bukhára, things became unsettled and hostilities gradually thickened around. May.

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1840. August. Captain Hay's position at Bájgáh was unsafe. Hearing that Lieutenant Golding was coming with a reinforcement, he sent, on the 1st of August, a party under a sergeant, Douglas by name, to meet him, but this small force was attacked by greatly superior numbers and compelled to retire with severe loss. Only good management and the coolness of the leader saved them from destruction. This encouraged the insurgents, and Bájgáh was attacked on the 30th, but they were driven off. It was, however, thought better to withdraw from the place. They got as far as Sar-i-Sang, which was made over to a friendly chief, and the party returned to Bamián.

September. To meet the Dost and his ally, the Wali of Khulúm, Brigadier W. H. Dennie, C.B., had been ordered to Bamián with the 35th N.I. On the 18th he moved out with a part of his force, having heard that they had passed the defile of Surakh-darra, six miles distant. He found them in possession of the forts before the defile, and in greater numbers than was anticipated, but attacked with a promptitude for which they were unprepared. The Gurkhas dislodged them from the heights on either flank, while Lieutenant Mackenzie, with a gun and howitzer, went in for the main body. His practice, the Brigadier reports, was beautiful. The success was complete. The enemy fled, pursued by the Cavalry for some distance.

A larger force, with four of Captain Garbett's guns, was sent on, but the Dost, refusing to submit, fled to Nijrao. The Wali entered into a treaty, and the objects of the expedition to Bamián were considered to have been fulfilled.

Altogether, the service performed by the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade reflected the highest credit on its officers and the regiment. The name of Lieutenant Murray Mackenzie, till his career was closed in the eventful year of 1857, was thenceforth honourably known in the regiment, particularly in the Horse Artillery, in which he served, almost uninterruptedly, for more than twenty years.

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On the 8th of October, 1840, the troop returned to Kabul with the rest of the force under Brigadier Dennie. Three months later it accompanied Colonel Wheler's Column, escorting Dost Muhamad, to India, and arrived at Ferozepore February 5th, 1841. 1840. September.

While the movements of the Dost were keeping the country in a state of ebullition, Major-General Sir R. Sale was sent into the Kohistán, north of Kabul, with three regiments of Infantry and details of Cavalry. Captain Abbott, with three guns and a howitzer, and two of the Shah's H.A. under Lieutenant Warburton, accompanied it. Sept. 24th

The fort of Tutandarra was taken on the 29th of September with but little loss, which the Major-General ascribed to "the excellent practice of the Artillery under the able direction of Captain Abbott, assisted by Lieutenants Maule* and Warburton."

The fort of Julgáh was attacked on the 3rd of next month. Here the resistance was more serious. The storming party had to be withdrawn under cover, and while preparations for a second attack were being made, the place was evacuated. Captain Abbott and Lieutenant Warburton were again mentioned with approbation. A gunner of the Field Battery was killed, and a subadar of the Horse Artillery wounded. The other two guns of the battery joined it this month. October.

For some days there was no fighting of importance, but on the 27th the Dost began to move from the Nijrao country towards Kabul. On the 29th Sale advanced from Bagh-i-Alam, and, after reconnoitring, met the Dost at Parwán-darra. The misconduct of the squadron of the 2nd Light Cavalry, which refused to follow their officers in a charge, might have caused disaster. Only the advanced guard of our force was engaged. After the flight of our men, the enemy's Cavalry, though headed by the Nov. 2nd.

* Lieutenant Maule was in command of a regiment of Infantry raised in the Kohistán, but on this occasion served with the Field Battery.

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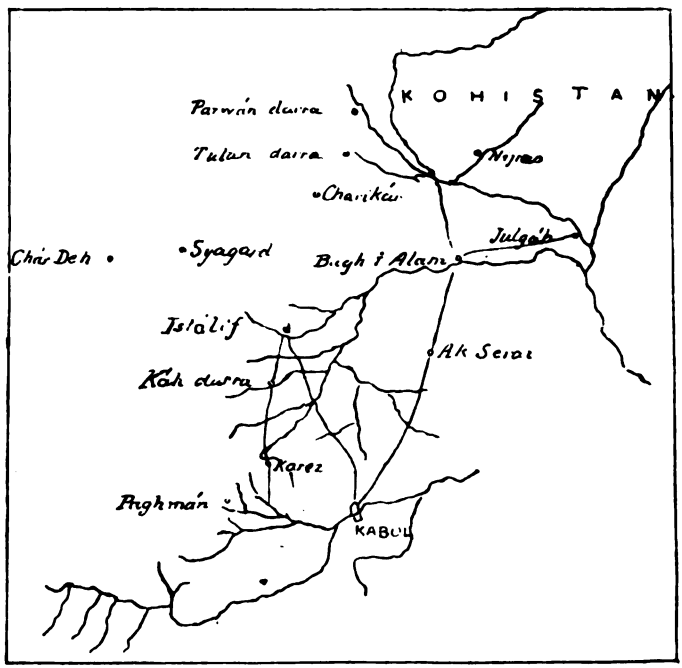
1840. Nov. 2nd. Dost, did not come down upon the Infantry. Sale sent two companies round to the right, while Lieutenant Dawes with two guns covered an attack by three companies on a steep hill to the left, which was crowded by the foe. It was carried, and the enemy retired towards Chárikár. Lieutenants Rind, who commanded this attack, and Dawes were honourably mentioned in the dispatch. Next day, Nov. 3rd. Dost Muhamad Khan had surrendered himself to Sir W. MacNaghten under the walls of Kabul.

General Sale's force was now recalled, leaving detachments in Kohistán. Lieutenant Maule with his Kohis-



tani Regiment was stationed at Chárikár. Captain Abbott's battery, H.M. 13th and the 37th N.I., were sent to occupy the new cantonment. A Brigade under Lieut.-Colonel John Shelton, H.M. 44th, was on its way from India to relieve part of the Afghan garrison: H.M. 44th, the 54th

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N.I., and 5th Light Cavalry. The 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A. (F., R.H.A.) and a Mountain Train Battery, which Captain Backhouse had gone back to raise,* manned by natives, completed the force. Major-General W. H. Elphinstone, C.B., was coming from Meerut to relieve Sir W. Cotton. Lieutenant V. Eyre appointed Deputy-Commissary of Ordnance at Kabul also. Ranjit Singh was dead. His son, Karak Singh, and grandson, Nonehál Singh, who would have been more troublesome to us, were dead. The Máhárája Sher Singh had no real power. The Prime Minister, Dhián Singh, had his own ambitious designs in view, and had he attained to the control of the Sikh ráj, would perhaps, like his brother Guláb Singh, have considered that his best interests were near to those of the power across the Sutlej, if only he could get the great Sirdárs to forget the meanness of his origin. So the road through the Punjab was more open, much as the Khalsa soldiery resented our using it. 1840. Nov. 3rd.

Major-General Elphinstone arrived in Kabul on the 1st of April and assumed command. Brigadier Shelton had got as far as Jalálabád, when the Brigade was ordered to return to Jamrud by forced marches on account of reported hostilities on the part of the Sikhs, but was not required, and went on again. Captain Nicholl's horses were reduced in condition by the constant marching and being kept in rear of the Infantry. There were also some unimportant operations in February in the Nazian Valley. 1841.

* When Captain Backhouse returned to India to form his Mountain Train Battery, the details of the matériel and equipment of their pieces were pretty much as they had been at the time of the Nipal War. Captain Backhouse had served in Spain under Sir de Lacy Evans, and used the experience he had there gained. He remodelled both in many respects, replacing cheek by beam-trails; the shafts of the limber were altered; the saddles of his own design, and the ammunition-boxes adapted for the mules of the country. He had considerable mechanical aptitude and judgment, Colonel C. Douglas says, and he was a good judge of such matters. Captain Abbott's 9-pounder guns were of 10 cwt., a weight introduced at his suggestion, and his carriages were stronger than the old pattern ones, which he found too weak, and not too heavy for his Kabul horses.

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1840 Reverting now to Major-General Nott's proceedings in his command, we find the Ghilzai people between Kandahár and Kabul again troublesome in April, 1840. Captains T. Walker and A. W. Tayler had been sent to keep the road open, each with 100 mounted men. But this force not
May 6th being strong enough, Nott sent for Captain Anderson (Shah's H.A.) to ask him if he could march the following morning with a regiment of foot, 300 horsemen, and four guns. He replied that the Artillery were always ready; so next morning the detachment was under arms, Captain Woodburn with the 5th Regiment S.S.I. being sent. Following the course of the Tarnak River, he met Walker and
May 14th. Tayler at Naorat. He had sent back part of his Cavalry under a mistaken idea that the enemy were weak in that arm. Two days after he came up with the Ghilzai force posted on some hills near Tazi, about 2,500 men. The action was well contested. The Ghilzais charged twice. The first charge was repulsed by Lieutenant Turner's guns —the second at the point of the bayonet by Lieutenant Spence and the Grenadiers of the 5th Regiment. Captains Walker and Tayler had been detached to the flanks, and fell upon them as they retreated. The success would have been more complete had Anderson been stronger in Cavalry, but it had the desired result of keeping the tribes quiet for a time.

Colonel Wallace was sent on the 22nd of May from Kabul to co-operate. He had with him half of Abbott's Battery and two mortars, which remained a short time at Ghazni under Nott's orders, and then returned to Kabul.

The whole of Upper Sind was becoming disturbed, and Biluchistán also. The garrison of Quetta was strengthened in May by the 1st Troop Shah's H.A. under Lieutenant Cooper from Kandahár. Some Biluch people were establishing themselves in Kalát, so Major-General Nott, moving down, arrived on the 2nd of November, and reoccupied the place. He left Lieut.-Colonel L. R. Stacy with the 43rd Ben-

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gal N.I. to hold it, and returned to Kandahár. Lieutenant Walker, with a detail of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion and two 18-pounder guns, accompanied this force. Lieutenant Cooper, who had gone on to Kalát, was again left at Quetta, where he remained till the following February. The 4th Troop Bombay H.A. had left that station on the 27th of September for Upper Sind. The 3rd Company 1st Battalion was also there. 1840. 35 Fd. Batt. R.A. N-A. R.H.A. Reduced 1884. 30 Fd. Batt. R.A.

The 1st Troop went to Bágh on the 14th of January, 1841. It formed part of a force under Colonel Wilson of the Cavalry sent against Sibi, a fort a few miles north-east of Dhádar, now a station on the line of railway to Quetta. The attack seems to have been a very unjustifiable one.* Colonel Wilson was badly wounded early in the affair. Captain Leslie with his guns were in position at 200 yards for half an hour, and then at 100 yards. The storming party was badly supported and received a check. Lieutenant Richard Creed, with 20 dismounted Horse Artillerymen, volunteered to head and lead on again the stormers. He was shot through the head in the gateway,† five of his men were killed, and several wounded. Again they were not supported, and the attack failed. Captain Blood was wounded. The fort was, however, evacuated. 1841. Feb. 20th.

Soon after, H.M. 40th, the 38th Bengal, and 25th Bombay N.I. were moved up to Quetta.

West of Kandahár the Duráni tribe in Zamindáwar had become very troublesome, and General Nott sent Colonel Farrington with a detachment against them in the end of the year. Lieutenant Hawkins, with two guns of the 1st Troop S.S.H.A. They marched by Khushki-ná-khud, crossed the River Helmand, and occupied the fort of Girishk. Moving on from thence, the enemy were found on 1840. December. 1841. January.

* Buist, p. 231-2.

† Lieutenants Richard and Henry Creed, Adjutants respectively of the 2nd and 1st Battalions Bombay Artillery, were both good officers. They were twin brothers, born March 27th, 1812; entered Addiscombe at the age of 14, and were commissioned at 16. The surviving brother went home on leave this month.

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1841. January. the 3rd posted among sandhills near Landi-náwa, a canal in their rear. After a well-contested action they were routed with considerable loss. Lieutenant Hawkins was thanked for his services on this occasion.

February. Next month Captain Anderson, with the rest of his guns, was ordered up from Quetta.

April. In April, Captains Griffin and Macan, with the 1st and 2nd Shah's Infantry and some of Christie's Horse, were sent to occupy Kalát-i-Ghilzai, and put it in a defensible state. Their proceedings roused the Tokhi Ghilzais, who sur-

May. rounded their position. Lieut.-Colonel Wymer was sent with 400 of the 38th Bengal N.I., the rest of Christie's Horse, and two guns under Hawkins. The Ghilzai people attacked their camp at Asia Elmi in great force at 5 p.m. They renewed their attacks till long after dark, and after a severe struggle retreated. Colonel Wymer in his despatch says :—

"Too much cannot be said of the scientific and destructive manner in which the Artillery practice was conducted by Lieutenant Hawkins, which created awful havoc in the ranks of the enemy, to the admiration of all present."

A month after, Akhtar Khan having invested Girisk, Captain Woodburn was sent with the 5th S.S.I., some Jánbáz Horse, and a detail* of the 1st Troop S.S.H.A. under Lieutenant Cooper. The enemy held the fords of

July 3rd. the River Helmand in great force. Captain Hart with the

July 4th. Cavalry crossed to cover a similar movement on the part of the Infantry, but the water was too deep, and Woodburn moved up to Zamboli to join him. He, seeing the difficulty, had recrossed. But Akhtar had forded still higher up, and was coming down on their right, so Woodburn had to form front to that flank.

The guns were in the centre of the Infantry, the Cavalry on either flank. The enemy assailed his left first, but the

* Two guns by one account, four by another. If the former, Lieutenant Cooper was reinforced by two more when Captain Griffin joined in August.

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well-directed fire of the guns and three companies on that wing repulsed the attack. The manœuvre was repeated on the right, where there were five companies, with a like result. Again, on the right and rear the Jánbáz, more from treachery than cowardice, would not act, and got into confusion, hampering the rest. 1841. July.

"This was a most trying moment. The Cavalry were broken, and nothing now remained to depend on save the guns and Infantry. The enemy . . . continued to advance till within a few yards of the guns, when a discharge of grape and a volley from the Grenadiers staggered, another completely broke, and a third sent them to the right about, retiring by the left. They were again exposed to a heavy fire . . . It was now eleven o'clock . . . when day broke . . . the plain was strewed with dead." *

The affair was a most creditable one to the Artillery and Infantry. Captain Woodburn, in his dispatch of the 5th, says:—

"Lieutenant Cooper deserves my best acknowledgments for the rapidity and admirable manner in which he brought his guns to play upon the enemy. . . . His guns are never in difficulties. . . .

"It is also my duty to bring most prominently to the Major-General's notice the admirable conduct of the Artillery and 5th Infantry throughout the night of the 3rd inst., and to state my conviction that no troops could have displayed greater coolness and bravery than they did on every occasion. They moved from one position to another, not only without confusion, but with nearly as much precision and regularity as if they had been going through an ordinary parade." †

This force being too small to accomplish its object, Captain J. Griffin, 24th B.N.I., was sent out. His force, including Captain Woodburn, consisted of 800 sabres, 350 bayonets, and four guns. He met the enemy at Kháwind

* Extract of a letter from an officer engaged. "Asiat. Journ.," Vol. XXXVI., Intell., p. 183. The word "guns" should be in the singular; the Grenadier Company and one gun were faced about to meet the attack on the rear.—*Vide* Dispatch.

† Government Notification, Secret Department, Fort William, 9th August, 1841.

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1841. August 17th. and signally defeated them. Lieutenant Cooper was again mentioned. Artillery casualty, one man wounded.

September. Next month, Lieut.-Colonel Wymer took another force into the Deráwat and Tírín Valleys, north of Kandahár. There were four guns S.S.H.A. and two 18-pounders, with a detail of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion present, but they had no fighting.

Sept. 28th. From Kabul, in the same month, a force under Lieut.-Colonel Oliver was sent into the Zurmat Valley, south of the capital. Captain Abbott commanded the Artillery, with two divisions of his battery, the Mountain Train, and two iron 9-pounder guns. They returned without coming in contact with any enemy.

December. The Artillery in Afghanistan now were thus distributed :—

F., R.H.A. Kabul.—1st Troop 1st Bde. H.A., 2nd Co. 6th Batt. Mountain Train.

35 Fd. Batt. Kalát-i-Ghilzai.—Half 4th Co. 2nd Batt.

T., R.H.A. 30 Fd. Batt. R.A. Kandahár.—1st and 2nd Troops S.S.H.A, half 4th Co. 2nd Batt., four guns 3rd Co. 1st Batt. Bo. Arty,

13 Co. S. Div. Quetta.—3rd Co. 2nd Batt.

Major-General Sale was under orders to return to India with his Brigade, H.M. 13th, 35th and 37th N.I., and the 2nd Co. 6th Batt. And from Kandahár the 16th, 42nd, and 43rd N.I., with the 4th Co. 2nd Batt., were under orders to return to Bengal, *viâ* Sind. General Sale was sent in October to clear the passes towards Jalálabád, which the tribes, owing to the cessation of the payments hitherto made to them, had closed. His movements belong to the next chapter.

On the 2nd of November the storm, long gathering, burst, and the first English blood that was shed was that of Sir Alexander Burnes, his brother, and Lieutenant William Broadfoot, whose surviving brother was with Sale's force.

It is useless going over all the well-known miserable

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story. The same fatal mistake repeated at Cawnpore 16 years after, of neglecting to occupy with the troops, their armament and stores, the only defensible position available, and thence meeting the insurrection with prompt and vigorous measures, prepared the way for disaster. Our position in the country politically was hopelessly bad; in a military sense it was not much better. The defective position of the cantonment has been referred to (p. 27), but the fault of placing the commissariat stores in a weak, detached fort, out of range of cantonment command, made it more than unsafe. But worse than all, indecision in the military authorities and its certain consequence, panic in the ranks, when the opposite qualities were most needed, completed our defeat. Yet amid all, the conduct of regimental officers and of individuals threw an honourable light over the dark history; and it will always be told with pride of our regiment that in the days of England's deepest humiliation, the Bengal Horse Artillery maintained, as they did, the proud traditions of their arm, and the honour of their country. It will only be necessary, before concluding this chapter, to add the regimental order and Lieutenant Eyre's letter, which tells the story. 1841.

The outbreak at Kabul was the signal for a general uprising throughout Afghanistan. Lieutenant Maule, commanding the Kohistani levy, was at Káhdarra. He and his Adjutant were murdered by their men; Major Eldred Pottinger and Lieutenant Haughton, both wounded, made their way into Kabul. Ghazni and Kalát-i-Ghilzai were invested. After the disastrous action of Behmaru on the 23rd of November it ceased to be a question of defence. Sir W. MacNaghten commenced to negotiate. Muhamad Akbar Khan had just arrived. The Brigade under Lieut.-Colonel Maclaren, which Nott was to have sent from Kandahár, was not heard of. It was known on the 10th of December that it was not likely to make good its way. The Envoy had an interview with Akbar Khan and the other chiefs on the 11th, and preparations for the retreat November.

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1841. November. began. The magazine and other forts were given up on the 16th. While waiting for the Afghan chiefs to provide provisions and carriage, snow began to fall. Another conference took place on the 23rd, and the Envoy was shot by Akbar Khan. Major Pottinger took his place, and unwillingly completed whatever terms the Afghan chief imposed. Hostages were made over; all our guns save six were delivered up.

1842. January. On the 6th of January the army commenced its retreat. The snow laid deep on the ground and the cold was intense. Savage Gházi fanatics reaped an easy harvest with the sword. The mountain train guns next day were lost, in spite of all that Lieutenant Greene could do with his men to save them, but he spiked them all. More hostages were demanded and given up. By the end of the second day the entrance of the Khurd Kabul Pass had been reached; only ten miles from Kabul.

Next day the slaughter in the pass was fearful. Pottinger was with the Afghan chief, who now proposed that all the ladies and children should be given up. It was January 9th. done. There was no choice left. Next day Dr. Alexander Bryce, of the Horse Artillery, was killed at Tazín. Fifty Horse Artillerymen, about 250 of the 44th and 150 Cavalry troopers were all that now remained. Jezails and Afghan knives each mile were rapidly thinning the numbers. Brigadier Shelton bravely led the remains of his regiment, to which descipline and courage had returned. Jagdallak was reached on the afternoon of the 11th. In that defile the following day Brigadier Anquetil and eleven other officers fell—among them Captain Nicholl and Lieutenant Greene, but the exact spot or time is not known. But few left for Gandamak on the 13th. Captain Souter, of the 44th, with the regimental colours round his waist, and three or four privates were taken prisoners. Charles Stewart, last of the Artillery, fell. Only six officers passed the defile, and but one of them, Assistant-Surgeon Brydon, alone of the entire force reached Jalálabád.

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"ARTILLERY REGIMENTAL ORDERS. 1841.

"10*th March*, 1843.

"The total absence of official details on the subject has hitherto prevented the Commandant from noticing the conduct of the late 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A. during the insurrection at, and disastrous retreat from, Cabul. He now publishes extracts from a letter received yesterday from Lieutenant V. Eyre, late Commissary of Ordnance, as a public record of the high state of discipline and determined bravery exhibited by this gallant and devoted Troop on all occasions.

"It will always be a subject of sincere gratification to reflect on the noble manner in which they sustained the character of the corps under the severest trials, and in a climate that multiplied a hundredfold the difficulties with which they had to contend, whilst their fate in the unequal struggle demands the deepest sympathy.

"Extracts of a letter to Captain Buckle, A.A.G.A.:—

"'It is necessary to premise that at the commencement of the rebellion on the 2nd November, 1841, a portion of General Elphinstone's force was sent to occupy the Bala Hissár, and the remainder was concentrated in the cantonment. To the former, Captain Nicholl and Lieutenant Stewart were attached with four guns, and to the latter Brevet-Captain Waller with two guns. On the 9th of November, Captain Nicholl, by order of the General, strengthened Captain Waller's detachment by a single gun. . .

"'The first active service performed in the field by the Horse Artillery was on the afternoon of the 3rd of November, when a sally was made under Major Swayne, 5th N.I., and a body of the enemy was defeated principally by the fire of the guns. On this occasion Captain Waller was severely wounded, and from that date up to the 22nd of November, when I was myself disabled, the virtual command of the H.A. detachment in cantonments devolved upon me. During this period several severe actions took place with the enemy, in all of which our arms were more or less successful. . . . . Two great actions were fought on the 10th and 13th, against the collective force of the enemy, amounting on each occasion to several thousands of Horse and Foot, in which our side was completely triumphant, and two of their guns were captured.* November.

* Lieutenant Eyre does not say that on the second of these two occasions it was the conduct of Anderson's Horse, supported by the

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1841. November. "'Provisions, of which there had been from the beginning an alarming scarcity, soon began entirely to fail; the cold of winter set in with unusual vigour; the defence of our long line of low ramparts grievously harassed the troops; the guns placed in battery at the several angles of the cantonment required the constant attendance of the Artillerymen by day and night.

"'The gunners from first to last never once partook of a full meal, or obtained their natural rest; of the hardships undergone it would be difficult to convey an adequate idea.

"'During the whole of this most trying period, the behaviour of the Horse Artillerymen was distinguished by a degree of patience, cheerfulness, zeal, and fortitude that excited the unbounded admiration of every eye-witness, and filled the heart of every Artillery officer with pride and delight."

"'On the 23rd of November, Brigadier Shelton sallied forth with about 700 bayonets and one gun, which (there being no Artillery officer available) was commanded by Sergeant Mulhall.* An immense army of Afghans poured forth to battle, and a terrible conflict ensued. Sergeant Mulhall and his brave gun's crew committed great havoc amid the dense masses of the enemy, exhibiting a very high degree of professional skill, but their efforts, though partially successful, were ineffectual to repel the overwhelming hosts of assailants. Galled by the fatal fire of Afghan rifles, the Infantry lost heart and fled, abandoning our gun to its fate. Staunch to the last, the Artillerymen stood by their charge† until they were nearly all exterminated, Sergeant Mulhall himself escaping by a miracle, with his clothes perforated with bullets in divers places.

"'In the public report of this day's operations, Brigadier Shelton did ample justice to the Artillery Sergeant and his devoted little detachment, but the document has, I fear, been lost.

On the 14th of December, a treaty having been entered into,

guns (one H.A. and one of the M.T.) which saved the day, and turned actual rout into something like success, with two guns, one captured, the other spiked, to show for it. See the account in Kaye.

* Staff-Sergeant.

† The gun was lost and again recaptured. Captain Johnson thus gives his testimony: "As before, the Artillerymen were the last to leave; and it was a glorious sight to see these brave men dashing down the steep descent at the most furious rate in the midst of thousands of the enemy's Cavalry, regardless of everything but the safety of their gun." Brigadier Shelton's conduct on this occasion showed that if pluck alone in the leader could have availed, the day would have ended differently. It should be also borne in mind that the smooth-bore musket was quite ineffective at a range where the Afghan jezail was still deadly. Captain Abbott saw a horse killed at 600 yards by a matchlock ball ("Journal," p. 100). Brown Bess did not carry much more than half that.

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1841. November.

our troops were withdrawn from the Bala Hissár, and Captain Nicholl, on arriving in cantonments, requested me to send in a report of the conduct of his men, which I did, but that also was subsequently lost on the retreat.

"'That the Horse Artillery sustained their high fame to the last is well known. On the retreat of the army from Cabul, owing to the starved condition of the horses, which disabled them from pulling the guns through the deep snow and rugged mountain passes, the guns were, one by one, spiked and abandoned. In the Khoord Cabul Pass a whole gun's crew perished rather than desert their charge, and on nearing Jugdulluk, some Horse Artillerymen, headed by Captain Nicholl, acting as Dragoons, charged and routed a party of the enemy's Cavalry.

"'Throughout the last struggle, up to Gundamuk, all eye-witnesses concur in testifying to their stubborn valour.

"'They died like true soldiers, selling their lives dearly.

"'Only three men escaped with life, being taken prisoners. Two others, who were left behind with the detachment of wounded at Cabul, also survived.'

"The above order to be read at a parade of each Troop and Company in the Regiment."

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APPENDIX.

A. Officers of Bengal Artillery who served in Afghanistan 1840-41.

B. Officers of Bombay Artillery who served in Afghanistan 1840-41.

C. Inscription on Column, Dum Dum.

D. Glossary of names.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Names of Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in Afghanistan during the years 1840–41.

Major	Frederick S. Sotheby ...	...	Comdg. Arty. with Gen. Nott
Captain	Thomas Nicholl	1st Troop 1st Bde.	Killed in retreat.
,,	Augustus Abbott	2nd Co. 6th Batt.	
,,	Hubert Garbett	4th Troop 3rd Bde.	
,,	William Anderson ...	...	Comdg. Shah Shuja's H.A.
,,	Julius B. Backhouse ...	...	Comdg. Mtn. Train
,,	James Abbott	...	Pol. Emp.—Wounded
Bt.-Captain	Elliot D'A. Todd... ...	...	Pol. Emp.—Remanded to Regtl. duty
,,	George H. Macgregor ...	...	Pol. Emp.
,,	Robert Waller	1st Troop 1st Bde.	
Lieutenant	Frederick W. Cornish ...	3rd Co. 2nd Batt.	
,,	George L. Cooper ...	1st Troop S.S.H.A.	
,,	Richmond C. Shakespear	...	P. Emp.—Went home through Russia.
,,	Robert Walker	4th Co. 2nd Bat.	
,,	Richard Maule	...	Comdg. Regt. of Kohistanis, killed at Kahdara, 15 Nov., 1841
,,	Vincent Eyre	...	Comy. of Ord., Kabul
,,	Murray Mackenzie ...	4th Troop 3rd Bde.	
,,	Charles Stewart	1st Troop 1st Bde.	Killed in retreat.
,,	Michael Dawes	2nd Co. 6th Batt.	
,,	Frank Turner	2nd Troop S.S.H.A.	
,,	Robert Warburton ...	...	Pol. Emp.
,,	Alexander W. Hawkins...	1st Troop 1st Bde.	With Shah Shuja's H.A.
,,	Edward Kaye	4th Troop 3rd Bde.	
,,	Charles A. Greene ...	Mount. Train	Killed in retreat.
,,	Thomas Brougham ...	3rd Co. 2nd Batt.	
,,	Alexander Robertson ...	4th Co. 6th Batt.	
Asst.-Surg.	Alexander Bryce, M.D....	1st Troop 1st Bde.	Killed in retreat.
,,	Edward Hare	2nd Co. 6th Batt.	
,,	Herbert Koe	3rd Co. 2nd Batt.	
,,	George Rae	S.S.H.A.	
,,	Andrew Paton	2nd Co. 6th Batt.	

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NOTE B.

Names of Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served in Sind an Afghanistan during the years 1840–41.

Lieut.-Col.	Thos. Stevenson, C.B. ...	...	Brigadier comdg. Sind. Died 9 Aug., 1840, at Su kur.
Bt.-Major	John Lloyd	...	Comdg. Arty. in Sin
Captain	John S. Leeson	4th Troop	
,,	John T. Leslie	1st Troop	
,,	Francis J. Pontardent ...	3rd Co. 1st Batt.	
,,	Thos. E. Cotgrave ...	{ 3rd Co. 1st Batt. } { 3rd Co. Gol. ... }	On sick leave, 14t Dec., 1841.
,,	Henry Stamford	...	Comy. Ordnanc Bombay, in Sin 26th Dec., 1840.
,,	Wm. T. Whitlie	2nd Co. 2nd Batt.	
,,	John Grant	...	Comy. Ord., Sukkur.
Bt.-Captain	Clements Blood	{ 1st Troop ... } { 3rd Co. 1st Batt. }	G.O., Sept. 15th, 184
,,	Richard Warden	...	Comy. Ordnance.
,,	George Hutt	...	Brigade-Major Arty.
Lieutenant	Wm. A. St. Clair... ...	4th Troop	
,,	Henry Giberne	{ 5th Co. Gol. ... } { 3rd Co. 1st Batt. }	Doing duty from Rev Survey.
,,	Eldred Pottinger, C.B. ...	...	Political Employ.
,,	John Jacob	1st Troop	Doing duty from Rev Survey, after i comm. Sind Hors
,,	Richard Creed	2nd Batt.	Adjt.—Killed at Sibi 20th Feb., 1841.
,,	Henry Creed	1st Batt.	Adjt.—On leave fron Feb., 1841.
,,	Thos. Gaisford	...	On leave from 5t Nov., 1840.
,,	Edward S. Blake... ...	Det. Gol.	Upper Sind.—Adj Comy. Ordnanc to Dec., 1840.
,,	George A. Pruen... ...	...	At Sukkur.
,,	David Erskine	Det. Gol.	Upper Sind.
,,	George P. Sealy	Det. Gol.	Commissariat Kotra June, 1841.
,,	Walter S. Terry	4th Troop	Attached to 1st Troop G.O., 15th Sept. 1841.
2nd-Lieut.	Reginald B. Brett ...	4th Troop	
Asst.-Surg.	A. H. Leith	1st Troop	To Political Agency.
,,	J. Cramond	4th Troop	
,,	R. T. C. Baxter	1st Troop	*vice* Leith.

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NOTE C.

Inscription on the Column erected at Dum Dum.

On the West Face of Pedestal.

To the Memory of Captain Thomas Nicholl, Lieut. Charles Stewart, Sergeant M. Mulhall
And the Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the 1st Troop 1st Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery,
Who fell in the performance of their duty during the insurrection at, and retreat from Cabul
In the months of November and December, 1841, and January, 1842, on which occasion of
Unprecedented trial, officers and men upheld, in the most noble manner, the character of the
Regiment to which they belonged. This gallant band formed the oldest Troop in the Bengal
Artillery; it had previously been distinguished on numerous occasions, having served
In Egypt, the Mahratta and Nepaul Wars, and in Ava.

Also to the Memory of the undermentioned officers of the Artillery

Lieut. Charles Alexander Greene,

Who perished in command of a detail of Shah Shooja's Mountain Train, and whose gallant conduct emulated that of his comrades;

Lieutenant Richard Maule,

Who was killed on the outbreak of the insurrection in Nov., 1841,

And Lieut. Alexander Christie,

Killed in the Khyber Pass on the return of the victorious army under the command of

Major-General Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., of the Bengal Artillery.

This Column is erected by the Regiment as a tribute of admiration, regard, and regret.
Fortis cadere non cedere potest.
1844

On the North Face of Pedestal.

NAMES OF THE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN.

SERGEANTS.	ROUGH-RIDERS.	J. King	P. Murray
J. Mosely	T. Smith	W. Turnock	R. Moore
E. Cole	T. Biles	F. Bunk	T. Lythgoe
J. Ashton	FARRIERS.	T. Monks	W. Parsby
J. Cook	T. Colley	J. Farley	G. Warvell
C. Buckley	W. Carter	W. Paul	E. Croker
J. Connolly	TRUMPETERS.	A. Alger	T. Molony
CORPORALS.	J. Howard	W. Mealy	M. McDonnell
L. Sweetman	J. McEvoy	W. Jones	E. McCarthy
W. Dixon	W. Sudders	J. Ashton	T. Finn
R. Edmonds	GUNNERS.	A. Glynn	M. Ryan
W. Wicks	M. Frasher	E. Short	M. O'Brien
J. O'Donnohoe	J. Jones	M. Delany	G. Phillips
R. Alleyn	J. Daly	R. Howarth	M. Coen
BOMBARDIERS.	A. Easton	Jno. Reilly	W. Browne
T. Townley	J. Ahern	Jas. Reilly	J. Jackson
L. Tool	A. Strammers	M. Reynolds	M. Brien
A. Thompson	J. Ellis	D. Walsh	R. Adams
J. Macnamara	C. Darkin	J. Walsh	J. Birch
T. Jarman	J. Goulding	P. MacNamara	J. Byard
J. Black	T. Egan	J. Cook	J. Glindon
E. Allen	H. May	J. Higgins	J. Flaherty
A. Bruce	J. Styles	P. Dunn	T. Mack
T. Kennington	M. Conlan	J. Dunn	R. Byrchell
W. Blease	P. Maher	H. Desmond	J. Southcombe
C. Colson	W. Donaghue	P. McPhillips	

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NOTE D.

The following translations of words which enter into the composition of names of places in Afghanistan will be found of use:—

Asia, a mill.
Char-asia, four mills.
Bárík-áb, narrow water; a slender stream.
Beg, little.
Deh, properly Dih, a village.
Dar, Darra, a door.
Haft, seven.
Hazár, a thousand.
Karez, a watercourse; subterranean canal.
Khel, a tribe, or subdivision of one.
Khurd, little.
Kotal, a defile.
Land (Landí, diminutive), short.
Ribát, inn; serai.
Safed Sang, white rock.
Siyah Sang, black rock.
Surakh-áb, red stream.

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CHAPTER III.

AFGHAN WAR—EVACUATION—1842.

KANDAHÁR.—Colonel Maclaren ordered towards Kabul—Returns—Insurgents Attacked—Distribution of Artillery—Nott crosses the Arghand-áb—Kandahár Attacked—Wymer defeats Insurgents at Baba Wali—Ghazni Capitulates—General England's repulse at Haikalzai—Retires—Advances again to Kandahár—Defence of Kalát-i-Ghilzai—Orders to Evacuate—England marches by Quetta—Nott by Kabul—Ghazni dismantled.

JALÁLABÁD.—Sale leaves Kabul for Jalálabád—Forces the Passes—News of Outbreak—Occupies Jalálabád—Dr. Brydon brings news of the Destruction of the Kabul Force—Earthquake Destroys Defences—Akbar Khan Invests the Place—Is attacked and obliged to Retire—Colonel Dennie Killed—Distinction conferred on "the Jalálabád Battery"—Arrival of General Pollock.

POLLOCK'S RELIEVING FORCE.—Brigadier Wild sent to Peshawar with Four Native Regiments—Fails to force the Khaibar—Assembly of Force under General Pollock—His Judgment and Energy—Order of March—Passage of the Khaibar—Reaches Jalálabád—Indecision of Government—Colonel Bolton's Detachment Joins—Monteath operates in the Shinwári Valley—Advance—Action at Mamu Khel—Jagdalak—Tazin—Encamps at Kabul—Rescue of Prisoners.

EVACUATION.—Khurd Kabul—Seh Baba—Jagdallak—Jalálabád—Khaibar—Lieutenants Christie and Terry Killed—Ferozepore—Feasts and Medals.

AT the commencement of November, three of the Bengal Regiments (16th, 42nd, and 43rd N.I.) were about to return under command of Lieut.-Colonel Maclaren to India, and had marched from Kandahár on the 7th. News the same day arrived that Captain Woodburn, with a detachment proceeding to Kabul, had been attacked by large numbers of Afghans and entirely destroyed. The well-known character of this officer showed the event to be one of ominous import. Maclaren's force was recalled. A few days later letters from Kabul ordered it to be sent up at once, the insurrection having broken out there. It marched on the 17th, with one of the Shah's troops H.A., but General Nott's evident unwillingness to execute this order, 1841.

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1841 December. and the loss of some of his cattle, furnished its commander with an excuse for halting two marches beyond Kalát-i-Ghilzai, and he returned to Kandahár on the 8th. Nott did not know how dire the extremity was at Kabul, and it is not certain that the counter-march was not in the end a saving of life.

In addition to the regiments before mentioned, the Kandahár force consisted of H.M.'s 40th and the 38th N.I. Regiments, 1st Shah's Cavalry, a squadron Skinner's Horse, 1st, 2nd, and 5th Shah's Infantry, two troops Shah's H.A., and four 9-pounders of Captain Blood's battery, with two 18-pounder guns and a detail of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion Bengal Artillery. The 1st Jánbáz Horse, always shaky, mutinied and murdered their officer, Lieutenant Golding, outside Kandahár, and deserted to Atta Muhamad, chief of the rebels. Safdar Jang, the Shah's son, also fled and joined him.

1842. January. The insurgent chiefs now moved down the Arghand-áb, and on the 12th were within five miles of Kandahár, when Nott attacked and dispersed them with small loss. H.M. 40th, the 2nd, 16th, 38th, and half the 42nd N.I., Captain Anderson's two Troops H.A., and Captain Blood with his four guns were engaged. One European and one native gunner were wounded.

The distribution of the Artillery below Kandahár at this time was as follows :—

Quetta.—Two 9-pounder guns, 3rd Company 1st Battalion Bombay, 3rd Company 2nd Battalion Bengal.—Major F. S. Sotheby, Commanding :—

Dhádar.—Two 6-pounder guns, detail Golandáz, Bombay.

Sibi.—One 6-pounder gun, detail Golandáz.

N., R.H.A. Shikarpur.—Two 6-pounders 4th Troop Bombay H.A.

Sukkur.—Three 6 pounders, detail Golandáz.

And Captain Leslie, with the 1st Troop Bombay H.A., was moving up to Quetta.

The city of Kandahár was occupied by our troops. The

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insurgents had been for some time gathering strength, so Nott, on March 7th, went out with his main force, leaving the 2nd B.N.I. and two and a half regiments of the Shah's Infantry, and the detail of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion Artillery to guard the town. He followed them as they retired across the Tarnak River, and then across the Arghand-áb. His guns opened fire upon them on the 9th, but they dispersed, and now being nearer to the city, they recrossed the river higher up, and while Nott was yet ignorant of their design, they attacked Kandahár furiously. Major Lane commanded, and had Captain H. C. Rawlinson to aid him. The number of the enemy, the swarms of fanatic Gházis intoxicated with bhang, made the attack a very serious one. But for the steadiness of the garrison, and the well-directed fire of the guns, they might have forced an entrance through the Herat gate, which they had fired and destroyed. From eight p.m. till midnight of the 10th the fight raged, and while the garrison suffered no loss beyond that of the grain bags piled up inside the burning gate, that of the assailants was variously estimated at 600 men or more. Nott came back in haste. 1842.

Lieut.-Colonel G. P. Wymer was again sent out on the 25th against the Duráni insurgents, taking with him Turner's Troop. He met at Bába Wali, on the Arghand-áb, a large body of Horse, who charged his Infantry vigorously, but the fire of the guns prevented them from inflicting much loss. Colonel Wymer mentions "the admirable practice of the Artillery under Lieutenant Turner's guidance; every shot from which told with beautiful effect upon the dense masses of the enemy." March.

On the 31st of March a letter from Kalát-i-Ghilzai announced to Nott that the garrison at Ghazni had capitulated. It was too true. Lieut.-Colonel Palmer with the 27th B.N.I. held it. The city had been invested since the 20th of November. On the retirement of Maclaren's Brigade the enemy collected in increased numbers and undermined the walls, within which they were admitted by

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1842. March. the inhabitants, and the garrison were compelled to withdraw into the citadel. The Sepoys could not endure the cold, which at one time fell 14 degrees below zero. Throughout February Colonel Palmer held on, but on the 6th of March he marched out. The Governor-General announced his intention of submitting him to trial by a court-martial, which was subsequently held, but he was acquitted of blame. It is possible that he might have held out longer, but he had no Artillery, and was heavily handicapped in consequence. Kalát-i-Ghilzai was still ours.

A far more discreditable repulse occurred this month. Major-General England, K.H., at Quetta, prepared to move up to Kandahár with money and ammunition, of which Nott was greatly in want. His force only consisted of five Companies H.M.'s 41st, six of Bombay N.I., a Troop 3rd Bombay Cavalry, fifty of the Poona Horse, and four guns of Captain Leslie's. Other troops were on the way to join, but he did not wait for them. He left Quetta on the 24th, and next day at Kuchlák Captain J. Christie, 3rd Bengal Light Cavalry, with two of Leslie's guns, had a slight brush with the enemy. After a day's halt, he got to Haidarzai on the 27th, and next day moved on Haikalzai, where he had intended waiting for the reinforcements in rear. But the defile leading to Haikalzai was occupied. Captain Leslie's guns opened with good effect on the heights to the left, while Major Apthorp, of the 41st, a very good officer, led his men against those on the right. The enemy were not in great force, but had the advantage of position. Major Apthorp was very dangerously wounded,* Captain May was killed, and the attack failed. Lieut.-Colonel Stacy, Bengal N.I., offered to lead the men again to the attack, and they were eager to go,† but the General had lost heart.

April. He retired to Quetta and there employed himself in throw-

* He died on the 30th.

† "The men were in a fine state of courage, and anxious to go and recover the bodies of their comrades. . . . I think I pressed my offer three times."—Stacy, "Narrative," p. 101.

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ing up defensive earthworks, though no enemy was following him. He even suggested to Nott the probability of his having also to retire on Quetta, but the Sepoy General in a letter dated the 18th gave him to understand that he was expected to find his way to Kandahár, promising to co-operate with a force at the Kojak Pass. 1842. April.

On the 25th, therefore, General England again advanced with an increased force. Captain Leslie's whole Troop, Major Sotheby and the 3rd Company 2nd Battalion (Bengal) were with it. The Haikalzai defile was carried, Leslie's guns working well. "The troops were as steady as on parade; the Artillery practice was admirable. Discipline and tactics were too much for the enemy, they turned and fled."*

On the 30th, General England was at the south-east end of the Kojak defile, apparently uncertain how to proceed. Lieut.-Colonel Wymer with the 2nd, 16th, and 38th N.I. was crowning the heights from the other end. They had left their pantaloons in rear, and, clad in the more familiar dhoti,† were signalling by the flashes from their bayonets to the Bombay Column that the way was clear. Disappointed as the latter were that the honour was not theirs, they cordially welcomed Wymer's men, and with them reached Kandahár on the 10th of May.

Meanwhile the garrison at Kalát-i-Ghilzai had been holding out well. Captain J. Halket Craigie, with the 3rd Shah's Infantry, had been placed there in garrison in November, 1841. Lieutenant Walker, with half‡ the 4th Company 2nd Battalion, after returning from Kalát with General Nott, was sent to the Ghilzai fort, and Lieut.-Colonel Maclaren, when returning on his uncompleted

* Stacy's "Narrative," p. 107.

† The undress garment of the Sepoy. In earlier times he was not encumbered with the British article, which, however, was very acceptable when the thermometer was below freezing point.

‡ Forty-three men.

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1842. April. expedition to Kabul, left some 300 men of the 43rd N.I. with Captain Craigie. In all he had about 950 men.

The ruins of the old fort were repaired as well as could be done. Though not actually in contact with an enemy, the garrison could only communicate with Ghazni and Kandahár by paying messengers well. Tolerably well off for grain, sheep for the Europeans were only to be had by raiding for them. On two occasions the gunners were for some days on bread and water, but grumbling was not thought of. It was only a change of diet. In April their position was closely invested, and from this time till nearly the end of May a constant state of fighting was kept up. From shelter trenches and wherever cover could be found they continued to annoy the garrison. On the 21st of May, hearing that Brigadier Wymer was on his way, a furious and determined assault was made to capture the place, if possible, before succour should arrive. The defence was a gallant one, and five days afterwards Wymer was safely under the defences that had been held so well. Lieutenant Walker's account of the 21st is given in the Appendix. The 3rd Regiment Shah's Infantry were afterwards formed into "the Kalát-i-Ghilzai Regiment of the Bengal Army under command of Major J. Halket Craigie, C.B."

By this time General Nott had received orders from the Governor-General to retire to India by the Sukkur route.* It was a blow to his hopes of joining General Pollock at Kabul. But in the end the desired permission was granted. On the 7th and 8th of August Kandahár was evacuated.

August. Major-General England marched on the 10th for Quetta with four Regiments of Infantry. Lieutenant Cooper, with the 1st Troop S.S.H.A., and Lieutenant Walker, with the 4th Company 2nd Battalion, proceeded with this Column and returned to the Bengal Presidency *viâ* Shikarpur, meeting little opposition.

Major-General Nott, with the rest of the force, moved

* G.G. to Nott, April 19th, P.P. No. 259.

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towards Kabul on the 8th and reached Mukúr without any opposition on the 27th. After this, hostile parties began to show themselves. Next day the Cavalry fell in with the enemy's whole force of Horse and were roughly handled, and the whole force turned out; but they had disappeared. Their leader, Shams-ud-din, showed front again on the 29th as we were bombarding a small fort, but he lost the two guns he had, his ammunition was blown up, and his tents burned. There were some casualties among the Artillery while attacking the fort. The force reached Ghazni on the 5th, and here again the enemy appeared, but they were driven off; the Horse Artillery and Lieutenant Terry with two guns being engaged. The great Ghazni gun, the Zabar Jang, threw some shots into our camp. 1842. August.

After General Nott had spent three days in destroying the fortifications of Ghazni, and burning the city, the force again moved forward on the 10th, taking with it the gates of Somnáth by order of Government and the great gun as a trophy. There was more or less fighting each day, in which the Artillery had their share—particularly on the 14th and 15th, when Shams-ud-din, with some 12,000 men, occupied a succession of strong positions from Beni Badám to Maidán. Nott briefly says:— September.

"Our troops dislodged them in gallant style. . . . The Artillery distinguished themselves, and I beg to mention the names of Captain Leslie, Bombay H.A., Captain Blood, Bombay F.A., and Captain Anderson and Lieutenant Turner of the Bengal H.A."

As Nott was driving Shams-ud-din from his last position, Pollock, a few miles off, was encamping his force on the racecourse at Kabul.

We now have to go back to the time when Sir Robert Sale left Kabul with orders to clear the passes towards Jalálabád. Lieut.-Colonel Monteath marched on the 9th of October with the 35th N.I., a squadron 5th Light Cavalry, Broadfoot's Sappers and Miners, and the guns of Captain 1841. October.

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1841. October. Abbott's battery under Lieutenant Dawes. They were attacked at Butkhák. The heights of the Khurd Kabul defile were strongly held. On the 11th, General Sale, with the 13th Light Infantry, marched from the capital. The following day the pass was cleared after some hard fighting, in the early part of which Sale was wounded. The Sepoys of the 35th emulated the soldiers of the 13th in climbing the steep heights,* and from this day sprung up between the two regiments a spirit of brotherly camaraderie which continued till they separated at Ferozepore in December, 1842.

18th. On the 18th, Captain Backhouse joined Colonel Monteath with the Mountain Train. Captain G. H. Macgregor was employed negotiating with the chiefs while the force halted

19th. for want of camels. On the 19th, Captain Abbott, having returned from the expedition to Zurmat (*ante*, Chap. II., p. 40), marched from Kabul with the remainder of his battery, two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars. The 37th

22nd. N.I. also came with him. On the 22nd, Sale moved towards Tazin. Cautiously advancing through the Haft Kotal, crowning the hills on either side, they had a succession of skirmishes with the enemy which lasted till dusk.

24th. On the 24th, the 37th N.I., half the Sappers, and half the

26th. Mountain Train were sent back to Kabul. On the 26th the Brigade marched to Seh Baba, and next day to Kata Sang.

28th. On the 28th, a further advance was made to Jagdalak, during which the rear guard was attacked. Next day the enemy were in force on the salient points of the hills, and the flanking parties found themselves exposed to fire from ground still higher which it was difficult to silence. Captain Wilkinson, with a company of the 13th, was sent on by Captain Abbott through the defile to ascertain if it were clear ahead. The enemy had not provided for this. There was no obstacle; so Captain Abbott with his guns and the

* Colonel Dennie's dispatch, P.P. No. 5.

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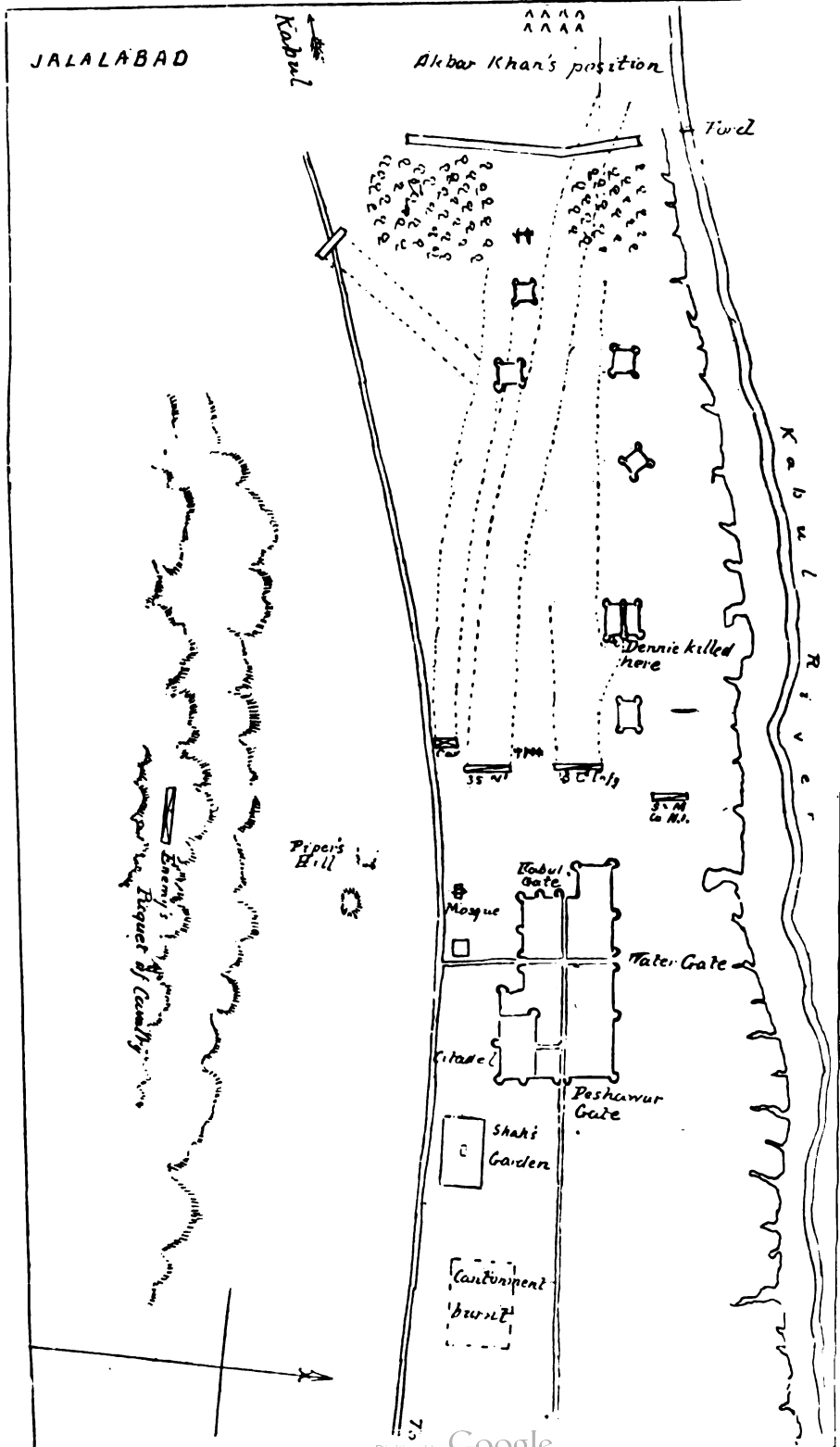

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advanced guard moved on at a rapid pace and were able to take them in reverse. The enemy, however, fell upon the rear guard and baggage, and for a time confusion prevailed; but "by the praiseworthy exertions and cool and soldier-like order and example of Captains Backhouse, Broadfoot, and Fenwick, confidence was restored . . . and the rear guard extricated from the defile."* 1841. October.

For eleven days longer Sale remained at Gandamak. Pressing letters from the Envoy urging his return were received by the General. Captain Macgregor received on the 10th authentic intelligence of the outbreak at Kabul. A council of war was held. It decided upon occupying Jalálabád as a *point d'appui* for a relieving force from India. The move was made, and Sale encamped before Jalálabád on the 12th of November. An attack on the enemy on the 14th freed them for a time from annoyance; and next day the Artillery and Infantry marched in and took possession of the town, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, who thought they were on their way to Peshawar. November.

An examination of the town and citadel showed that both would have to be occupied, but the walls required much labour before they could be rendered defensible. Captain G. Broadfoot, an officer of great talent, energy, and will, was appointed engineer. With Captain Abbott also, than whom there was not in the regiment a better Artillerist, it was certain that everything that ought to be done would be accomplished as far as it was possible. Some stores were found, and while the enemy were not in sight supplies came in freely. The works were pushed on as rapidly as possible. The enemy began to collect again on the 22nd, the canal supplying the town was cut on the 25th, and, as Sir Robert Sale was careful of his ammunition, they approached closer, occupying the low ground along the river on the 1st, when a sortie, under Colonel December.

* Sale's dispatch, P.P. No. 8.

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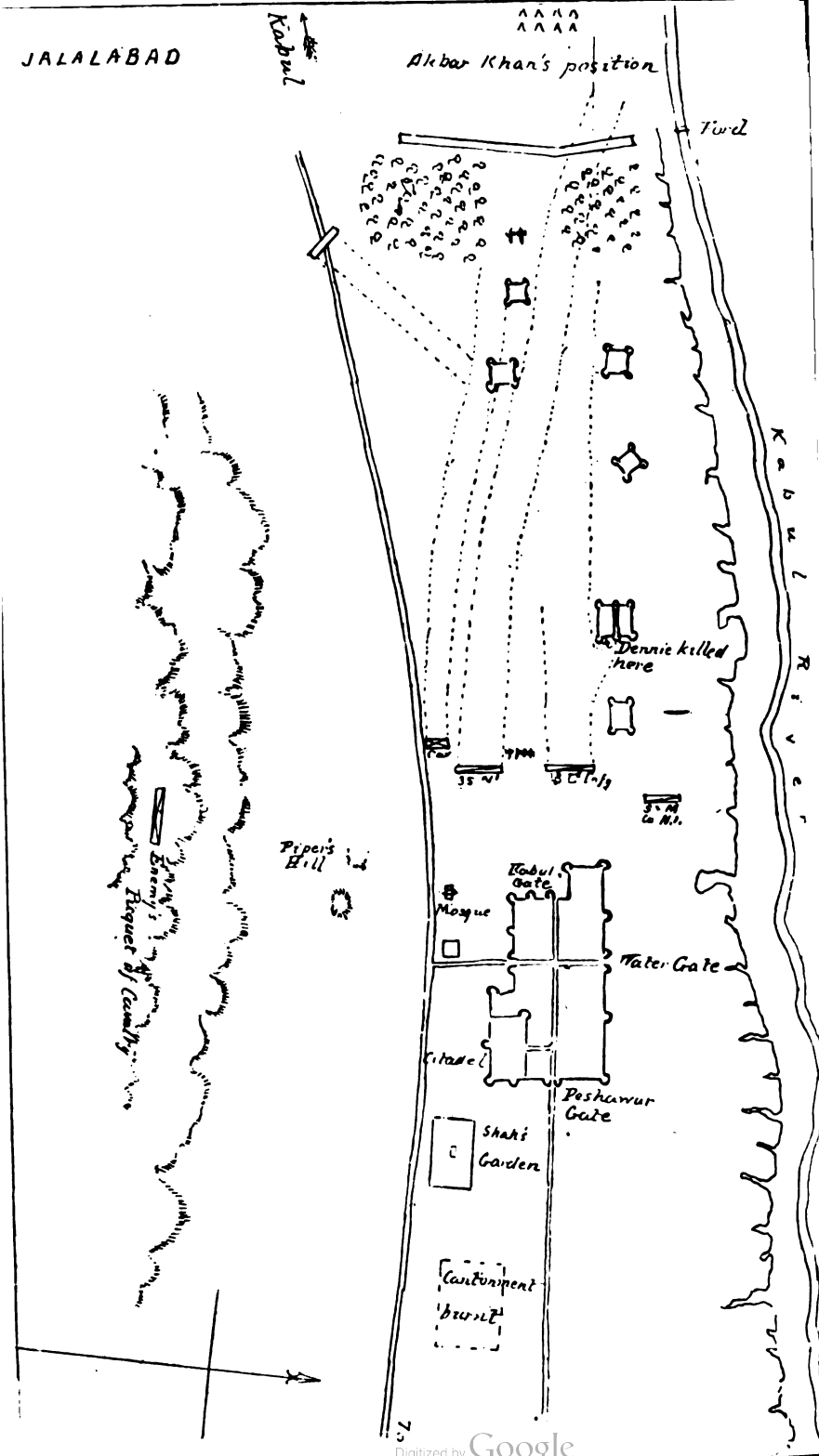

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* Sale's dispatch, P.P. No. 8.

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1841. December. Dennie, supported by Captain Abbott, was made, and they were again free from annoyance.

Next day a letter from Major Pottinger told of the murder of the Envoy, and on the 9th a sealed letter was delivered by three Sowars. It required the evacuation of Jalálabád in virtue of the convention entered into with Akbar Khan. Sale, after holding a council, asked for further instructions as to the security which would be given them for a free passage. A welcome convoy from Peshawar brought 25,000 rupees, of which they were very much in want.

1842. January. But on the 12th intelligence of the evacuation of Kabul was received, and next day the sentries saw a solitary figure slowly approaching the town. Eager eyes discerned through their telescopes that he was English, and mounted on a miserable pony, and a party of Cavalry went out and brought him in, wounded and exhausted. It was Asst.-Surgeon Brydon. The terrible news of the slaughter in the passes was told. Lights were kept burning all night, and bugles sounded, if haply some other survivor might be within sight or hearing; but there were none. The pony died, but the man lived to take part in another memorable defence, that of the Lucknow Residency in 1857.

The garrison of Jalálabád knew that Brigadier Wild was at Peshawar, preparing to advance, and that General Pollock was to command a force then being formed in India; but on the 23rd they learned that the former had been worsted in an attempt to pass the Khaibar, and they had now to depend on their own resources. Another demand for the evacuation of the place arrived on the 26th, bearing the seal of Shah Shuja. An evasive reply was sent. A third * came on the 8th of February, but this

* General Sale does not mention this last demand. The officers summoned to consider it were surprised at seeing a letter from the Governor-General saying that, in the event of Kabul falling, all the other stations were to be abandoned. This added a fresh difficulty in the way of deciding. They had no longer any business in Afghanistan, the only question was, could they retire with honour under the circumstances?

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was more directly answered. It was to be referred to the Governor-General. 1842. January.

The food supply was tolerably well kept up by foraging parties. The people had large herds grazing about, and the raids were sometimes very successful.

But on the 19th of February, as the working parties were busily engaged on the fortifications, Colonel Monteath being field officer, a violent shock of earthquake in a few seconds destroyed the work of many weeks. Colonel Monteath was buried partially beneath the débris, from which he was extricated by the men of the 13th working there, who esteemed him as if he had belonged to their own regiment.* But, in no way discouraged, the garrison set to work to repair damages. 1842. February.

Akbar Khan was in the immediate vicinity. His camp was seen on the 15th. He had heard three days before a salute of twenty-one guns in honour of the birth of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, which was announced the day before. March.

Next month, the enemy began to invest the place. Whenever a good chance offered, Abbott gave them a few rounds from his guns, and he did not waste his ammunition; but as their numbers increased, so did their audacity. A sortie, under Colonel Dennie, on the 11th caused them considerable loss without any on our side. Captain Abbott, on the 12th, was wounded by a spent ball, causing a troublesome injury, but he did not absent himself from duty.

The proximity of the enemy hindered our getting forage, which was scarce, and the horses suffered. Akbar Khan

* Amusing stories were told of this gallant and highly-respected officer, that when other officers were glad to have an occasional change of linen, he used to turn out in a style fit for Bond Street. He wore—with respect, let it be said—a wig, but it was an unpardonable offence to suspect it. And when the earthquake, regardless of rank, threw him down, his chief anxiety was lest his headgear should have been in any way disordered. As a 2nd-Lieutenant, I only knew him to be of that rare school of gentlemen, as courteous to a young subaltern as to one of his own rank. He afterwards took the suffix of Douglas to his name. Kaye and other writers have misspelt it.

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1842. March. sent out his sheep to eat the grass which we wanted. Captain Broadfoot, in one of the affairs which the protection of the grass-cutters made necessary, was severely wounded on the 24th of March, but a few days after Lieutenant E. W. C. Plowden, 5th Cavalry, having got permission from the General, sallied forth with twenty men, the rest of the Cavalry and a large party of Infantry following in support. He dashed forward, cut off a large flock before the enemy could prevent him, and thus secured 520 head, while the enemy's force coming on too late, suffered considerably from the fire of the guns. It should not be omitted that, on this occasion, the 35th N.I. gave up their share of the spoil to their European comrades, though they had been themselves on half rations throughout.

April 7th. As the enemy had been fortifying their position and rendering ours more difficult, some of the senior officers, Captains Abbott, Oldfield, and Broadfoot in particular, induced the General to order a sortie in force.* Reports had come in that General Pollock had failed to force the Khaibar, and the confidence of the enemy required a check. So, on the 7th of April, the ordinary guards being left at the gates, and the camp-followers† manning the walls, the whole force moved out at daybreak in three columns. Colonel Dennie, in the centre, had 500 bayonets; Colonel Monteath, on the left, commanded his own regiment; and Captain Havelock, of the 13th L.I., led a company of each regiment and the Sappers and Miners on the right. The Cavalry, under Captain Oldfield and Lieutenant Mayne, were on the left, and the Field Battery in the

* Kaye (II., p. 342) calls it a council of war; but Abbott, always careful in his statements, and never malicious, is distinct on this point.

† The camp-followers, mustered and unmustered, numbered 1,312. General Sale enlisted them for service January 15th; 621 were armed chiefly with pikes, made up by Captain Abbott; 691 were told off to posts where stones had been collected. The Artillery had two killed; the Commissariat seven, and six wounded.

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centre. The Afghans, about 6,000 strong, were drawn up in front of their camp. 1842. April.

The centre column deviated to the right in its advance to attack a fort, and here Colonel Dennie, with some men, were killed. The delay deprived the flanks of support, and they were hard pressed, but, leaving the fort, which was afterwards abandoned by its garrison, the centre came up, and Captain Abbott, advancing the battery at a gallop, directed a heavy fire on the Afghan centre. Notwithstanding a stout resistance, their line was penetrated by our centre and left. Havelock forced their left back on the river, and soon the whole were disappearing in the direction of Lughmán. Four of the guns lost by the Kabul force, with 635 rounds of ammunition, were recaptured; their tents were burned, and such stores as were not taken possession of were destroyed. It was a complete success. Captains Backhouse and Macgregor served as volunteers with the battery. A total of thirteen killed and seventy-one wounded was small in comparison. Sir Robert Sale in his dispatch of this date mentions all the Artillery officers engaged.*

Captain Abbott in his report next day to Regimental Headquarters, brings to notice the great assistance he had received throughout the siege from Lieutenant Dawes, and reiterates the good service rendered by this officer at Khurd Kabul and Jagdallak on the 12th and 29th of October. But he had to serve yet another campaign with frequent honourable mention before he received even brevet promotion. Captain Abbott also reports the names of two gunners† of the 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A., who had come from Kabul as laboratory-men. They were both

* Papers, No. 315.

† "Gunners Swindall and Deane . . . both volunteered their services and were most useful. Both men wounded in the action. Gunner Swindall has proved a most valuable assistant to me, being thoroughly acquainted with every part of an Artilleryman's duty. He is sober, active, and intelligent, and I strongly recommend him for promotion."

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1842. April. wounded on the 7th, and were promoted to the rank of sergeant (G.O.C.C., 19th May, 1842).

The defence of Jalálabád worthily vindicated the good fame of our army. The honours accorded by Lord Ellenborough to "the Illustrious Garrison" were merited. There was one conferred upon the Artillery which custom has not perpetuated, and is now a thing of the past. It was, that the 2nd Company 6th Battalion, in common with the rest of the garrison, should wear on their appointments a mural crown superscribed "Jellalabad." Also that the same name should be engraved on the guns, which were to be permanently attached to the Company.* As the 2nd-of the 7th it forfeited, in 1857, its right to any badge of honour, but the principle involved remains. The Artillery motto of "Ubique" covers all fields, as in a sense it does the achievements of the whole army. But why should batteries not retain the designations as well as the traditions which have descended to them from former days? Why should not the guns bear the names of the fields where they have won fame? Napoleon knew well how much a wreath, a motto, conferred on the battlefield and worn proudly afterwards could nerve the arm and steel the heart when odds were worst. Regiments have their records which they justly value. Some set so high a value upon them that there is little fear of their ever being sullied by misfortune. Of these the Artillery have always been counted, and surely the country should on its part see to it that no such acknowledgment of glory won by the blood of brave men is ever withheld. For the days are coming when England will be hard set to keep what her army and navy have won for her.

When General Pollock arrived on the 16th he did not relieve Jalálabád. The garrison had done that for itself, and for a time there was no enemy to fight. He could only congratulate Sir Robert Sale.

* G.G.O., Jan. 9th, 1843.

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Major-General Pollock's Relieving Force.

The first intimation received in India of the disasters in Afghanistan was from Captain F. Mackeson, Political Agent at Peshawar, forwarding a letter from Captain Burn dated Gandamak, 5th November, stating that the troops at Kabul were shut up in the Bala Hissár. This was followed by another from Sir Robert Sale, dated the 11th, stating that he was about to fall back upon and secure Jalálabád. Nothing had been heard from Sir W. MacNaghten since the 26th of October. At Captain Mackeson's urgent request, the 4th Company 6th Battalion, under orders to relieve the 2nd, the 30th, 53rd, 60th, and 64th N.I., were sent on to Peshawar. Lieut.-Colonel C. F. Wild, commanding at Ferozepore, was appointed to command as Brigadier. He had the confidence of his superiors. The Artillery had no guns. To get any, Delhi being the nearest magazine, he found he would have to borrow from the Sikhs. Sale was calling for a siege train. Sir Jasper Nicolls, the Commander-in-Chief, demurred, saying it looked like wanting to reconquer the country.* Sale was writing urgent letters for Wild's advance.† The latter saw the impossibility of the task, but could not say so either as a soldier or without discrediting the native portion of the force to which he belonged. The Commander-in-Chief was on his way up country, and as yet 400 miles from the Sutlej. It was the day of slow daks, not of telegraphic communication. The Native Infantry had been hurried up to Peshawar in consequence of Mackeson's pressing letters. The Field Battery at Ferozepore was not yet horsed. So far Kaye's statement that the discredit of not having sent guns with Wild did not attach to the Commander-in-Chief‡ holds good. But Sir Jasper Nicolls should not have allowed Wild to advance until some guns, as well as

1841.

Red. 1862.

* P.P., Nos. 88, 89.

† To officer commanding at Peshawar, December 26, Jan. 3. To Brigadier Wild, Jan. 10 and 11. P.P., Nos. 101, 111, 122, and 123.

‡ Vol. II., p. 298.

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1841. part of the 10th Light Cavalry, then moving up, should have joined. Wild would have waited for them, and for H.M.'s 9th Regiment, also on its way to the front. Sir Jasper's letter on the 6th of February, in reply to Captain
1842. Mackeson's remarks, throws the blame on that officer and upon Captain H. M. Lawrence of the Artillery for not having been more precise in their demands. But it was his province to decide on the composition and strength of the force to be employed, not theirs. His objection to the use of Horse Artillery in a pass is not to the length of the fighting and baggage columns, but to the chance that a gun pointed at an enemy on the side of a hill within musket range might be dismounted or overturned, causing delay.* His experience in the Nipal War should have taught him the value of Artillery in mountain warfare. A little further on he remarks on the usefulness of Artillery in making up for the shortness of range of our muskets when opposed to jezails. Mountain Artillery equipped and ready were not; there was therefore little choice left.

January. After much delay and resistance on the part of the Sikhs, four guns were handed over, but these were so rickety that on being tested one broke down. They had to be patched up anyhow, and Brigadier Wild, after representing the difficulties he met with, prepared to advance as lightly equipped as possible. Lieut.-Colonel Mosely marched by night on the 15th with two regiments and got to Ali Masjid, but only about 60 out of 350 bullocks with supplies reached the place. Brigadier Wild advanced on the 19th with the two remaining regiments. The Sikh troops with him mutinied, the guns broke down,† and the Sepoys, disheartened, would not face the enemy. They had to fall back upon Jamrud. Wild was wounded. Lieut.-Colonel Mosely, left without food, had to evacuate

* P.P., No. 172.

† One had to be abandoned, in spite of Captain Lawrence's efforts to bring it away.

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the fort on the 24th. The Brigadier's despatch of the 28th is painful reading. With even half a British regiment and a battery of ours, there seems to be little doubt that he would have reached Jalálabád. He now could only wait for the troops coming up. Sickness meanwhile fell upon his men, and the hospitals were crowded. Worse than all, disabled fugitives of the Ghazni and Kabul garrisons, some Sepoys, many camp-followers, a large number of

1842. January

FIELD-MARSHAL SIR G. POLLOCK.
(From a photograph by Messrs. Maull and Fox.)

whom had lost fingers or toes from frost-bite, came into Peshawar. Their stories were sufficiently alarming. Emissaries from without and from the Sikh camp told the Hindu Sepoy of the sin it was to cross the Indus, as it had been not so long ago to cross the Karamnása in Bengal; so the regiments became infected with mental as with physical disease, and desertions were numerous.

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1842. February. The command of the force now being formed had been given to Major-General George Pollock, C.B., of the Bengal Artillery, commanding at Agra. He reached Peshawar on the 5th of February and found something very like a mutinous feeling had pervaded the native regiments; sad to say, a few of the officers also. Cool, cautious, with sound sense and judgment, it required such a man to cope with this state of things. That he did so successfully and found his regiments in good moral condition when called upon to advance, was not the least of General Pollock's victories. But there were 1,800 men in hospital on the 7th of February, and he was detained at Peshawar till the beginning of April.

The force was, by G.G.O. February 23rd, brigaded as follows:—

Cavalry.

Brigadier M. White, 3rd Light Dragoons.

3rd Light Dragoons, 1st and 10th Light and 3rd Irregular Cavalry,* Dets. 5th Light Cavalry† and Anderson's Horse.†

Infantry.

Major-General J. McCaskill, K.H., Commanding.

1st Brigade.†—Major-General Sir R. Sale, K.C.B.: H.M. 13th L.I., 35th N.I. Sappers and Miners, Ferris' and Burns' Levies.

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier J. Tulloch, 60th N.I.: H.M. 9th Regiment, 26th and 60th N.I., 5th Co. Sappers and Miners.

3rd Brigade.—Brigadier C. F. Wild, 30th N.I.: 30th, 53rd, and 64th N.I.

4th Brigade.—Brigadier T. Monteath, 35th N.I.: H.M. 31st Regiment,* 6th * and 33rd N.I.

* Came up afterwards under command of Colonel Bolton, H.M.'s 31st; reached Jalálabád the 5th of May. Two risálas, 3rd Irregular Cavalry with advanced part of the army.

† At Jalálabád.

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Artillery.

1842.
February.
58 Field Batt.
2-2 Dep. Div.
9 Mt. Batt.

Bt.-Major H. Delafosse, 3rd-1st H.A., Commanding.

3rd Troop 1st Brigade,* 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A., 2nd Co. 2nd Batt. No. 5 L.F.B., 2nd Co. 6th Batt. (Native) No. 6 L.F.B.,† 4th Co. 6th Batt. (Native), and Mountain Train (Native).

The Dragoons and Captain Alexander's Troop (3-2 H.A.) reached Peshawar on the 29th of March. General Pollock, since his arrival there, had been visiting the hospitals, enquiring into the wants of all and encouraging the men. A spirit of confidence in him thus produced was followed in the Sepoy regiments by a readiness to do their best. Baggage was strictly limited—a camel and two mules carrying the General's; a few iron-enamelled articles constituted his table and toilet equipment. The Sikh troops became more amenable and ready to co-operate.

March.

The order of march had been laid down and carefully studied by commanding officers, and when the army marched to Jamrud on the 31st it was as follows, and as intended to enter the defile:—

Left Flanking Column.	Advance Guard.	Right Flanking Column.
Major G. Huish. 2 Cos. 9th Regiment 4 Cos. 26th N.I. 200 Jazailchis	Brigadier Wild. Gren. Co. 9th Regiment. 1 Co. 26th N.I. 3 Cos. 30th N.I. 2 Cos. 33rd N.I. Sappers and Miners. 4 Guns 3-2 H.A. 2 Guns M.T. 3 Guns No. 5 F.B.	Lt.-Col. Taylor, K.H. 2 Cos. 9th Regiment 4 Cos. 26th N.I. 400 Jazailchis
Lt.-Col. Mosely. 7 Cos. 33rd N.I. 3 Cos. 60th N.I. 4½ Cos. 64th N. 1½ Cos. 9th Regiment.		Major P. C. Anderson 7 Cos. 30th N.I. 3 Cos. 60th N.I. 4 Cos. 64th N.I. Sappers. 1½ Cos. 9th Regiment.

2 Cos. Commissariat, 53rd N.I.
Irregular Cavalry. Baggage. Squad. 1st L.C.

Rear Guard.
Major-General McCaskill, K.H.
3 Guns No. 5, 10th Light Cavalry, 2 Risalas.
Irreg. Cav., 2nd Squad. 3rd Dragoons,
3 Cos. 60th N.I., 1 Co. 6th N.I., 1 Co. 9 Regiment.

The rules for guidance of commanding officers were plain and explicit. A trumpeter or bugler was attached

* Came up afterwards under command of Colonel Bolton, H.M.'s 31st; reached Jalálabád the 5th of May.
† At Jalálabád.

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1842. March. to each separate detachment. Whenever any obstacle or accident occurred, likely to impede or break the continuity of the column, the officer in command nearest to the spot was to cause the halt to be sounded, which was to be repeated by all the rest, the whole halting until the removal of the difficulty enabled the signal for advance to be given.

April. The order for placing the baggage was to be carefully adhered to, an officer from each regiment being appointed to this duty. No private guards were allowed. The parties flanking the rear guard were not to hurry on in advance of it; the officers commanding each to give their most vigilant attention to this, so that the rear might be protected from any fire from the heights. As there were to be intervals between each detachment of about 500 yards, a considerable responsibility devolved upon subordinate commanders.*

The army moved off in this order at three o'clock on the morning of the 5th in silence. No drum or bugle gave the enemy notice, so that when the light became clearer the tribes covering the heights saw our flanking parties close upon them. And now hot work began. The nature of the ground on the left enabled Major Huish to carry the summit of the first in skirmishing order without much loss. A smaller hill at the entrance of the pass was carried, and these posts, being made over to Lieut.-Colonel Mosely's charge, he descended to clear the heights on the left of the road leading to Ali Masjid.

On the right, Lieut.-Colonel Taylor was equally successful, though the ground was more precipitous. Lieutenant Unett, with a squadron of the Dragoons, protected his right as he advanced. Having secured his ground and left Major Anderson in charge, he descended to clear off the enemy on the right of the road. Considerable opposition

* In order to prevent any possible misconception of those orders, General Pollock himself went round to officers commanding to ascertain that they were understood.

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was offered, especially at the bridge over a stream, but they were compelled to retreat, and Colonel Taylor occupied a tower and hill about a mile from Ali Masjid. Lieutenant Cumming, of the 9th Regiment, was killed on the heights. Sir Richmond Snakespear, who had volunteered his services, in charge of Mackeson's Jazailchis, was mentioned in Colonel Taylor's report. 1842. April.

The enemy had some days before thrown up a strong barricade of stones and trees, cemented with earth at the entrance to the pass. As soon as the flanking columns were engaged, the advanced moved up to the barricade. The enemy, finding their rear turned, abandoned this position, and the work of clearing away was actively proceeded with under Lieutenant John Becher. Captain Alexander was sent forward, and placed the guns so as to assist the flanking parties with shrapnel whenever opportunity offered. The heat was very great. In the evening, General Pollock was encamped at Ali Masjid, which was occupied by Captain Ferris' Jazailchis from the left. Not a single baggage animal was lost. Our casualties only amounted to 31 killed and missing, and 104 wounded. Of these, 41 were in the 9th Foot and 37 in the Jazailchi Corps. Brigadier Wild, Captain Ogle, 9th Foot, and Lieutenant Mulcaster were wounded. The enemy's loss was known to have been very large. Except a passage of arms with the Lalpura people at the further outlet of the pass, no further opposition was offered.

On the 16th, General Pollock's force marched into Jalálabád. As each corps passed the two regiments drawn out to receive them, they saluted the colours which for five months past had so well represented the British power.

But Pollock had other difficulties besides an enemy to contend with. Lord Ellenborough had landed in Calcutta on the 28th of February, and taken over office from the Earl of Auckland, who on the 15th of that month had sent his orders* to Pollock, that when he had relieved Sale,

* P.P., No. 171.

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1842. April. he was to retire on Peshawar. Lord Ellenborough, in a letter to Sir Jasper Nicolls of March 15th,* contemplates the possibility of General Pollock striking some signal blow, even advancing on Kabul, at the same time containing restrictive considerations of an opposite kind. This was sent to Pollock. It did not rescind the orders of February 15th. Lord Ellenborough had not made up his own mind, for on the 19th of April he sent orders to Nott to retire on Sukkur,† and the same day wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, saying he considered Pollock's force in a false position, with a long pass and an unreliable nation in its rear, and suggesting that his army should be withdrawn to the east of the Khaibar, from whence any new operations could be undertaken.‡

Sir Jasper, being a soldier, did not follow up such a suggestion. In his reply of the 27th April,§ he says he has not given any instructions to General Pollock, who must be guided by the 5th, 9th, 10th, and 11th paras. of the orders of the 13th of March, and decide whether to advance or retire from Jalálabád. "The General is a clear-headed, good officer, and you have loaded his advance with heavy cautions, but he will stand alone, and as far as I know, treat those around him rather as advisers than agents."

There was another consideration of which Lord Ellenborough took small heed, but which the army had cherished. The widow of the murdered Envoy, the wife of the General who had so gallantly held Jalálabád, and a number of officers and soldiers, their wives and children, were prisoners in the hands of Akbar Khan. Pollock and his officers would not believe that England would suffer them to be left to their fate.

May. And General Pollock was equal to the occasion. He had not carriage for his whole force; the camels having been only engaged as far as Jalálabád, had mostly gone

* P.P., No. 200. † *Ib.*, No. 259.
‡ *Ib.*, Nos. 261, 262. § *Ib.*, No. 284.

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back. So he halted there till he could make up the number he required. And he wrote to General Nott desiring him not to retire till he should hear further from him; an order which the gallant old General, though preparing to carry out the other orders he had received from India, gladly obeyed. 1842. May.

On the 5th of May, Colonel Bolton arrived with the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade H.A., under Lieutenant Richardson, H.M. 31st, 6th N.I., and rest of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry.

To accomplish one part of the Governor-General's somewhat obscure orders, Colonel Monteath was sent into the Shinwári Valley, S.E. of Jalálabád. H.M. 31st, the 33rd and 53rd N.I., Captain Ferris' Jazailchis, and Captain Abbott's battery composed the force. Several forts in the Golái country were destroyed. At Deh Sarak, a gun and part of the treasure of the ill-fated Kabul garrison were recovered. The only fighting was at Mazina, when Lieutenant McIlveen, of the 31st, was killed. On the 3rd of August Monteath returned to Jalálabád. June. July 26th. August.

By this time the letters (July 4th) from Government were received, which permitted Nott to retire by Ghazni and Kabul, and Pollock to combine his movements with those of Nott, on their own responsibility. The excitement which this caused throughout the army was expressed by Sir R. Sale's "Hurrah! this is good news."*

On the 20th, Pollock, with an advanced force, marched for Gandamak, where the rest were to join, all in the lightest marching order. He had with him:—

Artillery.

3rd Troop 1st and 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade (four guns), No. 6 Field Battery,† and Mountain Train.

Engineers.

5th Company and Broadfoot's Sappers.

* Letter to General Pollock, August 16th.

† Lieutenant C. Douglas was attached to this battery at Jalálabád, there being only one other subaltern, Dawes, with it.

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Cavalry.

1842. August. 3rd Light Dragoons, 1st, 5th (one squadron), 10th (headquarters and one squadron) Light Cavalry, and 3rd Irregulars (Tait's).

Infantry.

H.M. 9th, 13th, and 31st Regiments; the 16th, 26th, 33rd, 35th, and 60th N.I., and Mr. Mackeson's Bildars.

A detachment was left at Jalálabád with the sick and the superfluous baggage. Two guns of Alexander's Troop were at Fatiabad.

The force was formed in two divisions, one under Sir R. Sale, the other under General McCaskill. Passing the former, who had been at Fatiabad, General Pollock went on

August 22nd. with McCaskill's division to Nimla, where he was joined by Captain H. M. Lawrence, with part of the Sikh contingent which had been moving along the left bank of the Kabul River. At Gandamak, on the 23rd, a strong position for the camp was selected.

August 24th. The enemy were in force at the villages of Mamu and Kuchli Khel, which were to the left front of the camp some three miles distant. General Pollock attacked in two columns, the right under General McCaskill, the left under Brigadier Tulloch. Captain Abbott's guns were in support. Driven from Mamu Khel, the enemy retired to Kuchli Khel, a fort about a mile in rear and close to the hills. They were dislodged and followed up into the hills as far as could be done with prudence. Colonel Taylor, of the 9th Foot, and Captain Broadfoot greatly distinguished themselves. The camp was then moved down to Mamu Khel until the 30th, when it returned to Gandamak.

September. Here General Pollock waited for the rest of his force under Sale, and for supplies. On the 7th the first division under Sale left for the Surakh-áb, McCaskill with the second the day after. A detachment to preserve the communications was left at Gandamak: two regiments N.I., two squadrons L.C., part of the Sikh contingent, and two guns of Alexander's Troop under Lieutenant G. Larkins.

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Sale's division consisted of:— 1842. September.

Artillery.

Two guns 3rd Troop 1st Brigade, No. 6 Field Battery; three guns Mountain Train.

Cavalry.

3rd Light Dragoons, one squadron 1st L.C., three risálas Tait's I.C.

Infantry.

H.M. 9th and 13th Regiments, 16th and 35th N.I.

Sappers 5th Company, and Broadfoot's, Mackeson's Bildars.

McCaskill's division consisted of:—

Artillery.

Two guns, 3rd-1st H.A; four guns, 3rd-2nd H.A.

Cavalry.

Two squadrons 1st Light, three risálas 3rd Irregular.

Infantry.

H.M. 31st, wings 33rd and 60th N.I.; Sikh Contingent.

The enemy on the 8th occupied the heights commanding the Jagdalak Pass. A deep ravine protected them on the left, where the hills, studded with sungahs, formed an amphitheatre inclining towards the road. Here the troops, halted while the guns opened, were within range of their jezails, and several casualties occurred. The Artillery fire was well directed, but as they still held their ground the General ordered the Infantry to attack. Captain Broadfoot, with his Sappers, was sent against a steep hill on the extreme left of their position. The 9th, under Lieut.-Colonel Taylor, supported by two companies 35th N.I., crossed the deep ravines and scaled the hills on their right, where a ruined fort was strongly occupied. Captain Wilkinson, with the 13th, and 110 men of the 26th N.I., attacked a steep conical hill in their left centre, the key of their position. A spirit of emulation pervaded all, and the three attacks were successful. The Ghilzais fled Sept. 8th.

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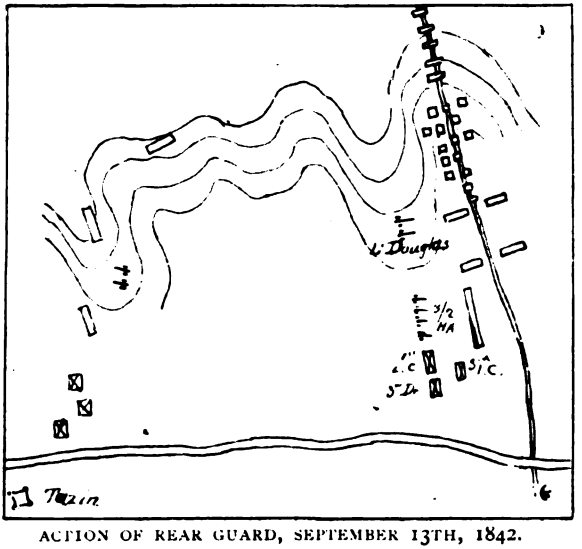
1842. September. before our soldiers to higher, and seemingly inaccessible, ground, but from it too they were dislodged.

General Pollock, without stopping, pushed on the same day to Kata Sang. His troops, wearied with the march and fight, required rest—Sale even advised a halt. But he knew the importance of not allowing his enemy time to rally. Had he done so he would have had to fight his way through the Jagdalak Pass, for Akbar Khan was preparing to meet him. Brigadier Tulloch, who commanded the rear guard this day, had plenty to do. Lieutenant Douglas was on it and had his horse shot. The success of this day was won by a single division with a loss of only six killed and 58 wounded.

The second division had some fighting next day over the same ground, and did not reach Kata Sang till the 10th.



ACTION OF REAR GUARD, SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1842.

The first marched from Seh Baba to Tazin on the 11th, and were there joined by General McCaskill, after a forced march. Akbar Khan was now at Khurd Kabul. While Pollock halted in the Tazin Valley, he moved forward and occupied the heights in his front, determined to make a last stand.

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1842. Sept. 13th.

But he was entirely defeated. The Infantry scaled the heights on either side of the road leading up to the Haft Kotal, and with the bayonet, dreaded by the Afghans more than the bullet, drove them from rock to rock, from hill to hill. Our soldiers had, for the last four days, passed over ground strewn with the ghastly remains of the massacred army—sights that stirred up a desire for stern retribution. The heights of the seven passes, steep as they were, were won.

The rear guard this day was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel F. Richmond. Captain Alexander's Troop was with it, also Lieutenant C. Douglas with two guns of No. 6 Battery. The road passed up one of the ravines from the valley of the Tazin River. To the south the enemy had posted two guns on a height commanding it perhaps a thousand yards distant. By Douglas' account they were our own. To oppose them he was posted with his two on the spur behind which the road ran, under the shelter of which the baggage was collecting. Here he was joined by Captain H. M. Lawrence, glad to be once again with guns. The latter with his first shot disabled one of ours on the other side.* Large bodies of Cavalry were collecting in the valley, and Captain Alexander's Troop unlimbered in the valley, supported by some Cavalry.† The latter, getting a chance in the open ground, charged and broke the enemy, who collected again wherever they could. The fire of the guns, particularly of those on the higher ground, where a better view could be had, kept them at a distance till the baggage had all cleared off. As the rear guard moved on the Afghans kept close behind, and Lieutenant Douglas' guns, masked by the Infantry, remained in rear, with a charge of grape in each, kept home by priming-wire and sponge ; but whenever the trails were dropped and the Infantry opened

* From an account by Colonel C. Douglas, who gives a rough sketch of the ground, copied above.

† Captain Unett and a squadron 3rd Dragoons ; Major Scott and a squadron 1st L.C. ; Captain Tait with a squadron of his (3rd) Irregulars.

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1842. September. out, the Afghans, taking the hint, got up the hillsides out of the way.*

Akbar Khan had lost the game. He fled to Ghorband, having previously sent the prisoners towards Bamián. On the 15th, Pollock's army was encamped on the racecourse at Kabul, and next day Nott was encamped at Chardeh.

The first thing that General Pollock did was to send out, after General Nott had, unfortunately for his reputation, expressed his decided unwillingness to do so, a brigade under Sir Robert Sale to recover the prisoners. Sir R. C. Shakespear had gone on with a party of Kuzzilbash Horse to follow them into Bamián. But they had purchased their own release, and he met them returning with their late jailor. The names of those belonging to the Artillery are given in Note D.

Nothing now remained to prevent General Pollock from returning with his force and General Nott's to India, except that Amin Ullah Khan had collected a force at Istálaf, with the expressed intention of fighting. Major-General
Sept. 30th. McCaskill was sent with two brigades of Infantry under Brigadiers Tulloch and Stacy, the 3rd Light Dragoons (two squadrons), 1st L.C. (one squadron), and Christie's Horse. The Artillery sent were Captain Blood's Battery (Lieutenant Terry present), Captain Backhouse's Mountain Train (Lieutenant Richardson present), and two 18-pounders under Lieutenant Cornish. The place was taken after a stout resistance, with but little loss to ourselves. Lieutenant Richardson was slightly wounded. Major Pottinger, Bombay Artillery, and Lieutenant R. H. Pollock, the General's A.D.C., were also present.

October. After this, General Pollock prepared to return. On the 12th of October the march commenced, General Nott's division forming the rear guard. But all cleared out of

* General Pollock mentions the following Artillery officers in his dispatch: Major Delafosse, Captains H. M. Lawrence, Abbott, Alexander, Lane, Backhouse, and Fitzgerald; Lieutenants Sir R. C. Shakespear and R. Pollock. Lieutenant Douglas was mentioned by Lieut.-Colonel Richmond in his report of the rear guard.

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Kabul at the same time. Pollock's column was lengthened by a great number of fugitives, some Sepoys, some camp-followers, whom the destruction of Ghazni and Kabul had rendered homeless, and who sought refuge and a return to their own country. It was absolutely refused by Nott, but Pollock, though he greatly felt the inconvenience, saw that the safety of his army would not be risked, and they were allowed some carriage. They would certainly have hampered the rear of the army. 1842. October.

General Sale, with two brigades, the Mountain Train, and some Cavalry, went by the Gospand Darra Pass on the right of and parallel to that by Khurd Kabul, thereby turning it, so that the rest of the army passed through without a shot being fired. After this, however, while the leading divisions passed on without difficulty, General Pollock's rear was often fired on, and General Nott's brigades, not so observant at first of the necessary precautions, suffered in consequence. Captain Leeson, commanding the rear guard, had a running fight nearly the whole of the 15th. Lieutenant Terry with his guns did good service. October 14th. October 15th.

From Tazin to Seh Baba, the rear divisions were still engaged. Traversing the Jagdalak Pass was a difficult matter. Pollock's rear here and the guns had their hands full. Brigadier Stacy's division in Nott's force had Leslie's and Turner's troops of H.A. with it, and was hotly engaged. Major Simmons, 41st Regiment, with the rear guard, was delayed in camp, having to burst the two 18-pounders brought from Kandahár. The Somnath gates were nearly lost this day. They were the source of the greatest difficulty owing to the value placed upon them by Lord Ellenborough and the unwieldy nature of the load, and the unnecessary cause of very much money and some bad language being expended in bringing them to India. The first division, under Sir R. Sale, reached Jalálabád on the 22nd; General McCaskill's on the 23rd; and General Nott's on the 24th. October 16th. October 18th. October 19th.

Here a halt was made for four days. The fortifications

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1842. October. of Jalálabád were destroyed, and on the 27th General Pollock's divisions marched for Peshawar. No opposition
November. was offered till Landikhána was reached. Brigadier Wild, commanding the rear brigade of General McCaskill's division, which marched for Ali Masjid on the 3rd, was detained on the road with the large gun which had been brought away from Jalálabád as a trophy. Failing to get it along, Captain Lane, in whose charge it was, had to abandon it, being attacked by a large body of Afridis near Garhi Lála Beg, so that he had to throw his detachment into a fort. Lieutenant A. Christie was ordered to join the rear guard with a gun and howitzer of the Mountain Train, Lieutenant L. Smith remaining with the others in advance. Darkness had set in, and under its cover large numbers of Afridis rushed upon the guns from the bushes thickly growing on either side of the road, firing, throwing stones, and using their knives. A number of our men were killed, Lieutenant Christie, of the Artillery, and Ensign Nicholson among the number, and the gun and howitzer were lost at the time, but recovered next day.

General Nott's rear guard was attacked on the same ground. From Landikhána till clear of the pass there was continual skirmishing. The General and Wymer's brigade
Nov. 5th. marched at 6 a.m.; after them, at a sufficient interval, came Leslie's Troop H.A.; then Captain Anderson with Turner's Troop; and then Blood's Field Battery. Captain Leslie got to the top of the ascent without difficulty, but the other two, especially the heavier one, required assistance. In a ravine, on the right, lay the unfortunate "kazi," the Jalálabád trophy gun. There was no time to think of such trifles, so at Brigadier Stacy's desire, Major Sotheby undertook to have it burst. The other trophy gun, "Zabar Jang" (weighty in war), which Nott had brought from Ghazni, had died at Kabul of the same disease. Small as his division was, Brigadier Stacy managed, by posting parties at intervals through the defile, to enable the baggage to keep
Nov. 6th. moving on during the night. Next day Brigadier Stacy's

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division continued its march. Major Brown, 41st Regiment, commanded the rear guard. Constant attacks were made on the line of picquets. The fort of Ali Masjid was blown up about noon, and shortly after Lieutenant W. S. Terry went with a party to select a spot for a gun to keep the enemy in check. On this duty he was severely wounded, and died three days afterwards at Peshawar. He was an officer of considerable promise. By the strong line of posts the passage of the baggage and stores was secured, and when the rear guard had cleared the eastern end of the defile, the last act in the evacuation of Afghanistan was accomplished. 1842. Nov. 6th.

An army of reserve had been concentrated upon the Sutlej as a measure of precaution against any movement or measure of an unfriendly nature on the part of the Sikh army. The Governor-General at its head on the 17th of December received the victorious troops, "the illustrious garrison" first of all, with special honours, and a week of feasting* closed the war, begun so inauspiciously three years before. December.

A list of the honours conferred upon the Artillery officers is given in the appendix to this chapter. Medals were conferred, one for the defence of Kalát-i-Ghilzai, one for Jalálabád, and one for the operations in Afghanistan in 1842. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were in 1843 voted to Major-General Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., as well as to Sir W. Nott, G.C.B., Sir John McCaskill, K.C.B., Sir R. H. Sale, G.C.B., and General England, but in the debate in the Upper House it was the Leader of the Opposition, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who brought to notice the essential services rendered to his country by Sir

* The 35th N.I., as a parting compliment to H.M. 13th Light Infantry, with which they had been so closely associated, obtained permission to entertain them at a banquet. The native officers superintended all the arrangements, regardless of the strict limitations of caste. Eatables and stronger liquids than water were supplied plentifully, as well as doolies for the conveyance to their tents of any who might find it inconvenient to walk.

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1842. December. George Pollock, which the Duke of Wellington passed by almost without comment. The feeling of the great Duke towards Pollock sufficiently appears in his correspondence with Lord Ellenborough, and the groundlessness of his criticisms may be seen by comparing them with the measures adopted by Pollock both going and returning,* or by one who knows what the Afghan hills are like.

Sir George Pollock was, five years after, granted a pension of £1,000 a year by the Court of Directors.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THIS CHAPTER.

General and Regimental Orders.
Records India Office.
Army Lists.
Kaye's "War in Afghanistan."
Correspondence, &c., General Abbott.
Stacy's "Narrative."
"Nott's Brigade in Afghanistan."
Lieutenant Eyre's "Journal."
"Life of Field-Marshal Sir G. Pollock."
Greenwood's "Narrative."
Letters from various officers.
Papers laid before Parliament (P.P.).

APPENDIX.

A. Names of Officers, Bengal Artillery, 1842.
B. Names of Officers, Bombay Artillery, 1842.
C. Regimental Order. Defence of Kalát-i-Ghilzai.
D. List of Prisoners in Akbar Khan's Hands.
E. Honours conferred upon Artillery Officers.

* This refers to the Duke's letter to Lord Ellenborough dated February 4th, 1843, more particularly the part commencing "I confess I do not admire the retreat" ("Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough," p. 345). The Duke seems to have been influenced by Lord Ellenborough's various criticisms both upon Pollock and Nott The latter was spoken of at first very slightingly, afterwards in terms of high praise.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Names of Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in Afghanistan during the year 1842.

Major-Genl.	George Pollock, C.B. ...	...	Comdg. Troops West of Indus.
Major	Frederick S. Sotheby ...	2nd Batt.	Comdg. Arty. Genl. Nott's Column.
Bt.-Major	Henry Delafosse	3rd Tp. 1st Bde. ...	Comdg. Arty. Bengal Column.
Captain	Thomas Nicholl	1st Tp. 1st Bde. ...	Killed in retreat at Jagdalak.
,,	Augustus Abbott	1st Tp. 1st Bde. ...	Comdg. 2nd Co. 6th Batt.
,,	James Alexander	3rd Tp. 2nd Bde.	
,,	William Anderson ...	4th Co. 2nd Batt.	Comdg. H.A., late Shah Shuja's.
,,	John T. Lane	...	Comy. of Ordnance.
,,	Julius B. Backhouse ..	Mount. Train	
,,	Henry M. Lawrence ...	...	Political Emp.—Comdg. Sikh Contingent.
Bt.-Captain	Augustine Fitzgerald ...	3rd Tp. 2nd Bde.	
,,	George Larkins	3rd Tp. 2nd Bde.	
,,	George H. Macgregor ...	...	Political Employ.
,,	Robert Waller	1st Tp. 1st Bde. ...	Prisoner in Akbar Khan's Hands.
Lieutenant	Frederick W. Cornish ...	3rd Co. 2nd Batt.	
,,	Llewellyn Smith	2nd Co. 2nd Batt.	
,,	George L. Cooper ...	...	1st Troop Shah's H.A.
,,	Sir Richmond C. Shakespear, Kt.	...	Mily. Secy. to Genl. Pollock.
,,	Robert Walker	4th Co. 2nd Batt.	
,,	Vincent Eyre	...	Prisoner in Akbar Khan's Hands.
,,	John L. C. Richardson ...	3rd Tp. 1st Bde.	
,,	Charles Stewart	1st Tp. 1st Bde. ...	Killed in retreat at Gandamak.
,,	Michael Dawes	2nd Co. 6th Batt.	
,,	Frank Turner	2nd Tp. S.S.H.A.	
,,	John Abercrombie ...	3rd Tp. 1st Bde.	
,,	Robert Warburton ...	Shah's Own Arty.*	Prisoner in Akbar Khan's Hands.
,,	Ernle Kyrle Money ...	3rd Tp. 1st Bde.	
,,	Alexander W. Hawkins...	1st Tp. 1st Bde....	2nd Troop Shah's H.A.
,,	Charles Douglas	2nd Co. 2nd Batt.	Was attached to 2nd Co. 6th Batt.
,,	Charles A. Greene ...	Mount. Train ...	Killed in retreat at Jagdalak.
,,	Thomas Brougham ...	3rd Co. 2nd Batt.	

* Lieut. Warburton was appointed to the charge of some guns under this title. Took command, 23rd August, 1839.

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NOTE A—*continued.*

Lieutenant	Alexander Christie ...	4th Co. 6th Batt.	Killed 3rd Nov. in action near Ali Masjid.
,,	Alexander Robertson ...	4th Co. 6th Batt.	
,,	Robert H. Pollock ...	...	A.D.C. to General Pollock.
Asst.-Surg.	Alexander Bryce, M.D. ...	1st Tp. 1st Bde. H.A.	Killed in retreat at Tazin.
,,	Richard W. Faithful ...	3rd Tp. 2nd Bde. H.A.	Medical Store-Keeper with the Troops.
,,	Duncan McRae	3rd Tp. 1st Bde. H.A.	
,,	Wm. S. Comberbach ...	2nd Co. 2nd Batt.	
,,	Herbert Coe	3rd Co. 2nd Batt.	
Vet.-Surg.	W. P. Barrett		

NOTE B.

Names of Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served in Sind and Afghanistan during the year 1842.

Bt.-Major	John Lloyd	...	Comdg. Arty. in Sind.
Captain	James Sinclair	...	Comy. Ordnance, Sind.
,,	John T. Leslie	1st Troop	
,,	Francis J. Pontardent ...	...	Political Employ.
,,	Henry Stamford	...	Comy. of Ordnance, Sukkur.
,,	William T. Whitlie ...	2nd Co. 2nd Batt.	
,,	Clements Blood	3rd Co. 1st Batt.	
Bt.-Captain	George Hutt	3rd Co. Gol. ...	On sick leave.
Lieutenant	Henry Giberne	3rd Co. Gol. ...	Doing duty from Survey Dept.
,,	Eldred Pottinger, C.B. ...	...	Political Employ.
,,	A. F. Rowan	1st Troop	
,,	Edward S. Blake... ...	Det. Gol.	Home on sick leave, 19th August, 1842.
,,	Edward Welland... ...	2nd Co. 2nd Batt.	Died at Sukkur, 27th Dec.
,,	Thos. C. Pownoll ...	1st Troop	
,,	George A. Pruen... ...	3rd Co. 1st Batt.	
,,	David Erskine	...	Brigade-Major Arty. in Sind.
,,	Walter S. Terry	3rd Co. 1st Batt.	Died at Peshawar, 9th Nov., 1842, of wound in action at Ali Masjid, 6th *idem*.
,,	A. B. Kemball		
,,	Reginald T. Brett ...	1st Troop	Doing duty from 4th Troop.
,,	Charles B. Fuller ...	Gol.	Sind.
,,	John Worgan	Gol.	Sind.
Second-Lieut	Edward Wray	2nd Co. 2nd Batt.	Transferred to 4th Troop.
,,	John S. Petrie	2nd Co. 2nd Batt.	
,,	J. C. Smith	1st Troop	
Asst.-Surg.	R. T. C. Baxter	1st Troop	

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NOTE C.

ARTILLERY REGIMENTAL ORDERS,

20th July, 1842.

The Commandant has much pleasure in publishing the following extract from Lieutenant Walker's report of the good conduct of the 4th Company 2nd Battalion under his command in the defence of Kelat-i-Ghilzie :—

"The attack was made about half-past three a.m. The two main bodies were directed against two points of the fort, at one of which I had two 6-pounder guns, and at the other one 6-pounder. The enemy succeeded in planting their scaling-ladders and crossing the ditch by them, and at one time were in great force at the top of the hill, when the Europeans were obliged to resort to their small arms, and the enemy were by them and the Sepoys shot and bayonetted one after the other in numbers. Where every man of the detachment did his duty to the utmost it might seem not to require individual mention; but I deem it my duty to specify the names of the men at the three guns which had the luck of bearing the brunt of the engagement, as also the names of Staff-Sergeant A. Sweeny, Corporal D. McDonald, Magazine-Sergeant, and Bombardier W. Keelty, laboratory-man. 1842. May 21st.

CORPORALS.

W. Pitchey.	T. Bennet.	R. C. Middleton.

GUNNERS.

J. Napier.	B. Kelly.	W. Hughes.
W. Brown.	W. Clear.	D. Reddin.
T. Smith.	T. Bryan.	T. Martin.
M. Bradley.	W. Evans.	J. McDonald.
	J. Smith.	

(with 3 Naicks and 13 Privates, Gun Lascar Detail not entered here).

"(*Signed*) ROBERT WALKER, Lieutenant,
"Commanding Artillery, Kelat-i-Ghilzie."

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NOTE D.

List of Prisoners belonging to the Artillery released on the 21st September, 1842.

Brevet-Major Eldred Pottinger (Bombay).
Brevet-Captain R. Waller, H.A., wife and two children.
Lieutenant V. Eyre, wife and one child.
Lieutenant R. Warburton.
Conductor Thos. B. Ryley, wife and three children.
Sergeant Wade and wife.
Sergeant M. McNee, H.A.
Sergeant Cleland, H.A.
Gunner A. Hearn, H.A.
Gunner Kean, H.A.
Gunner Dalton, H.A.

NOTE E.

Honours conferred upon Artillery Officers for Services in the Afghan War, 1839-1842.

Bengal Artillery.

G.G.O., 24th March, 1840. Major Pew, Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel.

G.G.O., 24th Dec., 1842.
- Captain Abbott, Brevet-Major and C.B.
- Captain MacGregor, Local Major and C.B.
- Captain Backhouse, Brevet-Major.

G.G.O., 25th Jan., 1843. Major-General Pollock, C.B., G.C.B.

G.G.O., 21st Feb., 1843.
- Majors Sotheby and Delafosse, C.B.
- Captain Anderson, Brevet-Major and C.B.
- Major Backhouse, C.B.
- Captains Lane and Lawrence, Brevet-Major.

Bombay Artillery.

G.G.O. 24th March, 1840.
- Lieut.-Colonel T. Stevenson, C.B.
- Captains Lloyd and Coghlan, Brevet-Major.
- Lieut. E. Pottinger, Local Major and C.B.

G.G.O., 21st Feb., 1843. Captains Leslie and Blood, Brevet-Major.

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CHAPTER IV.

GWALIOR CAMPAIGN.

DIFFICULTIES WITH GWALIOR—Army of Exercise Formed—Left Wing—Constitution of Force—Right Wing Advance to Hingonah—Move towards Chaunda—Movement of Cavalry on the Left—Attack of centre on Maharajpur—Of Right Brigade—Cavalry and Horse Artillery attack Chaundah and Shikarpur—Enemy driven across the River—Remarks—Conduct of Infantry—Heavy Casualty Roll—Advance of Left Wing—Battle of Paniár—Honours and Rewards.

THE state of affairs at Gwalior in the year 1843 was very disturbed. The army had acquired a dangerously predominant power during the reign of the young Maharaja Jankoji Rao Sindiah, who died February 7th. His widow, but thirteen years old, adopted as successor a boy of eight. The Máma Sahib, maternal uncle of Jankoji, was appointed Regent with the support of our Resident at Gwalior, but the child-widow was under the influence of a party hostile to him, of which the Dáda Khásgiwála was leader. A series of Court intrigues followed. The army wished to be paramount, and was massed about Gwalior. Disturbances and fighting followed. The Regent and British Resident were obliged to leave, and several British officers were dismissed Sindiah's service. Unwilling as he was to interfere, the Governor-General was constrained to provide for the security of our territory. 1843.

Sir Hugh Gough had lately succeeded Sir Jasper Nicolls as Commander-in-Chief. A force was assembled at Agra in November under his personal command, called "The Army of Exercise." Shortly after, another, called "The Left Wing" was formed. The corps composing it, from Mirzapur, Allahabad, Cawnpore, and the south of

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1843. Bandelkhand, concentrated at Jhánsi towards the latter part of December.

The whole force was thus constituted :—

Artillery.

Brigadier G. E. Gowan, Commanding.

Captain J. H. Macdonald, D.A.A.G., Captain E. F. Day, Commissary of Ordnance.

Horse Artillery : Brigadier E. Biddulph, Lieutenant E. G. Austin, Brigade-Major.

52 Fd. Batt. 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade, Captain C. Grant.
2-2 Dep. Div. 3rd „ „ Major J. Alexander.
L., R.H.A. 1st Troop 3rd Brigade, Captain J. Brind.
57 Fd. Batt. 2nd „ „ Major J. T. Lane.
S., R.H.A. 3rd „ „ Captain G. Campbell

Foot Artillery : Brigadier J. Tennant, Captain A. Huish, Brigade-Major.

21 Fd. Batt. 1st Co. 1st Batt. No. 10 H.F.B., Major T. Sanders.
10 Fd. Batt. 2nd „ 1st „ Reserve.*
8 Co. S. Div. 1st „ 3rd „ Reserve.*
23 Fd. Batt. 2nd „ 3rd „ Reserve.*
2 Mt. Batt. 1st „ 4th „ No. 17 H.F.B., Captain B. Browne.
4 Mt. Batt. 2nd „ 4th „ Reserve, Lieut. H. D'O. Baillie.
6 Mt. Batt. 3rd „ 4th „ Reserve.
6 Co. E Div. 4th „ 4th „ Reserve, Lieut. H. S. Leathes.
6th „ 6th „ No. 16 L.F.B., Lieut. W. Olpherts.
5th, 8th, 9th, and 10th Cos. 6th Batt. Native Reserve.

Engineers.

Major E. J. Smith, 1st, 3rd, and 4th Cos. Sappers.

Cavalry.

Major-General Sir J. Thackwell, K.C.B., K.H., Commanding.

1st Brigade.—Brigadier A. Campbell, K.H.: two squadrons 9th Lancers, two squadrons 5th, two squadrons 11th L.C., wing 2nd I.C.

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier D. Harriott : 8th L.C., 8th I.C., Cavalry Bandelkhand Legion.

* Sent back to Agra from Dholpur with siege-train.

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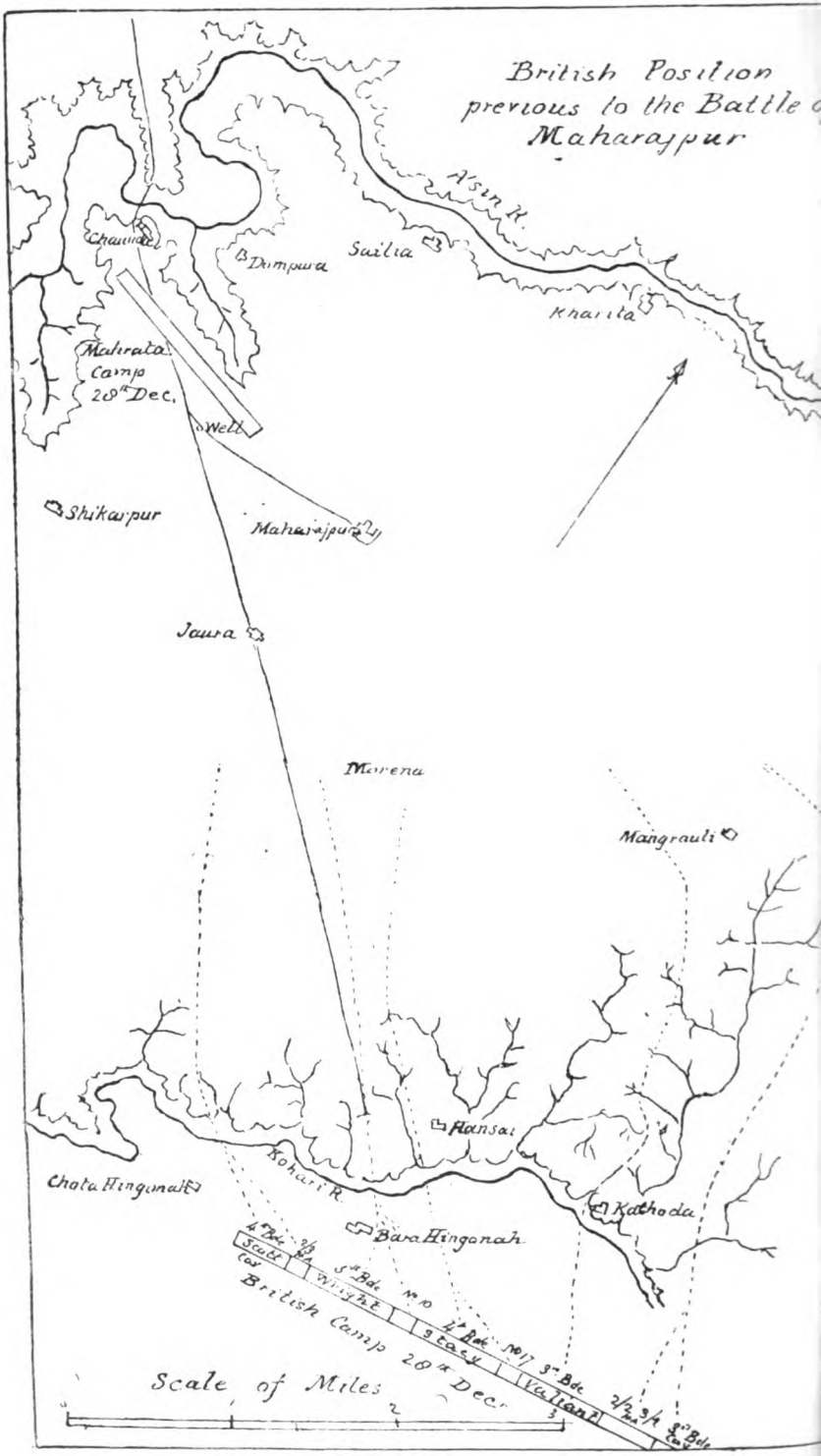

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3rd Brigade.—Brigadier C. R. Cureton: 16th Lancers, 1st L.C., 4th L.C. 1843.

4th Brigade.—Brigadier J. Scott: Body Guard, 4th and 10th L.C.

Infantry.

1ST DIVISION: Major-General J. Grey, C.B., Commanding.

1st Brigade.—Brigadier W. A. Yates: 3rd Buffs, 39th and 51st N.I., Bandelkhand Legion.

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier R. Blackall: H.M. 50th, 50th and 58th N.I.

2ND DIVISION: Major-General Dennis, Commanding.

3rd Brigade.—Major-General T. Valiant, K.H.: 2nd and 16th N.I.

4th Brigade.—Brigadier L. R. Stacy, C.B.: 14th, 31st, and 43rd N.I.

3RD DIVISION: Major-General J. H. Littler, Commanding.

5th Brigade.—Brigadier T. Wright: H.M., 39th, 35th,* and 56th N.I.

6th Brigade.—Brigadier S. D. Riley: 62nd and 70th N.I., Kalát-i-Ghilzai Regiment.

The left wing consisted of the 1st and 2nd Brigades of Cavalry, and General Grey's division of Infantry, and Brind's and Campbell's Troops of H.A., and Lieutenant W. Olpherts' Field Battery. December.

The right wing left Agra on the 16th, and crossed the River Chambal on the 21st. The Gwalior Durbar gave up the Dáda, who had been worsted in a fight with the army, but till the army was under control there was no security that tranquillity would be maintained. However, most of the siege-train, with some reserve companies, were sent back to Agra, there to wait for orders. Six 18-pounder guns, four 8-inch howitzers, and the reserve companies of the 4th Battalion went with the army to Hingonah on the Kohári River, where the Governor-General waited for an interview

* Left at Agra.

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1843. December. with the heads of the Gwalior State, which did not come off.

While there, it was known that the Mahráta army had moved forward to Chaunda on the Ásín River. The Commander-in-Chief, with the Quarter-Master-General, reconnoitred as far as the village of Maharájpur, but it was only occupied by a picquet of the Mahráta Infantry. There had been no declaration of war, but the attitude of the two armies was equivalent to one. From the Chief's dispatch it would appear that his intention was to have made a threatening movement with his left and a direct attack upon the centre, while General Valiant, with Brigadier Cureton's Cavalry and Horse Artillery, turned their left. The Gwalior army, however, did not mean to fight with the river and its intricate ravines immediately behind them. They advanced to Maharájpur on the 28th and there entrenched themselves. A line of vedettes and patrols three miles in advance of the Kohári River would have been of use here.

On the 28th orders were issued for an advance, preparatory to an attack upon Chaunda. It was believed to be the Commander-in-Chief's intention to encamp at or near Maharájpur. The army was directed to move in three columns:—

Brigadier Scott's Cavalry with Lane's Troop on the left of the village of Jaura; Brigadier Wright with Sanders' Field Battery on its right; Brigadier Stacy with Browne's Field Battery on Morena. Half an hour before daybreak.

General Valiant's brigade, crossing the Kohári nearly in its front in the direction of Mangrauli, had to pass over a considerable distance much intersected with ravines. At daybreak.

Brigadier Cureton's Cavalry, with Grant's and Alexander's Troops, on Mangrauli. They had to make a detour to the right to avoid the ravines. At daybreak.

Dec. 29th. The 6th Brigade of Infantry, with four risálas of Irregular

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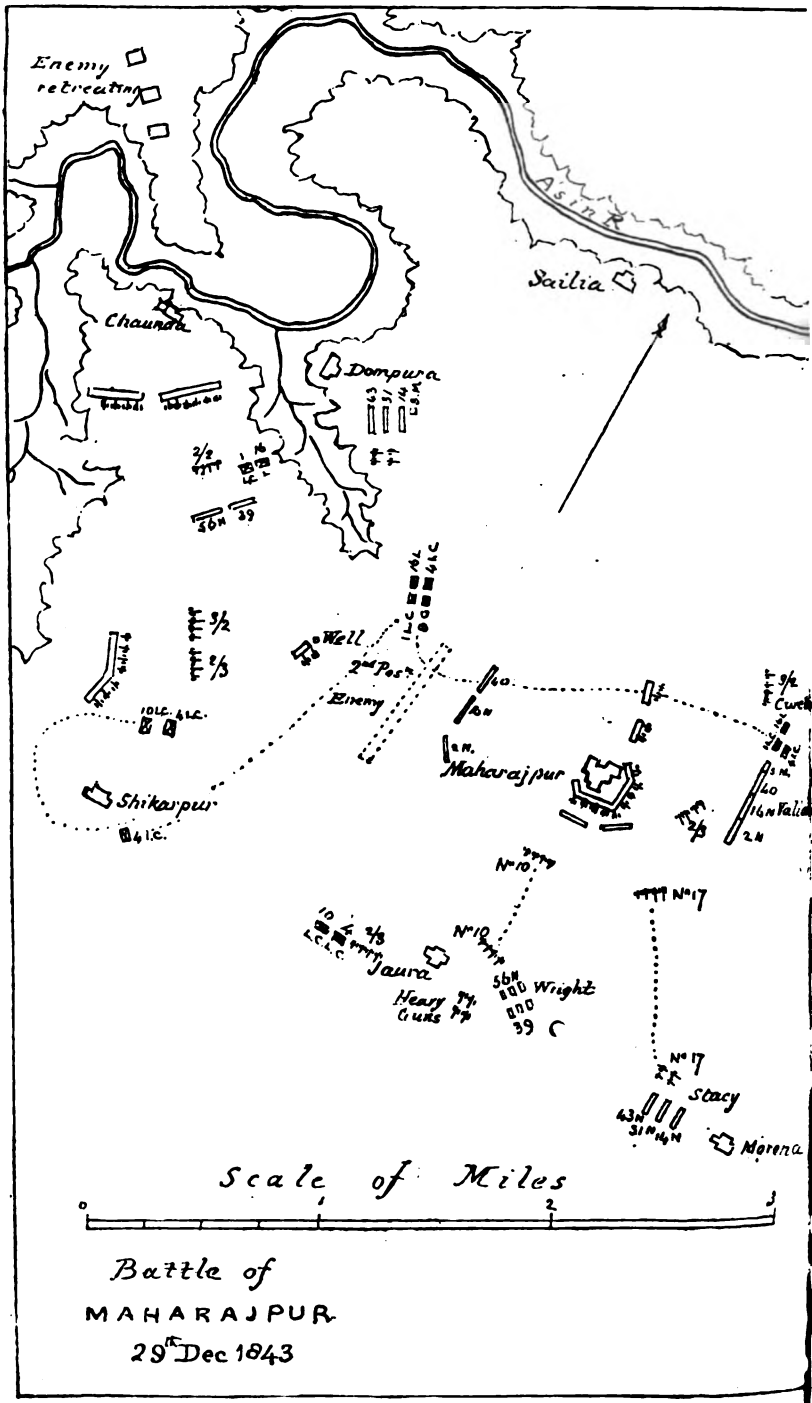

Battle of
MAHARAJPUR
29th Dec 1843

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Cavalry, were kept in rear to protect the parks and commissariat. No mention is made of the heavy guns or the reserve companies with them. Apparently they were left to make their own arrangements, and they followed up the road by Chota Hingonah. 1843. Dec. 29th.

The Cavalry, with Lane's Troop on the left, got to Jaura without hindrance. Lieutenant R. G. Simeon, 10th L.C., going on to reconnoitre, was fired upon from a battery at a well on the road to Chaunda. The sun, being only just above the horizon, was in the eyes of our men, making it difficult to see in the direction of the enemy, who had the visual advantage. Captain Lane took his Troop forward and came into action, but suffered so severely from the weight of metál against him that it was thought advisable to limber up and retire. One of his trumpeters had both legs taken off by a shot. At this time the attack on the centre had not developed fully.

It was originally intended that Brigadier Stacy should have led the central attack on the expected position at Chaunda, but when the Commander-in-Chief approached Maharájpur the Mahráta guns opening fire showed him where they really were. The 5th Brigade was opposite to the enemy's batteries,* and Stacy, coming up from Morena, was a little in rear to the right. Staff-officers were sent to bring up the Field Batteries. It was yet early, and the heavy guns were not far behind. Had they been placed in position and given a chance the casualty roll at the end of the day would have been much smaller. Captain Frend, A.D.C., came up first with Captain Browne's battery, which was thus the earliest in action.† Captain Sanders, with No. 10, arrived immediately afterwards, and for some time a hot fire was kept up. The weight and number of the Mahráta guns behind their entrenchments exceeded those of the batteries

* C.-in-C.'s Dispatch, January 4th.

† Colonel Frend, from whom I have received two valuable accounts of this action.

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1843 Dec. 29th. attacking. Round and grape (and by some accounts chain) shot tore through our ranks, so Sir Hugh Gough, ever impatient of delay, ordered forward General Littler with his one* brigade of two regiments. He signalled to General Valiant, still at some distance on the right, to co-operate. Littler gave the word to Brigadier Wright, whose regiments advanced in double column of sub-divisions, deploying at 100 yards, but not firing till about 50† yards off, when they delivered a volley, and rushed in upon the guns. The Mahráta gunners made a desperate resistance, fighting hand-to-hand, before they gave way. From the tops of houses and from trees a matchlock-fire was kept up, inflicting severe loss on us.

The 4th Brigade, headed by Major-General Dennis and Brigadier Stacy, is said to have followed up the attack It did so afterwards, but from the very small number of casualties in it,‡ the remark on the official plan, "kept in reserve," is correct in fact. Had the Chief waited a little it would have been a support.

General Valiant's Brigade was moving up from Mangrauli when the batteries opened upon Maharájpur. As he approached, shot from the guns on that side of the village passed over their heads and line was formed, the 40th Regiment on the right, then the 16th and 2nd N.I. They advanced under a heavy fire from the guns both on that side of the village and to the south of it, and, there being no cover, suffered severely. On getting to close quarters they fired a volley and charged with the bayonet. The 39th and 56th N.I. had effected an entrance on their side, and the village was soon cleared and set fire to, after which the 3rd Brigade captured the guns outside which had been firing on them as they advanced.

Sir J. Thackwell with the Horse Artillery and Brigadier Cureton's Cavalry having a long detour to make, did not

* His other brigade was on rear guard.

† One account says 60 ; another 40. *In medio tutissimus ibis.*

‡ 14th N.I., two wounded ; 31st N.I., none ; 43rd N.I., one killed, four wounded.

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arrive at Mangrauli till after the Infantry had gone on, but, quickening their pace, they came up with them about half-past eight o'clock. Moving forward, Captains Grant and Alexander became engaged with the Mahráta batteries in their front. At first the two Troops were acting independently of each other, but the 3rd Troop, finding itself at too long a range, received permission to join the 2nd Troop, and their united fire at 500 yards drove the enemy from their guns. Following them up, they came within the range of batteries, some at Chaunda, more about Shikarpur. Captain Alexander was sent against the latter. One of them was soon after charged and captured by Brigadier Scott's Cavalry,* which then followed up the enemy's Horse, sweeping round the village. 1843. December. Dec. 29th

Captain Grant, sent against the batteries at Chaunda, unlimbered at 600 yards, and for a time was fighting double the number of guns, so well placed and sheltered, that even on horseback nothing more than the muzzles could be seen. His losses here were very great, and an ammunition wagon was blown up. Once and again the enemy abandoned their guns, but the Troop having no support beyond a few men of the 1st L.C., they returned again. At last, however, General Littler came up with Wright's Brigade in rear of the Troop, where, being under a heavy fire as might have been expected, they lay down 300 yards behind them. Grant's ammunition was now becoming exhausted, and Brigadier Gowan sent Captain Macdonald to

* Brigadier Gowan in his dispatch says: "Stormed and taken by the Infantry." But he, at the time, was some distance off, near Grant's Troop. Colonel Dumbleton, in a letter giving very full details, says: "We turned to the east, and charged down on a battery of some twelve guns, about the position the 10th and 4th are shown on your map; no enemy are here shown, which is erroneous, as there were two batteries, well supported by Cavalry. We should have been exterminated, but they had not time to lower their guns, and shot over us. Then we made a long sweep round Shikarpore, etc." The map I sent Colonel Dumbleton was a copy of the official lithographed one, which is, in the main, correct. As to the actual capture of the guns, Cavalry very rarely have the opportunity or means of taking them away, and if not spiked, they might have been used again till taken again by General Valiant's Brigade, as related below.

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1843. Dec. 29th. request General Littler to move up and support the guns. This was done at once; the remains of the two gallant regiments forming line took ground to the left, and when clear of the guns wheeled up. Another cheer, a last charge, and the guns were ours. No regiment that day left so many on the field as the 39th; Major Straubenzee led it out of action fewer by 216 officers and men than had mustered that morning on parade. The 56th N.I., though their casualties were not nearly as great, had done well.

The 3rd Brigade under General Valiant, after passing Maharájpur, moved towards Shikarpur, taking in succession three * entrenched positions of the enemy. Captain Alexander's Troop, which had worked on in this direction, was joined by Captain Lane's. Captain Sanders' battery also came into action against the batteries north-east of Maharájpur. Brigadier Stacy's brigade, with Captain Browne's battery, passed up to the village of Dompura, but it was not seriously engaged here. The Mahráta army, driven from its guns, were retreating across the Ásín River, and our brigades wisely refrained from following them into the intricate ravines which bordered the stream.

Sir Hugh Gough's tactics at Maharájpur were not to be commended. Besides the fact of his not having been aware of the enemy's position, the neglect of not using his heavy guns was inexcusable. They only got as far as Jaura, where they fired one shot. The wave of battle had swept onward and they got no chance. Brigadier Tennant, a most capable and scientific officer, felt it very much. The Commander-in-Chief inserts in his dispatch a lame apology, that the Infantry were too quick for them. The experience of all Artillerymen tells them that it could have been rather the other way. This is said advisedly, with practical experience of it. Sádi's lines were applicable to Sir Hugh Gough as soon as the music of war began :—

* So in C.-in-C.'s dispatch. They are not marked on any of the plans.

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"An nah man básham kih roz-i-jang bíní pusht-i-man
An manam kándar miyán-i-khák o khun bíní sirı." * 1843. Dec. 29th.

He, with his own and the Governor-General's Staff, were foremost throughout. Major-General Churchill lost both legs by a shot and died after the surgical operation. Colonel Somerset and Lieut.-Colonel E. Sanders, Deputy Secretary to Government Military Department, who had served with distinction in the Afghan War, were killed, and Captain G. Frend, A.D.C., lost an arm.

The conduct of the Infantry regiments was admirable. The casualties in the 5th Brigade have been mentioned; in the 3rd those in H.M. 40th amounted to 184; in the 16th Grenadier N.I. to 180, and in the 2nd Grenadier N.I. to 41. Upon these two brigades the brunt of the fighting fell. The 4th and 10th Cavalry had 47 men and 63 horses killed and wounded. Those in the Artillery are given in the Appendix. Considering how much our light field-guns were overmatched in weight of metal and number of guns, they might have been greater. The number captured from the enemy amounted to 49, from 18-pounders down to 3-pounders. Lieutenant Leathes rode forward in front of the heavy guns, when a round shot took off his head.

Operations of the Left Wing. December.

The Left Wing arrived at Bar ke Serai on the morning of the 28th. Gwalior was not quite 20 miles further. Seven miles from camp a ridge of hills intervened, and here, close to Antri, a Mahráta force of some 12,000 men, under Colonel Sikandar, of Sindiah's army, prepared to dispute the pass. Sir John Grey knew that we were treating with the Durbar, and he was under orders not to force a battle. The position was a strong one. Next morning, Dec. 29th. therefore, he changed direction to the left, marched to Himmatgarh, and thence through a narrow valley, much intersected with ravines, to Paniár, a distance of 16 miles.

* I am not one whose back you shall see in the day of battle,
I am one whose head you shall see in the midst of dust and blood.
—Gulistan.

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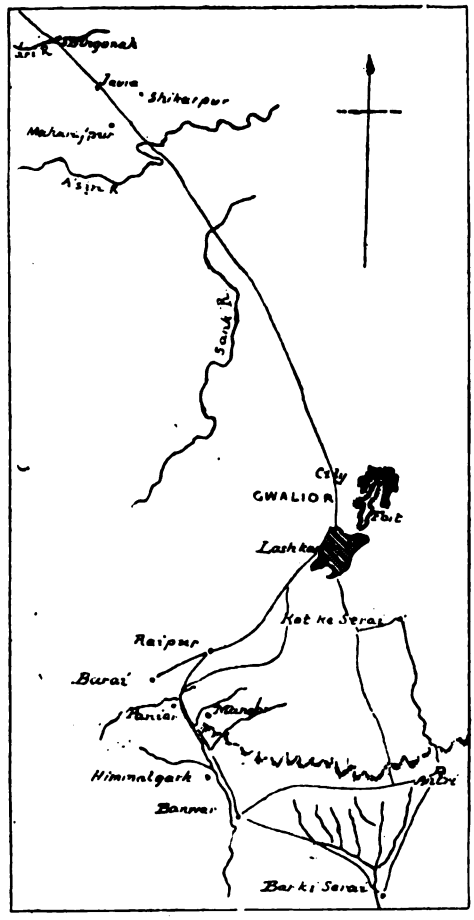
1843. Dec. 29th. In making this flank movement, the 39th N.I., a squadron of the 9th Lancers, and Captain F. Brind's Troop of H.A., covered the main column on the right. Captain G. Campbell, with four guns of his Troop, were on the advanced guard, and the remaining two, under Bt.-Captain Humfrays, in rear.



The main body got to their ground beyond Paniár near mid-day, and camp was marked out. Tents were arriving and being pitched; breakfasts, baths, or slumber were in near prospect for those whose duties did not call them to other employments. The line of baggage, for this campaign was conducted in the most luxurious style, some nine miles in length, was still wending its tortuous course along the valley, when a little after noon a message was received in camp that the rear guard were engaged. Brigadier Harriott was at once dispatched with all the available Cavalry. Lieutenant C. V. Cox turned out at once with two guns, followed shortly

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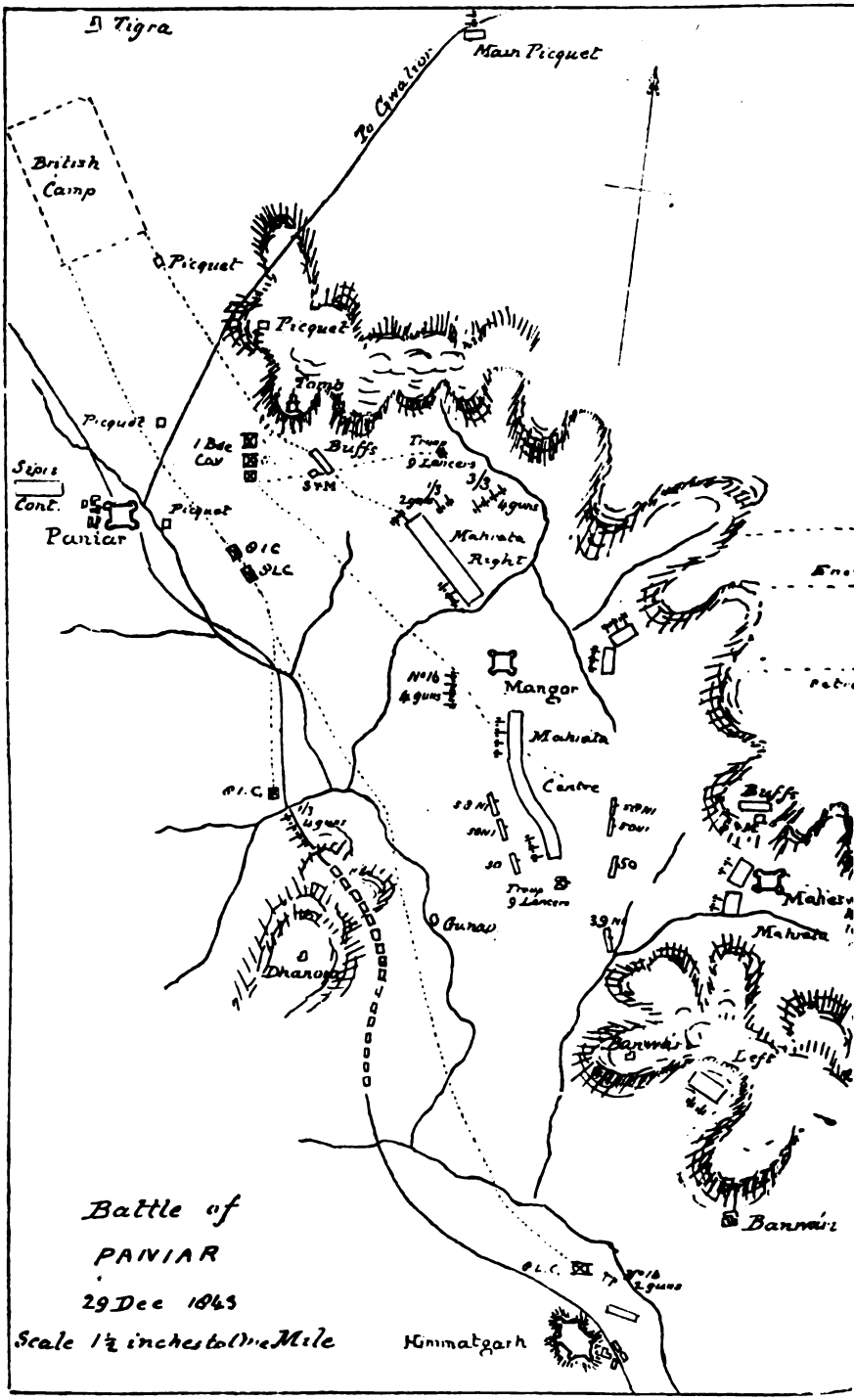

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by Captain Brind with two more, on some high ground near Dhanora, a small village S.S.W. of Mangor. The enemy had come across from Antri through the hills and took up a position on the heights overlooking the valley. The fort of Mangor was nearly in their centre, and from thence they now were opening fire. As soon as the fire of Captain Brind's guns had sufficiently silenced those opposed to him, the 3rd Buffs, with a company of Sappers, was directed against them. Ravines made the ground difficult for Cavalry. It was the General's intention to have delayed this attack until he had brought a force to bear upon the centre and left of the Mahráta position. The Buffs, however, advanced on their right, forcing it back from one height to another, finally capturing 11 guns and a standard. 1843. Dec. 29th.

Major Geddes was sent with Captain Campbell, four of his, and two of the 1st Troop guns, against a large battery in rear of their line and fort Mangor. Our batteries were very short of officers, as the list in the Appendix shows. Brigadier Biddulph,* in his dispatch of the 31st, says:— "Having only two officers with these six guns, Major Geddes and Captain Campbell, I directed Captain Austin, Major of Brigade, to assist in the battery." Lieutenant Bourchier and two of the 3rd Troop guns were left with the advanced picquet about half way towards the camp, on a height which overlooked both it and the road leading to Gwalior.

After an hour's firing the guns opposed to Major Geddes were silenced; the enemy were retreating towards Gwalior, and at dark the guns returned to camp.

Lieutenant W. Olpherts, with his two howitzers and two 9-pounder guns, took up a position near Mangor, which enabled him to enfilade the battery opposed to Major Geddes and Campbell's guns, and thus rendered material aid in silencing them.

* Brigadier Biddulph was with this battery, as the guns opposed to them formed the main point of the enemy's position.

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1843. Dec. 29th. Meanwhile H.M. 50th Regiment, a wing of the 39th, a wing of the 50th, and the 51st N.I. had commenced operating on the left of the hostile line. Behind it, at the village of Maheswára, were the left flanking guns of the enemy. Colonel Anderson, K.H., of the 50th Regiment, commanded this attack, which was completely successful at all points.

Lieutenant Tombs, with two guns, had been detailed for the important duty of the rear guard, and was engaged for a short time with a detached party of the enemy threatening the rear.

The captured guns, 24 in number, were secured during the night and following day, and the troops returned after dark to camp, leaving the heights lately occupied by the enemy to the Sipri contingent of the Gwalior army, under Brigadier Orlando Stubbs, which had arrived that morning and was present in the action, although as yet it had not been actively engaged. A 9-pounder field battery was attached to this force, commanded by Lieutenant John H. Smyth. The wounded were collected and sent into camp together with any guns not before secured. Desultory firing occurred during the night, and at daybreak a heavy fire was opened upon the contingent from some heights to the north-east, but after some well-directed rounds from the guns, the contingent cleared the hills, and the Mahráta force finally withdrew.

December. This action only cost the Artillery one gunner and one horse of the 3rd Troop killed. The casualties of the three regiments of Infantry most engaged, the Buffs, 71 ; the 50th, 42 ; and the 39th N.I., 62, compare favourably with the returns from Maharájpur. The ground was more unfavourable for our Artillery, yet its effect in reducing the casualties in the assault was marked.

Two days after General Sir J. Grey received orders to join the right wing ; the Maharani tendered her submission, and the army was broken up after a campaign which was comprised almost within the space of one week.

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1843. December.

The Governor-General conferred a donation of six months' batta upon the troops employed, likewise a medal in the shape of a bronze star, which his Grace the Iron Duke was said to have disapproved of as too much of a decoration, though the anomaly, if any, has since been repeated. The following honours were conferred on Artillery officers :—

Colonels Gowan and Biddulph, C.B.

Majors Geddes, Sanders, Alexander, Lane, Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel.

Captains Browne, Grant, Brind, Campbell, and Macdonald, Brevet-Major.

A force was raised in the Gwalior State, officered from the British Army instead of the Sipri force, called the "Gwalior Contingent." It contained four batteries of Artillery, the command of which was conferred upon Lieutenants V. Eyre, R. Warburton, J. H. Smyth, and A. W. Hawkins. Brevet-Captain Frank Turner was Brigade-Major.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THIS CHAPTER.

General and Regimental Orders.
Muster Rolls.
Army Lists.
India Office Records.
Thornton's "History of India."
Letters from various officers employed.

APPENDIX.

A. Officers of Bengal Artillery at Maharájpur.
B. Return of killed and wounded, Maharájpur.
C. Officers of Bengal Artillery at Paniár.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery present with the right-wing of the army at the Battle of Maharájpur.

Lieut.-Col.	G. E. Gowan	...	Comdg. Artillery.
,,	J. Tennant	...	Comdg. Foot Arty.
,,	J. J. Farrington	4th Batt.	
Major	G. G. Denniss	2nd Batt.	Comdg. 6th Batt.
,,	T. Sanders	1st Co. 1st Batt. ...	No. 10, Horse Field Battery.
Captain	B. Brown	2nd Co. 4th Batt. ...	Comdg. 1st Co. and No. 17 Horse Field Battery.
,,	C. Grant	2nd Troop 2nd Bde.	
Bt.-Major	J. Alexander	3rd Troop 2nd Bde.	
Captain	E. F. Day	...	Commy. Ordnance.
Bt.-Major	J. T. Lane	2nd Troop 3rd Bde.	
Bt.-Captain	J. H. MacDonald ...	...	Asst.-Adjt.-Gen. Arty.
,,	A. Fitzgerald	2nd Bde. H.A. ...	Adjutant.
,,	C. E. Mills	2nd Troop 3rd Bde.	
,,	J. Whitefoord	4th Batt.	Adjutant.
,,	A. Huish	...	Brigade-Major.
Lieutenant	W. R. Warner	6th Batt.	Adjutant.
,,	G. H. Clifford	2nd Troop 2nd Bde.	
,,	G. Moir	2nd Troop 3rd Bde.	
,,	P. Christie	2nd Troop 3rd Bde.	
,,	A. Wintle...	...	Doing duty with 3rd Troop 2nd Bde.
,,	H. S. Leathes	4th Co. 4th Batt. ...	Killed in Action.
,,	H. D'O. Baillie	2nd Co. 4th Batt. ...	
Second-Lieut.	F. F. Remmington ...	5th Co. 4th Batt. ...	Doing duty with 1st Co. 4th Batt.
,,	G. Holland	2nd Co. 4th Batt. ...	Doing duty with 1st Co. 4th Batt.
,,	H. Le G. Bruce	1st Co. 1st Batt.	
,,	D. MacNeill	4th Co. 4th Batt.	
,,	H. H. Maxwell	4th Co. 4th Batt.	
,,	G. Maister	...	Doing duty with 2nd Co. 4th Batt.
,,	G. Milligan	1st Co. 1st Batt.	
,,	J. R. Sladen	1st Co. 1st Batt.	

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NOTE B.

Return of killed and wounded with the Army of Exercise at Maharájpur, 29th December, 1843.

	Killed.					Wounded.										Missing.
	Subalterns.	Sergeants.	Trumpeters.	Syces.	Horses.	Non-Commissioned Officers.	Farriers.	Rough-Riders.	Gunners.	Gun Lascars. Havildars.	Gun Lascars. Privates.	Syces.	Horses.	Ordnance Drivers.	Tent Lascars.	Horses.
2nd Troop 2nd Bde. H.A.	...	...	...	2	6	1	...	1	4	1	1	2	2	...	...	3
3rd Troop 2nd Bde. H.A.	...	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	3	...	...	6	3	...		1
2nd Troop 3rd Bde. H.A.	...	...	1	...	13	2	1	...	8	...	1	...	7	...	1	2
1st Co. 1st Batt. and No. 16 L.F.B.	...	1	...	...	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
1st Co. 4th Batt. and No. 17 L.F.B.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
4th Co. 4th Batt.	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1	1	1	3	27	3	1	1	19	1	2	9	12	1	1	7

Lieutenant H. S. Leathes killed. Rough-rider since dead. Captain Grant's and Lieutenant Christie's chargers wounded. Ammunition wagons blown up, 1 in 2-2 ; 1 in 2-3 H.A. Wheels disabled by the enemy's fire, 2 in 2-2 ; 1 in 3-2 ; 2 in 2-3 H.A. ; 1 in No. 10 ; 1 in No. 17 Field Batteries.

NOTE C.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery present with the left wing of the army at the Battle of Paniár.

Lieut.-Col.	E. Biddulph	...	Comdg. Arty., Left-Wing.
Major	W. Geddes	3rd Bde. H.A.	
Captain	F. Brind	1st Troop 3rd Bde.	
,,	G. Campbell	3rd Troop 3rd Bde.	
Bt.-Captain	A. Humfrays	3rd Troop 3rd Bde.	
,,	E. G. Austin	...	Brigade-Major.
Lieutenant	J. H. Smyth	...	Comdg. Field Battery, Sipri Contingent.
,,	C. V. Cox	1st Troop 3rd Bde.	
,,	G. Bourchier	3rd Troop 3rd Bde.	
,,	W. Olpherts	6th Co. 6th Batt. ...	No. 16 B.F.B.
Second-Lieut.	H. Tombs...	3rd Co. 5th Batt. ...	Doing duty with 6th Co. 6th Batt.

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CHAPTER V.

FIRST SIKH WAR.

DISTURBED FEELING IN THE SIKH ARMY—Ferozepore—Sikhs cross the Sutlej and threaten Ferozepore—Troops moved up—Battle of Mudki—Artillery Officers Killed—Move on Ferozeshah—Order of Brigading—Arrangements for Attack—Advance of Littler's Division—Its repulse—Attack by Main Body—Major Todd Killed—Entrenchments Forced—But not Held—Position of the Army on the night of the 21st—Renewal of Attack morning of the 22nd—Its Success—Appearance of Sikh army from Investment of Ferozepore—Failure of Ammunition—Critical position of the British Army—Sikhs draw off—Artillery and Cavalry ordered to Ferozepore—Captain Egerton's Death—Move towards Sobraon—New Brigading—Sir Harry Smith detached towards Ludhiána—Action at Badhowal—Battle of Aliwal—Siege train joins—Battle of Sobraon—Peace—Expedition against Kangra.

1845. WHEN Sir Henry Hardinge came to India as Governor-General in August, 1844, he found the north-west frontier in a very unprotected state. Since the death of Ranjit Singh (June 27th, 1839), no one in the Punjab, either as Sovereign or Prime Minister, had been able to control the Khalsa. His three successors had died by violence in the space of four years, and the Maharaja now was a child whose mother had not the moral qualifications necessary to make her respected. The army had seen British soldiers marching across the Punjab to Afghanistan and back with unconcealed disgust, which roused the feeling of hatred towards Hindustan which had existed ever since a Sikh Guru had given his head, but not his secret, to the Delhi Emperor.* It was known to our political agents that there was little inducement required to kindle the flames of war.

Ludhiána had been our frontier fort since 1806, a can-

* Tegh Bahadur, ninth Guru, put to death in 1675 by Aurangzeb. The manner of his death, legendary, but serious fact to a Sikh, is referred to.

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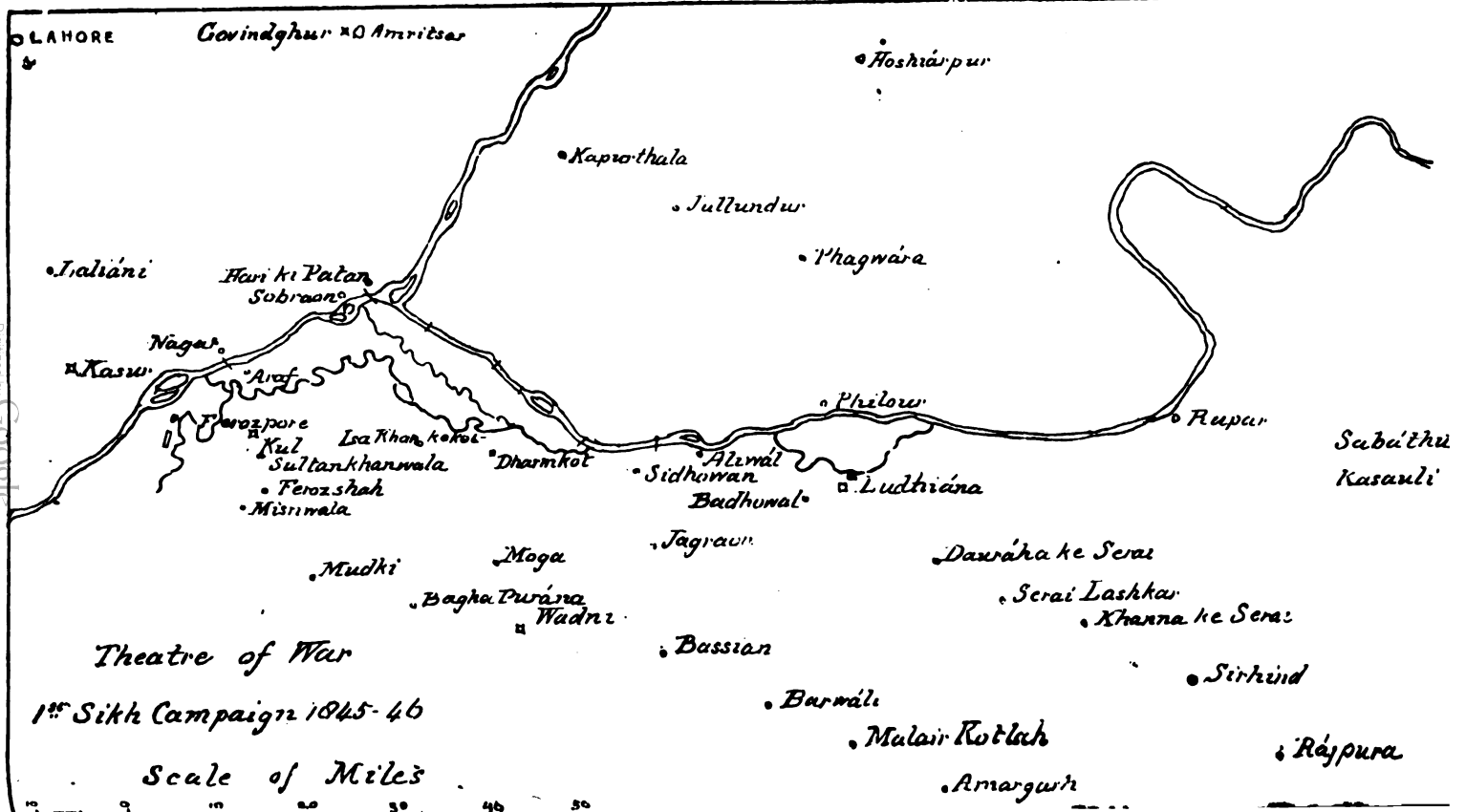
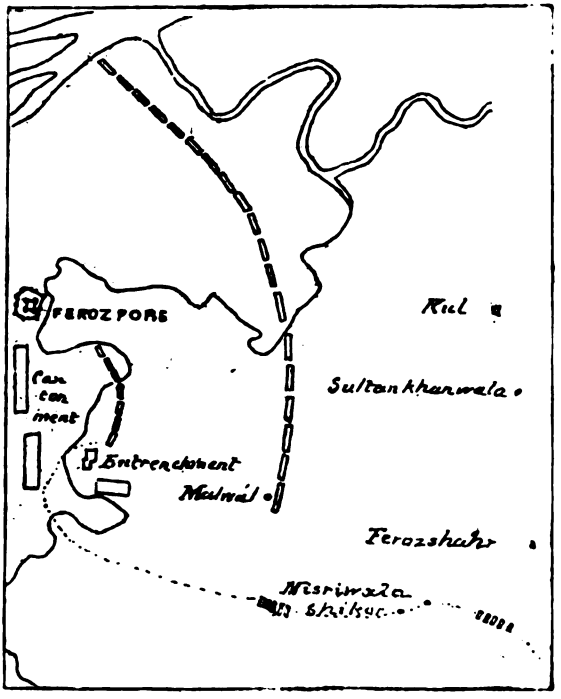

LAHORE
Govindghur
Amritsar
Hoshiárpur
Kapurthala
Jullundur
Phagwára
Jaliáni
Hari ki Patan
Sobraon
Nagar
Kasur
Aroff
Phillour
Rupar
Ferozpore
Kul
Lsa Khan kokal
Sultankhanwala
Dharmkot
Alimál
Sidhowan
Ludhiána
Ferozshah
Mistiwala
Badhowal
Jagraon
Mudki
Moga
Dawáha ke Serai
Bagha Purána
Wadni
Serai Lashkar
Khanna ke Serai
Bassian
Sirhind
Barwáli
Malair Kotlah
Ráypura
Amargurh
Sabáthu
Kasauli
Theatre of War
1st Sikh Campaign 1845-46
Scale of Miles

tonment since 1809. Karnál, distant 11 marches, was its nearest support till 1843, when Umballa, distant eight marches, took its place. 1845.

Ferozepore was made a cantonment in 1838, and a brigade command in 1842. Here there was a depôt for ordnance stores, kept at first in one of the town gateways bricked up, till Lord Ellenborough constructed for their



SIKH ARMY BEFORE FEROZEPORE.

protection some earthworks, afterwards improved into a fort.

Lord Hardinge at once perceived the danger that was threatening. Quietly and cautiously, additional troops were moved up to Ludhiána, Ferozepore, Umballa, and Meerut. In the latter part of 1845 the garrison of Ferozepore consisted of two Troops, a Field Battery and a Reserve

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1845. Company of Artillery; two regiments of Cavalry, one of H.M.'s and seven of native Infantry. In addition, the 27th N.I. from Moradabad and the 63rd N.I. on its way to Sind were there. The station was commanded by Major-General Sir J. H. Littler, K.C.B., who had, as an ensign, in 1804 drawn out his company at Fatehgarh to dispute the way with Holkar's army, and in 1843 had led the front attack at Maharájpur.

December. The Sikh army crossed the Sutlej between Hari ki Patan and Kasur on the 11th of December, and moved towards Ferozepore. General Littler immediately left the 63rd and 27th N.I. with the Reserve Artillery to guard cantonments, entrenchment, and city, and with all the rest moved across the Nullah behind the bazaar on the 13th. On the 15th he advanced two miles to the south-west. The Sikh army, reported 60,000 strong, with 120 guns, was in sight.* There, drawn up each morning of the 15th and 16th in front of his camp, he awaited them, and his determined attitude doubtless caused them to hesitate before they attacked. On the night of the 17th, part of the army moved off to meet the Commander-in-Chief's force, now close at hand.

The Governor-General had come to Umballa early in the month. As soon as it was known that the Sikhs were in motion for the Sutlej, each regiment and battery under orders marched forward. We were not taken unawares. Nothing but careful anticipation could have placed an army in line at Mudki, a week after the Sikhs had crossed the Sutlej.

Coming up by detachments as they did there was not much time for arrangement. Consequently the G.O. giving a list of the regiments and batteries constituting the "Army of the Sutlej" enumerates in the brigades of Cavalry and Infantry some corps which did not arrive till some time afterwards.

* The numbers opposed to us were magnified, even in some of the dispatches. But the fighting qualities of the Sikh were undervalued, and the serious difficulties we encountered were ascribed to the first more than to the last.

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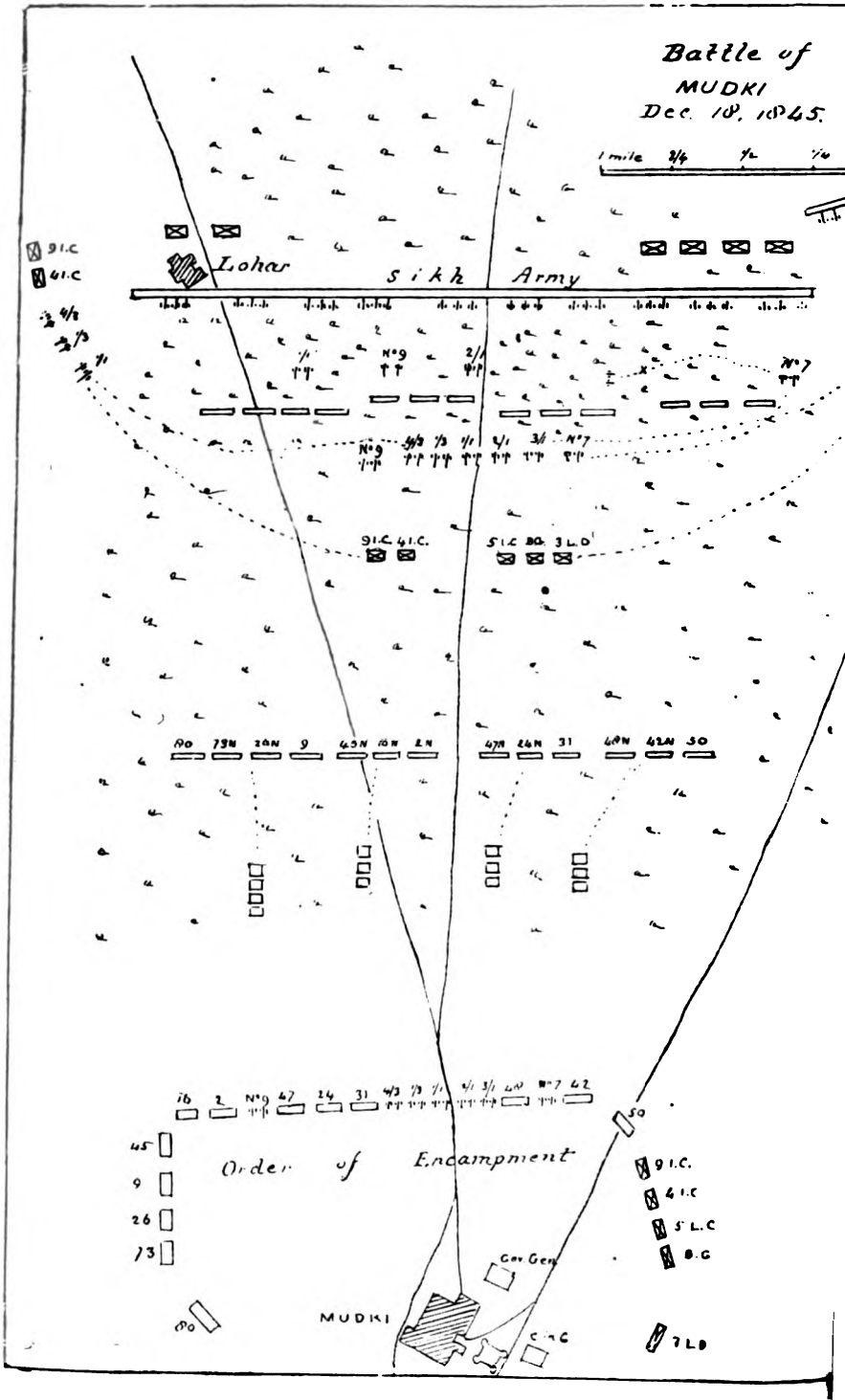

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1845. December.

Sir H. Hardinge's camp was at Serai Lashkar on the 12th. He rode into Ludhiána that day and inspected Wheeler's Brigade. On the 13th it was known there that the Sikhs were on the left bank of the Sutlej at Hari ki Patan. Prince Waldemar of Prussia, travelling under the name of Count Ravensberg, was at Ludhiána, and with Counts Gröben and Oriola of his suite dined in the evening at the Horse Artillery Mess. The orders for the march had been issued that day. The 1st Troop 1st Brigade had suffered so severely from a type of fever just before prevalent at Ludhiána that only four guns were taken, and the sick were left in hospital. At first it was contemplated leaving the whole Troop behind, but Captain Pringle O'Hanlon, D.Q.M.G., came to the mess at 8 o'clock to say they were to march at daybreak, and that the 1st Troop was to go. Captain Delafosse and his subaltern, Lieutenant Tombs, mounted a pony waiting outside and rode down to the barracks with the good news.

The first march to Bassián was 28 miles. Here large stores of grain which had been collected by Major G. Broadfoot were secured. At Wadni, a large walled town, on the 16th, the Governor shut the gates and refused supplies, but a line of 6-pounders in position made him open them. "These are the Political Agents," said the gunners, as they reversed and unlimbered. The Artillery from Umballa, with the main force, joined this day, and Brigadier G. Brooke assumed command of the whole arm.

After a short march on the 17th, the army had a long and tedious one of 21 miles to Mudki on the 18th, and camp was marked out, the Horse Artillery together in the centre. When the horses had been seen to, the officers assembled in front of Major Brind's Shamiána and were taking a little hasty refreshment, when some Syces were seen running up from stables crying out "Tyári ka hukm hai," "Order to get ready." The horses were traced in, and in a very short time the batteries were all on the move.

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1845. Dec. 18th. Major Broadfoot had gone on to reconnoitre, and came back at a gallop with intelligence that the Sikh army was advancing. The Governor-General had himself given orders to turn out. All thoughts of hunger and weariness vanished. As the line advanced, a dense cloud of dust rising above the jungle in front, and obscuring the bright sky of an Indian winter, told of the enemy. It was now about three o'clock, the country was level, covered with bush (jau) jungle, here and there open spaces, and dotted with sandy hillocks. Lieutenant Moir, with the two guns of the 2nd-3rd Horse Artillery, from the Governor-General's escort, was attached to Captain Dashwood's four. The Horse Artillery, flanked by the Cavalry, went forward at a brisk pace, the field batteries coming on after. At about a mile and half, the guns came into action, and those on the Sikh side promptly replied. The Field Batteries soon came up on the flank, and 42 guns were at work.

Both Brigadier Brookes' report and the Commander-in-Chief's dispatch say that after the guns had been in action some time the fire of the enemy lessened considerably, and the Chief, to enable the Infantry to "complete" their "dispositions," *i.e.*, to come up, directed the Cavalry under Brigadiers White and Gough to endeavour to turn the enemy's left, while Brigadier Mactier threatened their right. The 3rd Light Dragoons, Body Guard, 5th and part of the 4th Light Cavalry supported by Captain Swinley's Troop, on getting to the Sikh left, had a somewhat clearer field. The 3rd Dragoons, leading, charged along the rear, scattering the Cavalry of Sirdar Lal Singh, and gaining the sobriquet of "the Mudkiwalas," another chaplet of glory for this distinguished regiment. It had two officers, 58 men, and 104 horses killed, three officers, 32 men, and 23 horses wounded. The Body Guard (only two troops) had one officer and six men killed, two officers and 17 men wounded. The 5th had 49 casualties, including two European and one native officer. Brigadier Mactier, with the rest of the 4th Light and the 9th Irregular Cavalry, was

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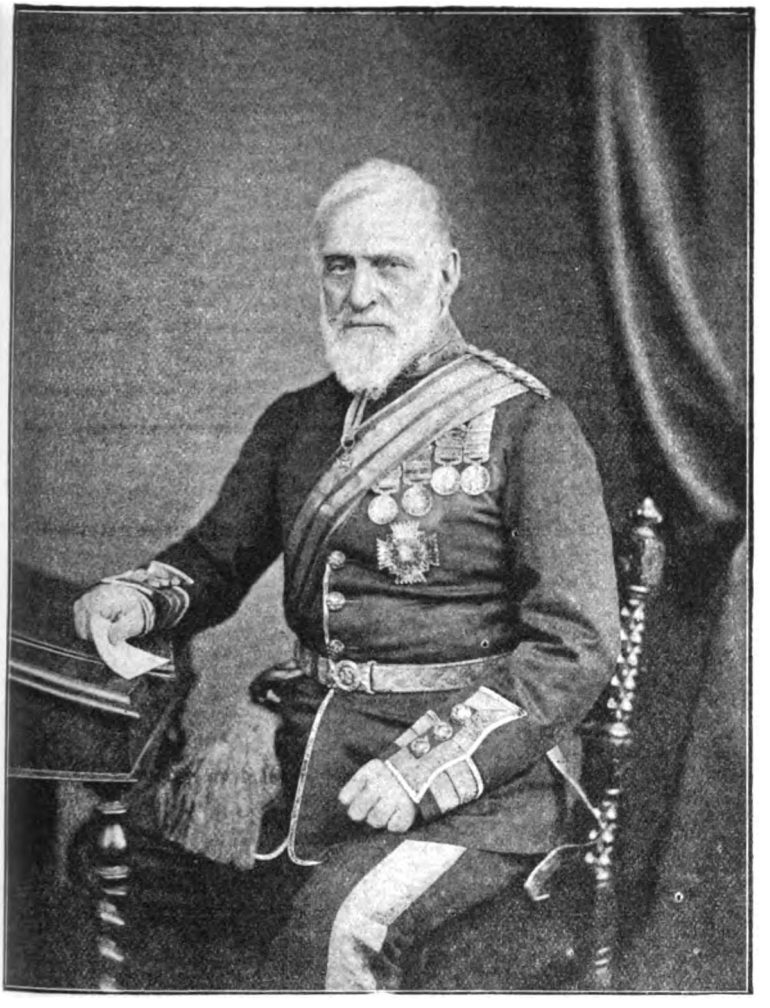

SIR GEORGE BROOKE, G.C.B.
(From a photograph by Messrs. Maull and Fox.)

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supported by Captain Dashwood's, Lieutenant Moir's, and Captain Garbett's guns under Lieutenant-Colonel Geddes. On reaching an open space on the Sikh right, the guns came into action. As they halted a one-armed Akáli came from behind a bush in their front, and, flourishing a tulwár, defied the whole line. A Drill-Corporal rode at him, but the agile footman was too active, and severely wounded his adversary. A trumpeter of the native troop went for him with a pistol, and the brave fanatic fell, ignobly perishing at last by the hand of a Syce. This being a threatening movement, the Cavalry charges were not so decisive. 1845. Dec. 18th.

No. 7 Field Battery had been moved somewhat to the right after the line of guns had ceased fire, and were in front of the 50th Foot, which passed through its intervals entering the jungle. No. 9 supported Captain Todd's Troop in the centre. The Infantry advanced in a different order from that laid down in the official plan. The 2nd Grenadiers were the first to come under fire, and got into some disorder. Major Somerset, Military Secretary to the Governor-General, galloping back, brought up the 31st Foot on the left of it.* The enemy's fire was now telling upon our line. It was at this period that Major (now Field-Marshal Sir Patrick) Grant was wounded. Captain Dashwood and Lieutenant Moir were brought from the left to support the centre. This was the severest part of the action. Captain Dashwood and Lieutenant Pollock were both badly, and as it proved fatally, wounded. Lieutenants Wheelwright, Cox, and Bowie also were wounded. The regiments of Sir H. Smith's division on the right suffered most. Sir John McCaskill, leading the left division, was killed, and Sir Robert Sale, Quarter-Master-General H.M.'s Troops, had his thigh smashed by a grape shot, the wound proving mortal.

* The reader must not expect very much accuracy in plans of actions. That of Mudki is based on the official plan, which is utterly wrong in the position of most of the corps. The position of 2nd N.I. and 31st Foot, as above stated, is on the authority of the late General C. Hamilton, who commanded the former regiment in this war.

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1845. Dec. 18th. As No. 7 Battery was making its way through the jungle towards our left, a Sikh concealed in a bush shot Captain Trower in the back. Lieutenant Atlay, to whom he was talking at the time, had him carried to the rear, and assumed command of the battery. Farrier-Sergeant Green rode towards the Sikh, but was also shot by him, who had time to reload. Captain Trower died the same night. The enemy were now retiring before our line, which steadily advanced. It was becoming dark, and the dust of the conflict obscured the feeble light of the stars. They retired on Ferozeshah.* The Artillery bivouacked by their guns.

Dec. 19th. Next day we buried our dead. Standing by the grave where Jasper Trower's body was laid was D'Arcy Todd, who only the day before he left Umballa had heard the solemn service repeated over his wife's. Kaye, and those who then exchanged with him a silent hand grasp, sympathised with him in his great sorrow. Had they known that two days later they would have been themselves grieving for the loss of a loved brother-officer, one of the most gallant spirits in our army, prolific of noble sons, how much more deeply would they not have been moved. On the same day Lieutenant Robert Pollock died, greatly regretted. He had been badly wounded in the knee by a musket ball. Exposure to the night air in a wagon, followed by amputation, proved too much for his system. His services on his father's staff in the last Afghan War have been already mentioned.

Captain Dashwood's case was apparently not so serious. He had been wounded by grape both in the arm and foot, the last being most serious. His officers dined in his tent as usual the night before they marched. The doctor pronounced amputation necessary, but at his earnest entreaty deferred it. Next day mortification had set in. On hearing that his case was hopeless, he, with the aid of his bearer, got to his table and wrote a last letter to his wife. And

* The common spelling, Firozshahr is more correct.

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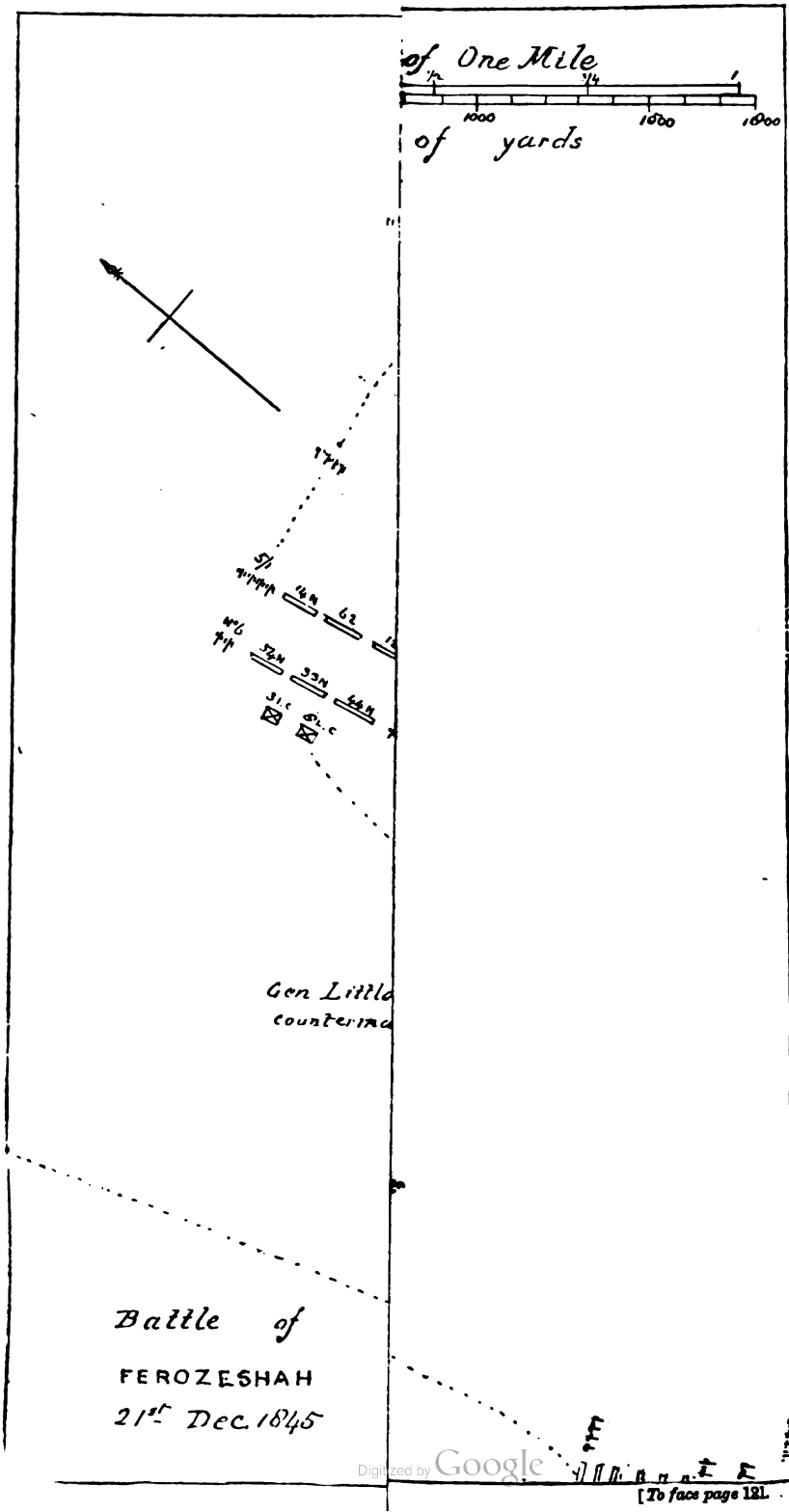

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so he died. Captain C. E. Mills was placed temporarily in command of his Troop. 1845. Dec. 19th.

On the evening of the 19th, H.M. 29th and the 1st Bengal European Regiment arrived in camp. Lieut.-Colonel G. G. Denniss and Captain W. K. Warner, with the 2nd and 4th Companies 4th Battalion, two 18-pounder guns, and two 8-inch howitzers, also joined. Next day Dec. 20th. orders were out for the march towards Ferozeshah. General Littler was ordered to join with his division. The sick and wounded were left at Mudki, Lieutenant Blunt in charge of the Artillery details. The same evening the Governor-General offered his services in a military capacity to Sir Hugh Gough—an offer accepted with the greatest pleasure.

Early in the morning the army marched, a troop of Dec. 21st. Horse Artillery on either flank ; the other guns massed in the centre ; flanking parties thrown out. Sir John Littler left two regiments, half of No. 6 H.F.B. under Lieutenant J. S. Tulloh,* the 2nd Company 2nd Battalion under Lieutenant Angelo, and some Sappers to hold the town and cantonments. Captain G. Campbell (3-3 H.A.), Captain E. F. Day (5-1 H.A.), Lieutenant A. G. Austen with half No. 6 Battery, and Captain J. Fordyce, No. 19 Bullock Battery, marched under Lieut.-Colonel E. Huthwaite. He left his picquets standing, so that Sirdar Tej Singh, who with a considerable force was still investing the place, did not know he had gone. A little after noon he met the Commander-in-Chief near Misriwala, marching by the right, and, counter-marching, moved forward by the left to occupy the position assigned to him.†

The enemy's entrenchments formed an irregular oblong figure a little over a mile in length by about three-quarters in breadth, the longer sides facing nearly east and west.

* Captain F. B. Boileau did not join till next month.

† It is difficult to ascertain the exact position of regiments in brigade, and of the brigades themselves. No two witnesses have exactly coincided. It seems certain that the left brigade was not in line with the right, as the official plan shows, but more retired. It supported the right.

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1845. Dec. 21st. The works had been hastily thrown up and did not offer any serious obstacle insurmountable by either Cavalry or Infantry. The order of brigading of the army now was:—

1ST DIVISION: Major-General Sir H. Smith.

1st Brigade.— * : 31st Regiment, 24th N.I., 47th N.I.

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier H. M. Wheeler: 50th Regiment, 42nd N.I., 48th N.I.

2ND DIVISION: Major-General W. R. Gilbert.

3rd Brigade.—Brigadier C. C. Taylor, C.B.: 29th Regiment, 45th N.I.

4th Brigade.—Brigadier J. MacLaren: 1st European Regiment, 2nd N.I., 16th N.I.

3RD DIVISION: Brigadier Wallace.

5th Brigade.— * : 9th Regiment, 26th N.I., 73rd N.I.

6th Brigade.—Brigadier Wilkinson: 80th Regiment.

4TH DIVISION: Major-General Sir J. H. Littler.

7th Brigade.—Brigadier T. Reed: 62nd Regiment, 12th N.I., 14th N.I.

8th Brigade.—Brigadier Hon. T. Ashburnham: 33rd N.I., 44th N.I., 54th N.I.

To General Littler's division was assigned the attack on the western face, Captain Campbell's Troop, supported by Lieutenant Austen's three guns, covering the right, Captain Day on the left. Captain Fordyce, with the Bullock Battery was moved about under various counter-orders and hardly came into action.

The main body was in two wings separated by the 1st Troop 1st Brigade (Captain Mills), Lieutenant Moir's two guns, and the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade, Nos. 7 and 9 Batteries in their rear. The right wing was flanked by the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade (Captain Swinley). The 3rd Brigade with the 80th Regiment was on the right; the 4th Brigade on the left. The 2nd Grenadiers N.I. was placed with the left wing to equalise both. The Commander-in-Chief was

* Names not given in G.O.

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1845. Dec. 21st.

with the right wing. The left wing consisted of the 2nd Grenadiers and 5th Brigade, flanked on the left by the 2nd-1st H.A. It was under the immediate superintendence of Lieut.-General Sir Henry Hardinge.

The Cavalry were in rear of the flanks. The 1st Brigade under Brigadier White ; 3rd Light Dragoons, 4th L.C., and 9th I.C. attached to the right wing. The 2nd Brigade under Brigadier J. B. Gough ; Body Guard and 5th L.C. to the left wing.

The Ferozepore division had less distance to travel over before reaching its ground, but it was 3 o'clock before it moved forward to attack, and little daylight was left on this, the shortest day of the year. The right brigade led, supported by the left ; the 62nd a little in advance.

Captains Campbell and Day with their Troops went rapidly forward to cover the advance ; opening a cross-fire at intermediate distances, at first with round shot, then with grape, till about 200 yards from the enemy, where they kept it up till the Infantry got too close.* The Sikh batteries on this side were powerful and difficult to enfilade. A longer bombardment, in fact, was required. So their fire on the advancing Infantry was very destructive, and the 62nd Regiment lost very heavily. At 150 yards, Brigadier Reed gave the order to charge. It was commenced "with such determined gallantry and spirit that the result seemed certain."† But owing to one of those fatalities which sometimes occur in the battlefield, and of which modern warfare furnishes instances, there was a little hesitation in the 62nd, and, it was said, an order to retire at the most critical moment. They did so, and notwithstanding the utmost efforts of General Littler and his Staff, the whole got out of gun-shot range, leaving the path of their retreat strewn with the bodies of those who fell under the redoubled fire of the Sikh guns.‡

* Huthwaite, Campbell, Day. † Gen. Littler's dispatch.

‡ An unpleasant correspondence took place in consequence of General Littler having, in his dispatch, used the words "an immediate panic and hesitation in H.M. 62nd Foot." Major Short, commanding

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1845. Dec. 21st. This retirement left the two Horse Artillery troops some 500 yards apart from each other, alone and unsupported, close to the Sikh position. Even their Cavalry escorts in rear followed the retiring regiments, and they were there-

GENERAL SIR EDWARD HUTHWAITE, K.C.B.

fore in peril. Suddenly the Sikh fire ceased, and then Lieut.-Colonel Huthwaite ordered them to limber up and retire at a walk, which they did. The right of the retir-

the regiment, remonstrated, and the Commander-in-Chief, having visited the spot and seen the numbers of the bodies of those who had fallen, exonerated them. The casualties amounted to seven officers, 82 men killed; 10 officers and 165 men wounded. An eye-witness, Lieutenant P. G. Scot, 12th N.I., relates a remarkable instance of the courage of the men we had to fight. He was at the time on that flank of his regiment and close to the 62nd. (Colonel Scot died lately. When sending his account of what took place he gave the writer permission to publish it under his name.) Ensign Kelly, a fine spirited

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ing regiments met Brigadier Wallace's division coming up to attack the batteries adjoining those from which Reed's brigade had been repulsed. Part of the 14th N.I. with their colours joined the 9th Regiment and 26th N.I., which were ordered to renew the attack in the same place. Captain G. Campbell, with the 3rd-3rd Horse Artillery, was again called upon to cover it, which he did, advancing as before to close quarters. 1845 Dec. 21st.

The attack on the southern face by the main body was opened by the two 8-inch howitzers at 1,600 yards, advancing to 500 and 400 yards. The two field batteries under Lieutenant Atlay, No. 7, and Captain Horsford, No. 9, were sent forward on the right, and the three centre troops of H.A. moved direct to their front, Captain Swinley and Major Todd on the right and left conforming. Moving rapidly forward, there were not at first many

officer of the 62nd, who had been promoted from the ranks, was in advance of the line, followed by two sergeants and three privates. With his sword held aloft, a good position for waving, but not for defence, he had one foot on a low sandy ridge, part of the entrenchment, when a tall Sikh, with a long beard, sprang out from behind a tree. His tulwár, descending on Kelly's shoulder, cut deep into his chest. The officer fell on his face. The same Sikh and another then attacked the two sergeants as they got to the spot where Kelly had fallen and cut both down. One of the privates, turning round to make for the line, was followed by the Sikh who had first attacked Kelly and killed within a few yards of his comrades' bayonets. This is said to have occurred on the right of the regiment. That two Sikhs cut down four men one after another is quite credible; all might have occurred within a minute. That it may have caused a panic among those near is also quite possible. But shoulder to shoulder, two British soldiers with fixed bayonets ought to be a match for two tulwárs. The relation of this may not be without its use.

There is no doubt that the 62nd Regiment lost more men in retiring than would have fallen in charging home over a very few yards. General Littler's recollection of Maharájpur must have told him so. It was said that a distinguished General Officer at the commencement of that battle, when he unexpectedly found himself under the fire of the Mahráta Artillery, remarked, "The best way out of it is to capture those guns."

It is also worthy of notice that though the Horse Artillery, still within musket range of the entrenchment, were doing what they could to keep down the Sikh fire, the latter was entirely directed on the retreating brigade, chiefly on the 62nd, leaving our guns unnoticed (General G. Campbell).

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1845. Dec. 21st. casualties, the Sikh guns being laid for greater ranges, but on the left, shortly after the 2nd-1st had come into action, a round shot carried off the head of its commander. The character and services of D'Arcy Todd have been before related, and it is unnecessary to say how deeply his loss was felt throughout the regiment. The senior lieutenant, W. A. Mackinnon, commanded the Troop till Captain Waller was posted to it, January 31st.

The shrapnel of the two 8-inch howitzers were well delivered, but it was soon masked by the advancing troops. As will be seen by the plan, all that could be effected by the Artillery was done. Bearing on the southern face 42 light and two heavy pieces were in action, but the advantage in weight of metal was greatly in favour of the Sikhs; their fire was very severe, and the casualties numerous. The batteries were all close in when the infantry passed through them to attack. There was not much of daylight now left. Brigadier Brooke, finding his ammunition in danger owing to powder which the Sikhs purposely or carelessly left on the ground, withdrew his guns a little. Several explosions took place, and some wagons were blown up, causing a separation of the guns.

The infantry, meanwhile, were in deadly conflict. The 9th Regiment on the left, supported by the Native Infantry, made good their footing inside, but with even greater loss than the 62nd had to record. Their Colonel was killed; Brigadier Wallace also fell leading on his men. The regiments of General Gilbert's division, with those of Sir Harry Smith's, carried the batteries before them.* His first brigade got possession of the village of Ferozeshah, and held it for several hours. Many casualties occurred from the ex-

* The casualties of the European regiments, always the largest, may be taken as the measure of the resistance. The killed and wounded (on both days) as given in the dispatches were: The 9th Regiment, 273; the 62nd, 260; the 1st European Infantry, 204; the 29th, 188; the 31st, 142; the 50th, 124; the 80th, 81. The 14th N.I., only a part of which was in the second attack on the south-west corner, had 84. The Sikhs directed their fire chiefly on the European regiments (Colonel Sandeman).

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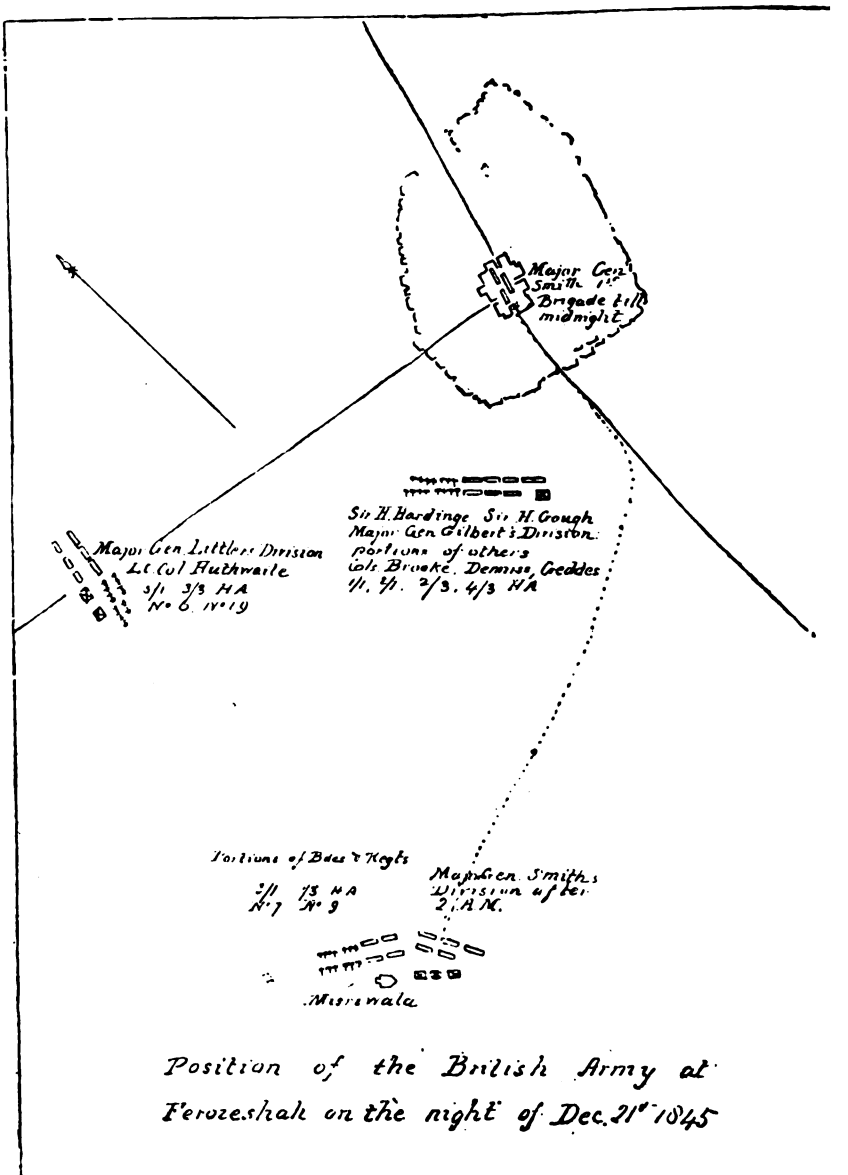

Position of the British Army at Feroze.shah on the night of Dec. 21st 1845

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plosion of Sikh powder lying about or concealed. The 3rd Light Dragoons, *semper primi*, came up on the right, and charged over the earthworks, nowhere very high, but an enemy more difficult to overcome even than sharp-edged sabres baffled them. Tents were there, stretching their pegged ropes in every direction, forming an entanglement they could not get through. Slowly they came back, by fours and fives, as men that would not be driven, with them young Captain Hardinge, the Governor-General's son, riding a dragoon horse, his own having been killed. 1845. Dec. 21st.

Darkness had now set it. The entrenchments were still swarming with the enemy. The position was untenable, and all save the 1st Brigade were withdrawn. Regiments had got mixed up, and it was difficult to regain their formation. Gilbert's division bivouacked for the night about three hundred yards from the entrenchment. The 31st Regiment and detachments of others formed there. Most of the Cavalry and a large portion of Brigadier Wallace's division went towards Misriwala, and General Littler with most of his retired in a westerly direction to a spot which must have been a mile from where the headquarters lay.* The lurid glare of the tents within the entrenchment which had been set on fire was reflected on the bayonets of our sentries near, and added a picturesque horror to the scene.

Little rest was given to the weary and hungry soldiers so close to the enemy, who kept up a galling fire upon them. The Governor-General and Sir Hugh Gough, anxious as they were and in great peril, were not disheartened. Sir Henry Hardinge, finding the fire of one

* The Artillery with headquarters were Colonels Brooke, Denniss, and Geddes; Captains Garbett's, Mills', and Lieutenant Moir's guns and the heavy howitzers; Captain Warner, Commissary of Ordnance. At Misriwala, Major Brind's, Captains Swinley's, Horsford's, and Lieutenant Atlay's guns. With General Littler, Colonel Huthwaite, Major Campbell's, Captains Day's and Fordyce's and Lieutenant Austen's guns. Lieutenant Mackinnon, with the 2nd Troop 1st Brigade, was somewhere in the vicinity of headquarters, but separated from the rest.

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1845. Dec. 21st. gun in particular very annoying, sent the 80th and 1st European Regiments to stop it, and they charged in to the entrenchment again and spiked it. Captain Mills more than once turned out with his and another troop to be on the alert. As the night wore on the Commander-in-Chief reduced the disorderly mass of regiments into line in readiness to renew the attack, and as the Sikh fire lessened the troops got what rest the bitterly cold night allowed them. Sir Henry Smith, however, had been so harassed by constant attacks that he withdrew the 1st Brigade, and extricating himself from the entrenchment, went to Misriwala, guided by the watch-fires there, and passing close to where lay the two Chief Commanders of the army and their men who could not indulge in any such luxury, and were shrouded in darkness.

Dec. 22nd. As soon as the welcome sun appeared Sir Hugh Gough formed for the attack. The regiments already in line advanced covered by the guns, the fire of which did not last long. They moved on in line with the Infantry, crossing the earthworks without difficulty, a proof that they were not so formidable as had been imagined. Our men swept through the position, passing to the right of the village, and changed front then to the left, driving the Sikhs out. We captured a large number of guns, though they had carried off many. The line then halted, and the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief with their Staff rode down it, enthusiastically cheered as they passed.

After a short rest, the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade was ordered out with a reconnoitring party under the Quarter-Master-General. They had hardly mounted, when a dense cloud of dust obscuring the northern sky warned us of a coming foe. A greater danger than winning an entrenched position had still to be faced before we could be on even terms with the Khalsa. Sirdars Lal and Tej Singh, who had been left before Ferozepore with a large force, were at hand. There were some 30,000, with, it was said, 70 guns, chiefly Cavalry (some reports said all) which had taken little part

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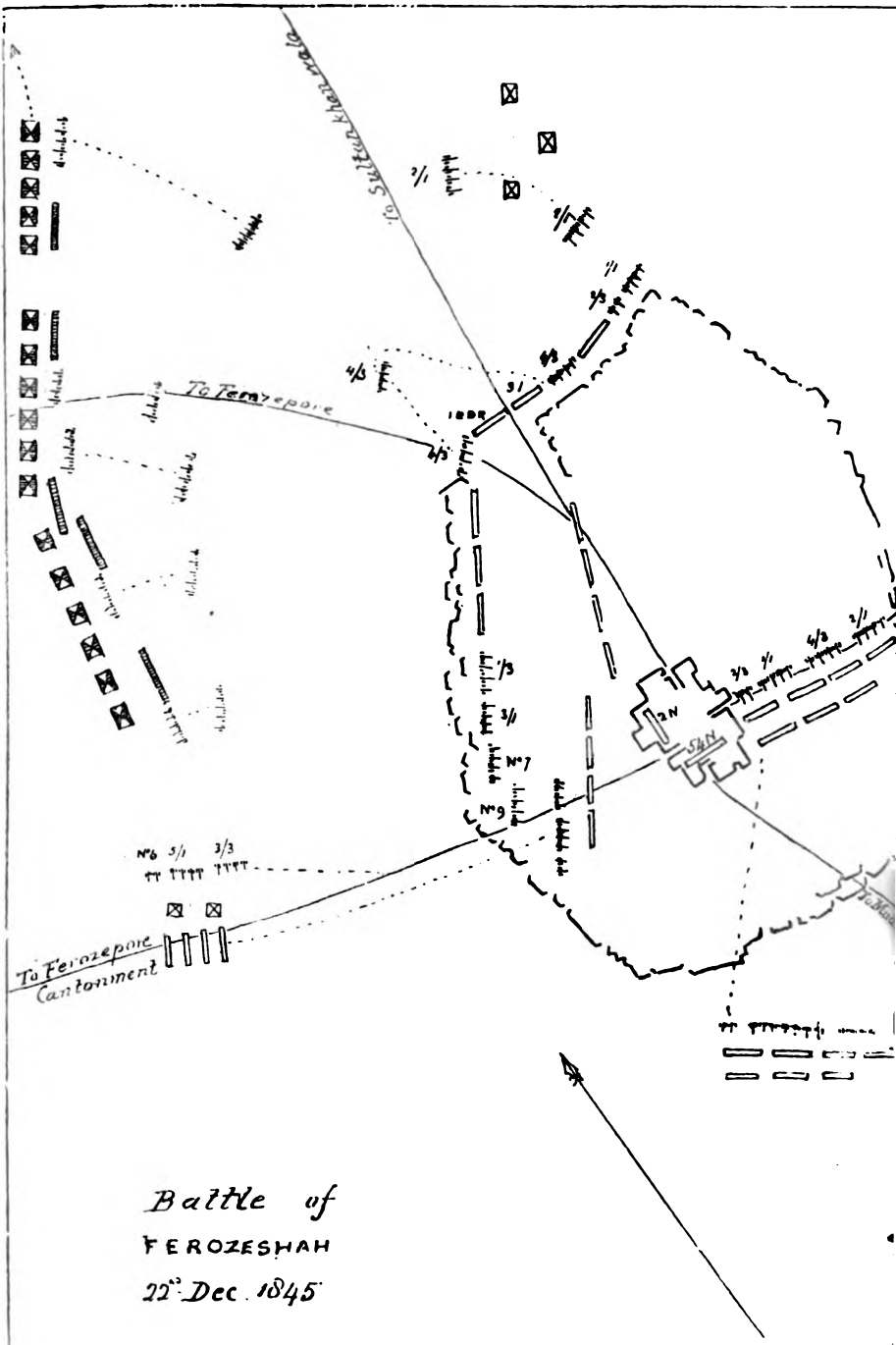

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in the work of the previous day. This, though really the most anxious time of the whole two days, has received but scanty notice in the dispatch of the Commander-in-Chief. There were circumstances which, at the time, rendered a disclosure of the whole truth inconvenient. One of these was our batteries had very little ammunition left, even in the spare wagons, and there was no fresh supply on the field. During the night, what was in the spare wagons was transferred to those most in need. 1845. Dec. 22nd.

The Artillery at this time were in three distinct bodies. Lieut.-Colonel Huthwaite on the left, with Major Campbell's and Captain Day's Troops and Austen's half battery. In the centre, Major Brind with his own and Captain Swinley's Troops and the two field batteries of Lieutenant Atlay and Captain Horsford. On the right, Lieut.-Colonel Geddes had Captain Mills' Troop with Moir's two guns, Lieutenant Mackinnon's and Captain Garbett's Troops.

Colonel Huthwaite, moving through the jungly ground on the left, suddenly came on a part of Sirdar Tej Singh's force, and at once opened fire, to which the Sikhs replied. At this time Major Campbell's senior subaltern, P. C. Lambert, was killed. He finally fell back, as the enemy seemed to be enveloping him, and they had no support at hand.

Major Brind, with both Troops, afterwards joined by the field batteries, advanced beyond the entrenchment, and engaged the enemy on the left front, but after a time being enfiladed by some of their heavier guns, had to retire upon the village, where the supports were posted.

Colonel Geddes in the same way had to sustain a very heavy fire for some time, but his ammunition was failing, and this, with want of support, compelled him to fall back upon the Infantry, which had formed a hollow square on the right front of the entrenchment, and were then lying down. "For the first time," wrote one of the Horse Artillery officers, "I found my back exposed to the enemy's round shot."

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1845. Dec. 22nd. By this time most of the ammunition wagons were almost empty. Three guns of the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade were formed in the angle of the square. A Staff Officer told Lieutenant Kaye, commanding them, that he could get some ammunition from Sikh wagons near the village. He sent at once, and though the sizes rendered it difficult, he managed to get fifty rounds of shot which were of essential service just then.

The Sikh line still advanced, and for some time replied to the fire of these guns and Major Brind's, but after a time they appeared to be moving away to the right. By a little after two p.m., our guns were entirely silent. Sir Hugh Gough brought the whole of the Artillery and Cavalry to the right and moved them to the rear round the village. A report was brought that the enemy were advancing, and the Cavalry, forming line, advanced; but it was a false alarm. They were leaving the field.

At this juncture an order was brought by the 1st Assistant-Adjutant-General of the Army to Brigadier Harriott for the Cavalry and Horse Artillery and field batteries to proceed to Ferozepore. It is useless now to enquire who originated the idea. But it was carried out. The enemy saw the move, though now at some distance, and is said to have hastened their retreat, mistaking its object. In the evening they had reached the cantonments, refilled their limbers and wagons, and fed their tired cattle. The only Artillerymen left on the field were Brigadier Brooke, Colonel Denniss, and Lieutenant H. H. Maxwell, D.A.Q.M.G. The last was sent by Brigadier Brooke to recall them, but too late.* The result of an attack by the Sikhs then could not have been doubtful. But the Sirdars had no mind to fight.

* It is hardly necessary to say that both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief were not aware of this till they had gone. It is due also to Brigadier Harriott, Colonels Geddes and Huthwaite to state from whom the order came to them. Captain Pillans, Commissary of Ordnance must have also been on the field, as he went into Ferozepore next morning with Lord Hardinge.

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1845. Dec. 22nd. Earlier in the day Captain J. F. Egerton, while conveying an order, was attacked at a village we had occupied during the night, and very severely wounded in the back and both hands. He died a month afterwards. Sir John Littler, in his dispatch, speaks highly of "his conspicuous zeal and activity."

The Artillery casualties amounted to 118 killed,* 20 missing, and 75 wounded (Note C). In all we lost 694 killed and 1,729 wounded, including Lascars and Syces. The loss in horses was very great, no less than 323 in the Artillery, killed, wounded, and missing. Several died in harness unwounded.

Dec. 23rd. As soon as the Artillery had replenished their empty boxes and fed men and horses they returned, reaching Ferozeshah at ten a.m. next day. The wounded were sent to Ferozepore, the captured ordnance sent to the same place, and the dead buried. There were 68 guns, three howitzers, and two mortars, some highly ornamented and with long Persian inscriptions on them.

December. On the 24th, headquarters moved to Sultan-Khan-wala, and on the 27th to Araf† (Hurruf in dispatches). Major-General Smith's division was in advance at Maliwál. The Sikhs were in force on the opposite bank of the Sutlej, occupying a position some five miles in extent, with the village of Sobraon in rear of their centre. Further reinforcements were on their way up from the provinces—

* The following anecdote may not be deemed misplaced. Those who knew the kindly nature of General George Campbell will not be surprised at the fidelity shown by a servant of his. When the action commenced, he told his Syce, an old servant, to remain in the rear as he was not wanted. He replied, "How can I leave you? If anything were to happen to you, how could I return to the Mem Sahib and say I had not been with you?" So he followed his master. Soon after, a shot smashed both legs. Lying on his back, he unslung the telescope he was carrying, saying, "Sahib, Sahib, durbin le lo." The poor fellow was carefully placed on a wagon, but his sufferings did not last long, as it was blown up I am indebted for this, as for many interesting facts, to the late General E. Kaye.

† There are two villages of this name; one about four and a half miles east of Ferozepore. The one meant is four miles south-east of the Nagar Ford.

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1845. December. the headquarters of the 2nd Brigade H.A., with Colonel G. E. Gowan, C.B., and Lieut.-Colonel E. Biddulph, and the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Troops under Captain J. Turton, Major C. Grant, and Lieut.-Colonel J. Alexander; the 3rd Company 3rd Battalion, Captain E. P. Master, headquarters 4th Battalion, with the 1st,* 2nd, and 4th Companies; headquarters and 1st Companies 6th Battalion, and a siege-train of six 10-inch and five 8-inch howitzers from Delhi. The Ferozepore Magazine had supplied four 18-pounder guns, besides the two heavy howitzers, one of which had been rendered useless at Ferozeshah.

1846. January. In the new brigading of the army (January 1st) the Artillery arrangements were: Colonel Gowan to command, Captain E. Christie, D.A.A.G., Lieutenant H. H. Maxwell, D.A.Q.M.G., 1st Division H.A., Brigadier G. Brooke, Lieutenant M. Mackenzie, Brigade-Major. 2nd Division H.A., Brigadier E. Biddulph, Captain E. G. Austin, Brigade-Major. Foot Artillery, Brigadier G. G. Denniss, Lieutenant E. Kaye, Brigade-Major.

Information was received that the Sikhs had made a raid in the direction of Ludhiána, where some of the houses and barracks were burned.

While the Chief was waiting the arrival of the siege guns and reinforcements, the Sikhs were constructing earthworks on our side of the river to cover a ford in their centre, and brought over some field guns. Sir Hugh Gough, resenting this, ordered out some heavy guns, which fired a few long shots with increased charges, which damaged one of the pieces and seriously injured a gunner. Sir H. Hardinge, coming out from Ferozepore, pointed out to him the advisability of allowing the Sikhs to take up a position with a wide river in their rear.

News was now received that Sirdar Ranjor Singh Majithia had crossed the Sutlej with a large force at Phillour, near Ludhiána. It was supposed to be his object to inter-

* To this Company, under Captain R. Waller, an elephant battery of twelve iron 9-pounders, reamed up to 12, was attached.

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cept the siege-train. A writer* well acquainted with the Punjab calls him "one of the greatest boobies" in it, and thinks he sought only to plunder Ludhiána. However, Sir H. Smith, who had been sent with the 1st Brigade, Brind's and Alexander's Troops H.A., and No. 6 Field Battery, to Dharmkot, was ordered on to Ludhiána, and Wheeler, with the 2nd Brigade Infantry and Brigadier Cureton's Cavalry, was sent after him. He was to be further reinforced by the Shekawati Brigade,† which was at Bassián, by H.M. 53rd, and by Brigadier Godby, commanding at Ludhiána. The 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A. came along with Brigadier Cureton—commanded now by Lieutenant J. Mill, as Captain C. E. Mills had reverted to his appointment on the Governor-General's Staff. 1846. January.

Sir Henry Smith, leaving Sobraon, heard late on the 20th that Ranjor Singh had advanced to Badhowál. On arriving within two miles of it, he found himself intercepted by "the booby," and endeavoured to avoid the trap by making a detour to his right. The accompanying sketch shows the position and the tactical error committed. Almost as a matter of course Ranjor Singh came down on the rear of the Column and captured as much as he could of the baggage. Covered by his Cavalry and guns, Sir. H. Smith retired in echelon of battalions, and so reached Ludhiána. Jan. 21st.

Ranjor Singh, who had entrenched himself at Badhowál, suddenly abandoned it on the night of the 22nd, and retired to Talwandi on the Sutlej. Brigadiers Wheeler and Cureton joined on the 26th, and orders were given to march early on the 28th. The Cavalry were divided into two Brigades. 1st: Brigadier McDowell, C.B., 16th Lancers, 3rd L.C., and 4th I.C. 2nd: Brigadier R. A. Stedman, Body Guard, 1st and 5th L.C., and Shekawati Horse. The Infantry in four Brigades. 1st: Brigadier G. Hicks, H.M. 31st, 24th, and 47th N.I. 2nd: Brigadier Jan. 22nd. Jan. 28th.

* *Calcutta Review*, Article VI., Vol. VI. for 1846.

† A native contingent commanded by Major H. Forster: 600 Infantry, 400 Cavalry, and four guns.

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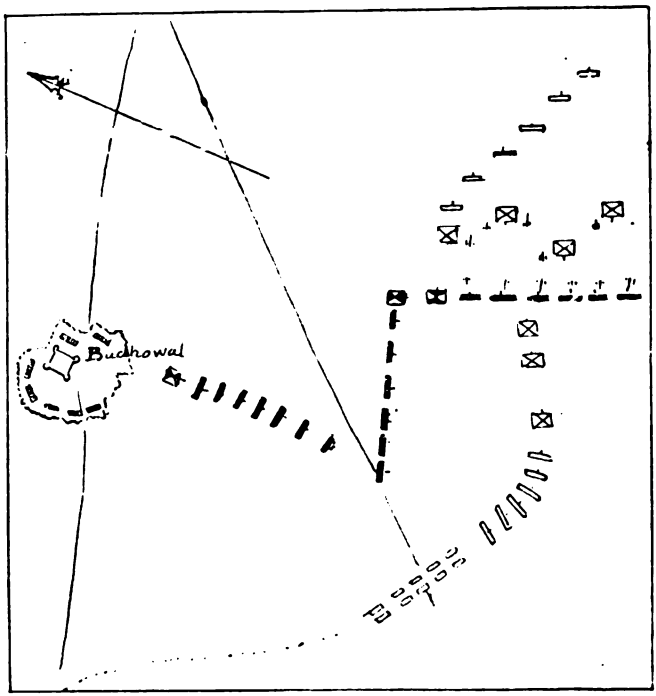
1846 Jan. 28th. H. M. Wheeler, C.B., H.M. 50th, 48th N.I., and Sirmur Battalion. 3rd: Brigadier Wilson, H.M. 53rd, 30th N.I. 4th: Brigadier G. Godby, 36th N.I., Nasiri Battalion, Sappers, and Shekawati Infantry.

The Cavalry, with two troops of H.A. in the intervals of Brigades, covered the advance. From the village of Purain the Sikh army was observed on a ridge, of which the village



ACTION OF BADHOWÁL.

of Aliwal seemed the centre. The ground was open and favourable to manœuvre over, and the Infantry Columns deploying had the appearance and precision of a field day. Brigadier Godby's Brigade was in echelon on the right, the Shekawati Infantry to the left rear of the whole line. At ten o'clock the action commenced by a cannonade from the whole of the enemy's line. Perceiving that by doing

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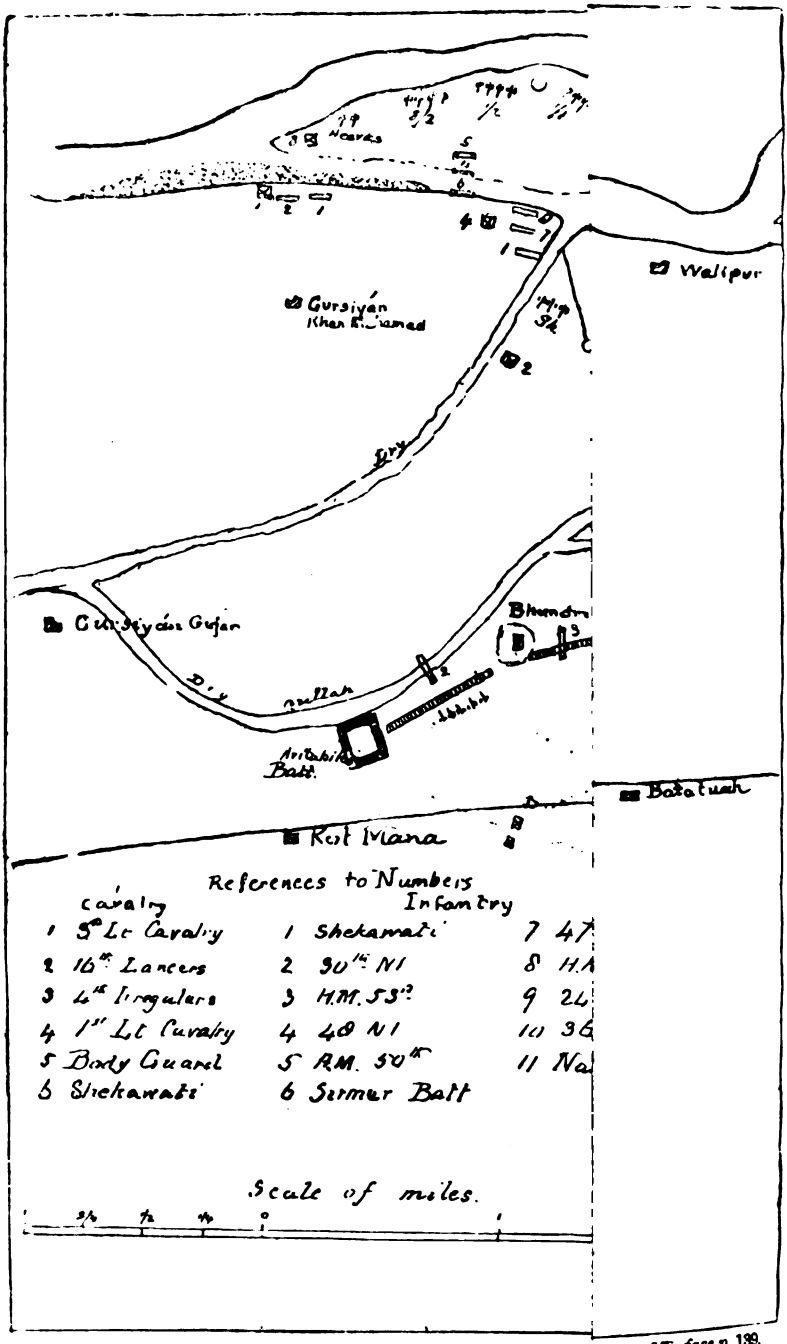

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so he could act with better effect on their left and centre, Sir H. Smith brought up his right with the view of carrying the village of Aliwal. Brigadier Godby's Brigade was brought up, and with it and that of Brigadier Hicks the village was won. The Cavalry on the right, under Brigadier Cureton, charged the enemy's horse on that flank and drove them in upon the Infantry. Brigadier Wheeler, in the centre, advanced, capturing the position and guns in his front. Brigadier Wilson, opposed to the Ayin troops, commonly called Avitabile's, found the village of Bhundri strongly held. It covered the ford in rear. The 16th Lancers twice charged. Captain Bere led a squadron against a square, rode through it twice forwards and back again. Major Smith and Captain Pearson, of the same regiment, led another charge. H.M. 53rd Regiment carried Bhundri, and the 30th N.I.,* wheeling to its left, drove the Avitabile Corps towards the river and under the fire of the Horse Artillery on the left. 1846. Jan. 28.

All these attacks were covered by the guns, the Artillery being on both flanks and in the centre. When the line took ground to its right the enemy had got our range, and the fire became very hot. There was a short halt, during which the Infantry were ordered to lie down on both sides of Colonel Alexander's and Captain Turton's Troops. The former was directed to detach two guns, under Lieutenant Le G. Bruce, to support the 16th Lancers on left. As the line advanced, gun after gun was captured. Avitabile's battalions behaved splendidly. Turton's and Alexander's Troops galloped right into them, driving them into the dry nullah beyond Bhundri; but a gun of the 3rd Troop, brought to the bend in it, with a few rounds of grape drove them into the open ground, where they were charged and dispersed.†

* This regiment was highly spoken of by the General in his dispatch.

† In a private letter to Lieut.-Colonel Alexander, Sir H. Smith wrote: "I see at this moment yours and Turton's Troops unlimbering near the nullah, where I again unkennelled a pack of Avitabile's to the murderous fire of your glorious guns. My best regards to your whole Troop."

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1846. Jan. 28th. Every gun the enemy had fell into our hands. Driven across the Sutlej while the guns lined the banks, their loss was very severe. Ours, too, was heavy, for the Sikhs fought well. Sir H. Smith gave the Artillery high praise for their conduct, while he did not forget the other arms. "Our guns literally being constantly ahead of everything. . . . . Our guns and gunners, officers and men, may be equalled, but cannot be excelled by any Artillery in the world." There was, in fact, no check in the advance of the whole line. The number of guns captured was 66, many of them highly chased and ornamented; two were seen across the river, which the enemy were leaving behind. These, and one left in the river, were spiked by Lieutenant J. G. Holmes, Irregular Cavalry, and Gunner Thomas Scott, 1st Troop 2nd Brigade H.A., who rode across the stream for the purpose.

Major Lawrenson in his report to Captain Lugard, A.A.G., 1st Division, mentions, with the names of the officers commanding batteries, those of Brevet-Captain W. Barr, Acting-Adjutant of the 2nd Brigade, who accompanied the 1st Troop as subaltern, and the Riding-Master, Mr. R. McAuliffe,* who acted as his Staff Officer; and in his report to regimental headquarters, Sergt.-Major Simon Budd, who also attended upon him and conveyed orders. Lieutenant H. Tombs, Acting-Aide-de-Camp to the General, was likewise mentioned by him. The Artillery casualties are given in the Appendix to this chapter.

February. Sir H. Smith, after dismantling some of the small forts about, rejoined army headquarters on the 8th of February. The first portion of the siege-train with a supply of reserve ammunition reached on the 7th and 8th along with a troop of H.A. and four reserve companies under Lieut.-Colonel H. J. Wood.†

* Mr. McAuliffe had been appointed Riding-Master to the Horse Artillery in October, 1815.

† 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade, 3rd and 4th Companies 3rd Battalion 1st Company 4th, and 1st Company 6th Battalions.

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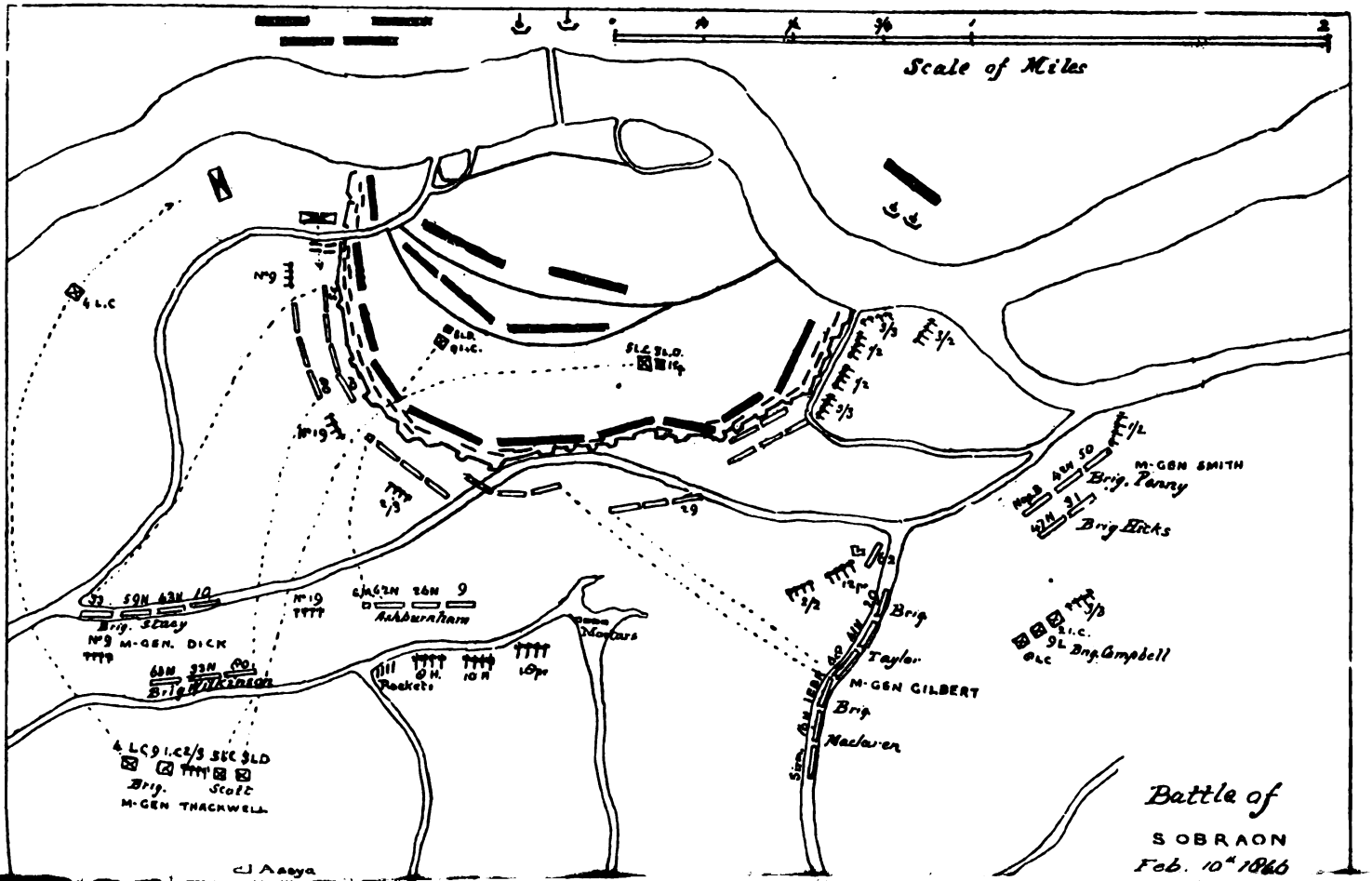
Scale of Miles
4 L.C
No 9
No 19
SLC 2L.D.
M-GEN SMITH
Brig. Penny
Brig Hicks
M-GEN. DICK
Brig. Stacy
Brig Wilkinson
Ashburnham
Pockets
Brig
Taylor
M-GEN GILBERT
Brig
Maclaren
Brig. Campbell
4 LC 9 LC 2/3 SEC 2LD
Brig. Scott
M-GEN THACKWELL
Battle of
SOBRAON
Feb. 10th 1846

1846. February.

Preparations were at once made for attacking the Sikh position at Sobraon. It was to be conducted as follows: The heavy ordnance were to open upon the entrenchment and prepare for the assault, which was to be made on the centre and both flanks. Sir Robert Dick's division on the left was to advance and storm the western corner. General Gilbert's division in the centre, and Sir H. Smith's on the right were to attack simultaneously, but rather with a view to divert the enemy's attention from the real attack of Sir R. Dick. Brigadier Cureton, with his brigade of Cavalry, was directed to watch the Hari ki Patan, about a mile in rear of Sir H. Smith, and threaten from that quarter.

The Sikh entrenchments occupied a bend in the river Sutlej extending a mile and a half along the bank with a depth of a mile. Inside the main line of parapet were a series of shelter trenches for musketry. They had learned that a single line of earthworks was of no avail against our fire or the assault of our Infantry. A second line of parapet ran diagonally across the interior, with two others behind it in front of the bridge of boats. Outside the ground was hard and open, intersected with numerous dry channels, some of considerable width.

The first proposal of the Artillerymen was to place the heavy guns near the enemy's works, so as to enfilade them throughout, but as this would have involved shoulders and traverses to protect our batteries from being enfiladed in turn, objections were made and upheld by the Engineer officers. So it was decided to place them in such positions in front as might enable them to bear upon various points, and thus cover the advance.

The number of men in the reserve companies was not sufficient to man them all, consequently the officers and men of the 2nd Troop (now commanded by Captain Waller), 3rd and 5th Troops 1st Brigade, and 1st Troop 3rd Brigade, were ordered to leave horses and guns in camp and assist in the batteries.*

* The 2nd and 3rd Troops 1st Brigade were with the 8-inch howitzers, though, strangely enough, Captains Swinley and Barr,

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1846. February. Brigadier Ashburnham commanded an advanced post at the village of Rodawálá, in front of which the heavy batteries were to be placed. The heavy pieces moved out of camp about 10 p.m. on the 9th, but on reaching Rodawálá, the 62nd Regiment had not arrived, and Brigadier Ashburnham, from some misconception or non-receipt of orders, was not ready. The enemy were supposed to be at Chota Sobraon, and would have to be dislodged. The day was nearly breaking before they advanced, and the posts selected by the Engineers were reached before the sun rose.

Feb. 10th. A heavy mist concealed the entrenchments from view and us from the Sikhs, who slumbered unconsciously, while the shouts and objurgations which Hindu bullock-drivers deem it necessary to indulge in before they can reverse their long teams and come into action, would, it was feared, effectually prevent anything like a surprise. But all the batteries were in position before the lower stratum of mist had cleared away.

The batteries were placed on the southern side of one of the channels before mentioned. They were arranged thus: Colonel Geddes had a Rocket Battery on the left, close to the edge of the ravine. To its right, a little further from the ravine, Colonel Huthwaite had a battery of eight 8-inch howitzers, and next to him Colonel Denniss one of six 10-inch howitzers; Brigadier Brooke superintended these two. Further to the right Major Lawrenson had a battery of five 18-pounder guns. To the right front of this, sheltered in a broad part of the same ravine which here formed an angle, Colonel Wood had a battery of six 8-inch and five 5½-inch mortars. Brigadier Biddulph had the superintendence of the mortars and guns. More than three-quarters of a mile to the right, in front of the line by which General Gilbert's division was marching up,

Lieutenants Mackinnon and Atlay were with the 18-pounders; the 1st Troop 3rd Brigade was in the 10-inch howitzer battery. Captains Day and Waller were with the 12-pounder reamers brought up from Delhi.

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Captain Day had the battery of twelve iron 12-pounder reamed up guns, which, as before mentioned, were drawn by elephants. On the left of this battery Major Grant, with the 2nd-2nd H.A.* (four field howitzers and two guns), took up a position. 1846. Feb. 10th

All was still as the sun first appeared above the mist, when a single shell from Grant's Troop was sent into the Sikh entrenchments.

It cælo clamorque virum clangorque tubarum. The shouts of many voices, beating of drums, and bugle sounds were borne through the morning air, while the howitzers and 12-pounder guns in turn sent their demand for surrender. The other batteries took it up, and the Sikhs, not slow to reply, filled the atmosphere with sound, so that the mists, shaken by the reverberation, fled away. The elephants in the 12-pounder limbers, frightened by the noise, bolted, and were not stopped till they had got half way back to camp. Just after the fire commenced, a Sikh horseman rode out from the right of the entrenchment, and cantered along outside to the left.

The outer line of the entrenchment was a good earth-work, giving plenty of cover to the guns. The fire of our heavy batteries, well directed as it was, did not enfilade, and at 1,300 yards could not do much more than search the interior of the position, when it should have been mainly instrumental in clearing it. The siege-train, too, had only just arrived, and the amount of ammunition prepared on the 9th was hardly sufficient. Consequently, when Sir R. Dick's division was ordered forward, the fire of these batteries had begun to slacken just when they should have been most effective.† For this the Artillery were not responsible.

* This battery had been nearly two years before, as an experiment, armed with the heavier metal of 9-pounder guns and 24-pounder howitzers. For this day's work two of the guns were replaced by howitzers.

† That the practice was good appears from the following extract of

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1846. Feb. 10th. Brigadier Stacy with the 7th Brigade (to which the 53rd Regiment, lately arrived, had been added) on the left, was the first ordered to advance, supported on either flank by Captains Fordyce and Horsford with 7th and 9th Batteries. Brigadier Wilkinson with the 6th Brigade followed. Colonel Lane's Troop, with the Cavalry in rear, also advanced. Brigadier Ashburnham and the 5th Brigade came up somewhat further to the right. The three batteries went forward at a gallop, and opened at 300 yards. The Sikhs, apprehending the main assault would come from General Gilbert's and Smith's divisions, had collected the largest part of their force on that side, but the fire of the guns was well and effectively maintained. When the Infantry got close in, their guns could not be sufficiently depressed from the faulty construction of the sills of the embrasures, but the defences, well constructed of earth and fascine-work, were difficult to force, and the resistance to Stacy's attack was so formidable that the first attempt was not immediately successful. There was a temporary check. Again they pressed forward, the 6th Brigade following close after, neither firing. The 10th Regiment, led by Colonel Franks, gained great praise for their conduct on this occasion. Both brigades forced their way in almost together. The Sappers cut an opening in the parapet, through which the 3rd Light Dragoons coming up, followed by the 5th L.C., made their way in single file, forming up inside, and then charging in different directions. The number of shelter-trenches in the interior made united action very difficult. A squadron of the 3rd L.D., under

a letter from the late Colonel W. S. Row, 33rd N.I., 25th March, 1873, to me :—

"In the evening I visited the interior of the entrenchments, and found that on the front, immediately facing the heavy guns and Rocket Battery, the destruction had been very great. Numerous tumbrils had been blown up, and several square places in the interior, surrounded by ditches, having been apparently occupied by the enemy in dense masses, presented an appearance of charred and burnt bodies heaped one upon another."

The cotton mirzai, commonly worn, taking fire and smouldering, charred the bodies—a common occurrence, and not a pleasant sight.

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Captain Cookes, with the 5th L.C., were ordered to create a diversion in favour of Sir H. Smith on the right, who had met with such opposition that his advance had been checked. Lieutenant E. Roche, 3rd Dragoons, D.A.Q.M.G. of the Cavalry Division, accompanied this charge, and saved the life of Captain J. W. Ryley, Adjutant 5th L.C., killing a Sikh chieftain, who attacked him from behind. The 4th L.C. from the left had come up nearer the river where the enemy's Horse were, to the extreme right of the Sikh outworks, where they entered, and, charging down, assisted in clearing them. Sir Robert Dick was mortally wounded close to the entrenchment. All accounts have given high praise to the three batteries on this flank. A body of Horse which had come down on one flank and obliged the 53rd to form square, was dispersed by Captain Horsford's. M. Mouton, a Frenchman, who commanded it, in disgust threw down his sword, and vowed he would not serve any more with them. Captain Horsford's battery was loudly cheered by the Infantry, particularly by the 10th Foot. 1846. Feb. 10th.

Brigadier Ashburnham's brigade supported these attacks further to the right.

The divisions of Generals Gilbert and Sir H. Smith came up under very heavy fire, both of artillery and musketry. Far away on the left the former could see the glittering bayonets of Dick's brigades, but there was no time to look anywhere except to the front, where the ramparts seemed impassable. Twice the regiments fell back baffled; twice again they advanced, and at last effected an entrance. But the loss, considering the time they were under fire, was very heavy. Brigadier Maclaren, who had done very good service in Afghanistan, was dangerously wounded in the knee. Brigadier C. C. Taylor, 29th Regiment, of whom Sir Hugh Gough says that no one held in his estimation a higher place for gallantry and skill, fell "in close encounter with the enemy, covered with honourable wounds." The casualties in the 3rd Brigade (Taylor's) amounted to 63 killed, 339 wounded; in the 4th (Maclaren's) to 55 killed, 440

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1846. Feb. 10th. wounded, the work of little more than half-an-hour. Those of the native regiments came nearer to those of the European ones than in any previous engagement.

Sir Harry Smith's two brigades in the same way were not at first successful. The struggle, though not prolonged, was severe. On the right the 1st-2nd H.A., and on the left the 3rd-3rd H.A., under Major G. Campbell, covered the advance, though 6-pounder guns could not open the way through the earthworks or silence the guns behind them. But while Sir R. Dick's brigades, a mile away on the left, were making havoc with the enemy inside, this, and General Gilbert's division, were crowning the works. Already the Sikhs were beginning to retreat over the bridge of boats, and Captain Turton at the extremity of the defences, where a view of the interior could be obtained, was playing upon their disordered masses. Major Campbell with his Troop went to Turton's right, and unlimbered on the edge of the river. Three of his guns were directed against a battery on the opposite bank which enfiladed them, a shot from which killed Lieutenant H. J. Y. Faithful of the 1st Troop about this time. It was silenced. Major Campbell, as he ever did in action, was carrying out his motto, "Fiat Via Vi." His other three guns joined Turton's in playing upon the bridge of boats,* and the crowds of Sikhs pressing over it. Their fire broke it down.

The guns were soon reinforced. Lieut.-Colonel Alexander came up from the Hari ford, which he, with Cureton's Cavalry, had been watching. The Governor-General, with prescient foresight, had sent Captain C. E. Mills to camp for the guns of the Horse Artillery serving in the heavy batteries, and he made the Syces hook in the teams, mount, and come up at a trot. Lieutenant Atlay brought up Captain Day's Troop. The gunners were soon in their ac-

* In the plan the position of the bridge or the curve of the river may not be quite correct. The former was in full view of both Turton's and Campbell's guns. General Campbell in a letter places it nearer.

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customed saddles. There was no grass under their feet, but they left the dust behind, and ere long were in action on the bank of the river. It was no longer a battle, it was simply carnage. The river had risen seven inches during the night, but the Sikhs, refusing to yield, plunged into it, and as shot and shell tore through them, their bodies were carried down the stream. The Artillerymen did not like the work, but the Sikhs had to be taught a lesson, and were hard to instruct. At eleven o'clock that morning not a living Sikh remained on the British side of the river. 1846. Feb. 10th

The casualties among the Artillery in this action were very small, 7 killed, 45 wounded, Major C. Grant among the latter. The Infantry had 313 killed, 1,954 wounded. The Cavalry, 6 killed, 42 wounded. The Engineers, 2 killed, 20 wounded. The Sikh loss was estimated at more than 8,000, and 67 pieces of ordnance fell into our hands.

This ended the campaign. On the 14th the British Army was at Kasur, where the Governor-General received Golab Singh on the part of the Sikh Government. On the 18th, the young Maharaja tendered his submission to him, and on the 20th the Army encamped at Mian Mir.

Expedition against Fort Kangra.

Under the terms of the Treaty now entered into with the Sikh Government, the country lying between the Sutlej and Biás Rivers, north of Ludhiána, commonly called the Jullundur Doab, became British territory, and a Brigade under General Wheeler was placed there. It included the hills on the north-east, in which the celebrated fortress of Kot Kangra is situated. The Kiladár of this place, trusting to its impregnability, tested in many an instance in days long gone by, relying somewhat on fate, and, like other Kiladárs in history, considering his honour bound up in his charge, declined to surrender at once, saying that unless the Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself appeared before May.

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1846. May. the gates, he would not give up the keys. As Ranjit was then beyond the River Styx, and could not come, Brigadier Wheeler was sent instead.

His force consisted of the 2nd, 11th, 41st, 44th, and half the 63rd N.I. Lieut.-Colonel H. J. Wood commanded the Artillery, which consisted of the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade H.A., 1st and 3rd Companies 6th Battalion, and the 2nd Company 7th Battalion. A siege-train of three 18-pounder guns, two 8-inch howitzers, and six mortars were sent. Elephant draft was provided for the larger pieces.

There was nothing remarkable about this expedition except the difficulty of transporting the heavy guns over the rough mountainous country which had to be traversed before the fort was reached on the 25th of May. On the appearance of the force there the Kiladár gave up his keys to the shade of Ranjit Singh. Lieutenant W. Olpherts, commanding the Artillery of the Bandelkhand Legion, volunteered for and was employed in this expedition.

The headquarters of the 6th Battalion, with the 1st and 3rd Companies, went to Umballah. The 4th Company was kept there till December, when it was withdrawn with the siege ordnance, Lieutenant Clifford remaining till then in charge of the park.

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AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THIS CHAPTER.

General and Regimental Orders.

Muster Rolls and Army Lists.

India Office Records.

Calcutta Review, Vol. VI., Article, VI., "Sikh Invasion of India."

Correspondence, etc., of the Late Gen. Sir G. Brooke, K.C.B.

M.S. relation of the war by the late Col. E. Kaye, C.B.

Letters from various Officers of Artillery and of regiments engaged.

Letters in *Calcutta Englishman and Friend of India.*

APPENDIX.

A. List of Officers of Artillery who served.

B. Return of Casualties in the Artillery, Mudki.

C. Return of Casualties in the Artillery, Ferozeshah

D. Return of Casualties in the Artillery, Aliwal.

E. Return of Casualties in the Artillery, Sobraon.

F. Note on Casualties among matériel and failure of ammunition at Ferozeshah.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the first Sikh War.

	Mudki.	Ferozeshah.	Badhowal.	Aliwal.	Sobraon.	Kangra.	
1ST BRIGADE H.A. ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieut.-Colonel G. Brooke ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel W. Geddes...	...	p	...	...	p	...	
Bt.-Captain M. Mackenzie ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	Bde.-Major 1st Div. H.A., wounded at Ferozeshah.
Surgeon T. E. Dempster ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	
Assist.-Surgeon D. McRae ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	
Assist.-Surgeon W. F. Mactier	p	p	...	...	p	...	
Vety.-Surgeon P. B. F. Green...	p	p	...	...	p	...	
Riding-Master P. Ashton ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	
Sergt.-Major S. Douglas ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	Provost-Marshal.
1st Troop. ...	p	p	...	p	...	...	*F., R.H.A.*
Captain F. Dashwood	p	...	...	...	...	...	Died 22nd December of wounds received at Mudki.
Captain C. E. Mills	p	p	...	p	...	...	
Lieutenant J. Mills	p	p	...	p	...	...	Doing duty at first with 4th Troop 3rd Bde.
Lieutenant W. C. Hutchinson...	p	p	...	p	...	...	
Lieutenant H. Tombs	p	p	...	p	...	...	
Asst.-Surg. F. Anderson, M.D.	p	p	...	p	...	...	
2nd Troop. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*56th Field Battery.*
Captain E. D'A. Todd	p	p	...	...	...	...	Killed at Ferozeshah.
Captain R. Waller	...	...	...	...	p	...	From 1-4 G.O. 31st Jan.
Lieutenant C. A. Wheelwright	p	p	...	...	p	...	Wounded at Mudki.
Lieutenant W. A. Mackinnon...	p	p	...	...	p	...	
3rd Troop. ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	*58th Field Battery.*
Captain G. H. Swinley ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant R. H. Pollock ...	p	...	...	...	...	...	Died 19th December of wounds received at Mudki.
Lieutenant R. M. Paton ...	...	...	...	...	...	p	From 1st Troop 3rd Brigade.
Lieutenant C. V. Bowie ...	p	p	...	...	...	...	Wounded at Mudki.
Lieutenant E. Atlay	...	...	...	...	p	p	From 3-4 G.O. 30th Dec.
5th Troop. ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	*T., R.H.A.*
Captain E. F. Day	...	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant C. W. Timbrell ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant E. B. Johnson ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant W. C. Russell ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	
Assist.-Surgeon G. Rae ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	

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NOTE A—*continued.*

	Mudki.	Ferozeshah.	Badhowal.	Aliwal.	Sobraon.	Kangra.	
2ND BRIGADE, H.A.							
Colonel G. E. Gowan, C.B. ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieut.-Colonel E. Biddulph ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Major G. S. Lawrenson ...	...	...	...	p	p	...	
Bt.-Captain E. G. Austin ...	...	...	...	p	p	...	Brigade-Major 2nd Div. H.A.
Surgeon G. Craigie	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Assist.-Surgeon F. Douglas ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Riding-Master R. McAuliffe ...	...	...	...	p	p	...	
Sergeant-Major S. Budd ...	...	...	p	p	p	...	Baggage-Master.
1st *Troop.* ...	...	...	...	p	p	...	*K., R.H.A.*
Captain J. Turton	...	...	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant R. R. Bruce ...	...	...	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant H. J. Y. Faithful ...	...	...	...	p	p	...	Killed at Sobraon.
2nd Troop. ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	*52nd Field Battery.*
Bt.-Major C. Grant	...	...	...	..	p	...	Wounded at Sobraon.
Lieutenant P. Christie	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant A. P. Simons ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant S. W. Stokes ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
3rd Troop. ...	...	...	p	p	p	...	*2na Batt. 2nd Dep. Div. R.A.*
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel J. Alexander ...	...	p	p	p	...		
Bt.-Captain W. Barr.	...	...	p	p	p	...	Acting Adjt. 2nd Bde H.A.
Lieutenant G. G. Voyle ...	...	...	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant H. Le G. Bruce ...	...	...	p	p	p	...	
3RD BRIGADE H.A.							
Lieut.-Colonel E. Huthwaite ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant J. Abercrombie ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	Adjutant.
Surgeon J. Graham, M.D. ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Depôt Hospital Ferozepore
Assist.-Surg. R. S. O. Thring ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty.
Vet.-Surgeon D. Cullimore ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Riding-Master C. Connolly ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
1st *Troop.*	p	p	...	...	p	...	*L., R.H.A.*
Bt.-Major F. Brind	p	p	...	...	p	...	
Bt.-Major H. M. Lawrence ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Political Employ.
Lieutenant C. V. Cox	p	p	...	...	p	...	Wounded at Mudki.
Lieutenant A. Wintle	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant R. M. Paton ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Wounded at Ferozeshah —To 3rd Troop 1st Bde. H.A.
Asst.-Surgeon H. W. Rumley...	p	p	...	...	p	...	
2nd Troop. ...	1 div.	1 div.	...	...	p	p	*57th Field Battery.*
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel J. T. Lane...	...	...	...	...	p	p	
Lieutenant G. Moir	p	p	...	...	p	p	
Lieutenant E. A. C. D'Oyly ...	...	...	...	p	p	p	
Lieutenant H. T. T. Pattenson	...	...	...	...	p	p	

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NOTE A—*continued.*

	Mrcki.	Ferozeshah.	Badhowal.	Aliwal.	Sobraon.	Kangra.	
3rd Troop. ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	*S., R.H.A.*
Bt.-Major G. Campbell ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant P. C. Lambert ...	...	p	...	...	...	...	Killed at Ferozeshah.
Lieutenant A. G. Austen ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	From 2-7 G.O., 31 Dec.
Lieutenant F. F. Remmington...	...	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant D. McNeill... ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	
4th Troop. ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	*K.-C., R.H.A. Reduced '79*
Captain H. Garbett	p	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant E. Kaye	p	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant H. H. Maxwell ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	Dep.-Asst.Qr.-Mr.-Gen.
2nd Company, 2nd Battalion. ...	...	*	...	...	p	...	*9th Mountain Battery.*
Lieutenant G. H. Clifford ...	...	...	...	...	...	p	
Lieutenant J. A. Angelo ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
3rd Company, 3rd Battalion. ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	*14th Co. Southern Div.*
Captain E. P. Master	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant D. J. F. Newall ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty from 2-3.
Lieutenant W. K. Fooks ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty from 3-5.
4th Company, 3rd Battalion. ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	*36th Field Battery.*
Captain J. Anderson	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty from 3-1.
Lieutenant S. C. Woodcock ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant W. Miller ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty from 6-8.
4TH BATTALION.							
Lieut.-Colonel G. G. Denniss ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	
Bt.-Captain W. K. Warner ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	Adjt.-Commy. Ordnce.
Surgeon J. Steel. M.D.	...	p	...	...	p	...	Field Surgeon.
Assist.-Surgeon E. Edlin ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	In medical charge.
1st Company, 12-pr. Battery. ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	*2nd Mountain Battery.*
Captain A. Fitzgerald	...	...	...	...	...	p	
Lieutenant H. Francis	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty with 4-4.
Lieutenant H. Montgomery ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty from 1-2.
2nd-Lieutenant W. F. Cox ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty from 2-1.
2nd Company. ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	*4th Mountain Battery.*
Bt.-Major G. H. Macgregor ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Political Employ--Doing duty F.A.B.O., 17th Feb.
Lieutenant H. R. Courtenay ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant A. Bunny	...	...	...	...	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant C. Dempster ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Joined 11th Feb.
3rd Company, No. 7 H.F.B.	p	p	...	...	p	...	*6th Mountain Battery.*
Captain Jasper Trower... ...	p	...	...	...	...	...	Died 18th Dec. of wound.
Captain J. Fordyce	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant E. Atlay	p	p	...	...	...	...	To 3-1 H.A.
Lieutenant A. Pearson	p	p	...	...	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant E. Harrison ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Joined 9th Feb.
4th Company. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*6th Co., Eastern Div.*
Captain J. Brind	...	...	...	...	...	...	Doing duty, Batt. Ord., 12th Feb.
Lieutenant G. Milligan ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty from 1-1 Batt. Ord., 25th Jan.

* A detail with heavy howitzers, but no officer except Captain Warner.

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NOTE A—*continued.*

	Mudki.	Ferozeshah.	Badhowal.	Aliwal.	Sobraon.	Kangra.	
4th Company—continued.							
Lieutenant G. A. Renny ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty, Batt. Ord., 26th Jan.
Lieutenant C. H. Cookes ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Doing duty Fd. Army Ord., 14th Feb.
2nd-Lieutenant M. E. Currie ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Joined 8th February.
2nd-Lieutenant J. S. Frith ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Doing duty Fd. Army Ord., 27th Feb.
6TH BATTALION.							
Lieut.-Colonel H. J. Wood ...	...	...	...	...	p	p	
Lieutenant T. Brougham ...	...	...	...	...	p	p	Adjutant.
Surgeon G. G. Brown, M.D. ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
Asst.-Surgeon St. G. W. Tucker	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty.
1st Company. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*18th Co., Southern Div.*
Lieutenant H. M. Conran ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant W. Stewart ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty Arty. Div. Ord., 16th Jan.
2nd-Lieutenant T. Haydon ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty Arty. Div. Ord., 16th Jan.
2nd-Lieut. E. W. E. Walker ...	...	...	...	...	...	p	Doing duty Arty. Div. Ord., 16th Jan.
2nd-Lieutenant W. H. Parish...	...	...	...	...	...	p	Doing duty Arty. Div. Ord., 16th Jan.
2nd-Lieutenant G. Baillie ...	...	...	...	...	...	p	Doing duty Arty. Div. Ord., 16th Jan.
2nd Company, No. 9 H.F.B.	...	...	...	...	...	...	*59th Field Battery.*
Captain R. Horsford	p	p	...	...	...	...	
Lieutenant T. E. Kennion ...	p	p	...	...	p	...	
3rd Company.	...	...	...	...	p	...	*60th Field Battery.*
Lieutenant J. C. Griffiths ...	...	...	...	...	p	p	
2nd-Lieutenant L. Machell ...	...	...	...	...	...	p	
2nd-Lieutenant J. F. Gilmore...	...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty from 2-6 G.O., 21st Jan.
4th Company, No. 19 F.B.	...	...	...	...	...	...	*Reduced* 1871.
Captain J. Fordyce	...	p	...	...	...	...	To 3-4 G.O., 29th Dec.
Captain E. Christie	...	...	...	...	...	...	From 2-1 G.O., 29th Dec.
Lieutenant G. Holland... ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant H. J. B. Macleod ...	...	p	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant C. Cookworthy ...	...	...	...	...	p	...	
2nd Company 7th Battalion, No. 6 H.F.B.	...	3 guns	...	...	...	...	*Native. Reduced* 1862.
Captain F. B. Boileau	...	...	p	p	...	...	
Captain A. Fitzgerald	...	...	...	...	...	p	Doing duty.
Lieutenant A. G. Austen ...	...	p	...	p	...	...	To 3-3 H.A., G.O., 31st Jan.
Lieutenant C. S. Dundas ...	...	...	p	p	...	...	
Lieutenant J. S. Tulloh ...	...	...	p	p	...	p	

Officers unattached to any Troop or Company in the field:—
Captain W. S. Pillans, Commisary of Ordnance at Ferozepore.
Captain J. F. Egerton, D.A.Q.M.G. Ferozepore force. Died 23rd January of wounds received at Ferozeshah.

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NOTE B.

Return of Casualties, Mudki, 18th December, 1846.

	Killed.						Wounded.							
	Officers.	Non-Com. Officers.	Rank and File.	Syce Drivers.	Syces and Grass-cutters.	Horses.	Officers.	Native Officers.	Non-Com. Officers.	Rank and File.	Lascars.	Syce Drivers.	Syces and Grass-cutters.	Horses.
1st Brigade H.A.														
1st, 2nd, and 3rd Troops	1	1	7	...	...	24	3	...	2	10	2	10	1	18
3rd Brigade H.A.														
1st, 2nd, and 4th Troops	...	2	4	...	5	12	1	1	...	9	9	...	6	2
3rd Company 4th Batt. } No. 7 Horse Battery }	1	1	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
2nd Company 6th Batt } No. 9 Horse Battery }	...	...	2	2	...	5	...	...	...	3	...	2	...	3
Total	2	4	13	3	5	45	4	1	2	22	11	12	7	25

Officers killed:—Captain Jasper Trower, 3-4 F.A.; Lieutenant R. H. Pollock, 2-1 H.A., died 19th December.

Officers wounded:—Captain F. Dashwood, severely—died 22nd December; Lieutenants C. V. Cox, 1-3 H.A.; C. A. Wheelwright, 2-1 H.A.; C. V. Bowie, 2-1 H.A.

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NOTE C.

Return of Casualties, Ferozeshah, 21st and 22nd December 1845

	Killed.								Wounded.								Missing.			
	Officers.	Native Officers	Non.-Com. Officers.	Rank and File.	Lascars.	Syce Drivers.	Syces.	Horses.	Officers.	Native Officers.	Warrant Offrs.	Non.-Com. Officers.	Rank and File.	Lascars	Syce Drivers	Syces.	Horses.	Non.-Com. Officers.	Trumpeters.	Rank and File	Horses.
Div. and Bde. Staff	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
1st Bde. H.A.	1	...	...	7	3	...	...	35	...	...	...	4	28	3	...	1	37	1	...	2	76
3rd Bde. H.A.	1	...	1	14	...	...	2	70	1	..	...	3	18	3	...	1	18	...	...	1	29
3rd Co. 4th Batt.,No. 7 L.F.B. ...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	16	...	...	...	5
2nd Co. 6th Batt.,No. 9 L.F.B. ...	...	...	1	...	1	...	10	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	4	16
4th Co. 6th Batt.,No. 19 L.F.B. ...	..	...	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2nd Co. 7th Batt.,No. 6 L.F.B. ...	2	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	10	3
2nd and 4th Cos. 4th Batt, ...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	13	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
Total	2	2	1	26	4	4	2	118	4	...	2	10	61	7	2	2	75	1	2	17	130

Officers killed :—Captain E. D'A. Todd, 2-1 H.A., 21st December; Lieutenant P. C. Lambert, 3-3 H.A., 23rd December.

Officers wounded :— Brevet-Captains W. K. Warner, Commissary of Ordnance, and Murray Mackenzie, Brigade Major; Lieutenants R. M. Paton, 1-3 H.A., and E. Atlay, 3-4 F.A., slightly.

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NOTE D.

Return of Casualties, Aliwal, 28th January, 1846.

	Killed.				Wounded.						Missing.		
	Gunners.	Gun Lascars.	Privates of Golandáz.	Horses.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Gunners.	Privates of Golandáz.	Officers' chargers.	Horses.	Privates of Golandáz.	Syces.	Horses.
1st Troop 1st Bde. H.A.	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
1st Troop 2nd Bde. H.A.	1	...	...	8	1	1	5	...	1	4	...	...	5
3rd Troop 2nd Bde. H.A.	...	1	...	18	...	...	2	...	...	4	...	...	4
2nd Troop 3rd Bde. H.A.	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3
2nd Co. 7th Batt. & No. 6 H.F.B.	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	1	4	...
Total	1	1	1	30	1	1	9	3	1	8	1	4	12

NOTE E.

Return of Casualties, Sobraon, 10th February, 1846.

	Killed.				Wounded.						
	Officers.	Rank and File.	Syce Drivers.	Horses.	Officers.	N.-C. Officers.	Rank and File.	Lascars.	Syces and Grasscutters.	Horses.	Horses Missing.
1st Brigade H.A. ...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
2nd Brigade H.A. ...	1	2	...	14	1	...	15	...	2	20	...
3rd Brigade H.A. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...
2nd Co 2nd Batt. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
3rd Batt.	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	...	...	...
4th Batt.	...	...	2	3	...	...	5	2	3	2	5
6th Batt.	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	...	...	1	...
Total	1	3	3	17	1	1	33	5	5	23	5

Officer killed:—Lieutenant H. J. Y. Faithful, 1-2 H.A.
Officer wounded:—Brevet-Major C. Grant, 2-2 H.A.

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NOTE F.

Casualties among Matériel and failure of Ammunition at the Battle of Ferozeshah.

The explosion of some of the wagons was due to the powder which the Sikhs had stored away in small magazines excavated in the ground within the entrenchments, besides what was plentifully scattered about inside and out, and some of these acted as mines among the Infantry. Brigadier Brooke reported six wagons blown up; some more were disabled and sent into Ferozepore to be replaced.

Except the wagons thus exploded, he says the greatest and almost only serious damage done to carriages was in wheels, and as a steady upholder of the system of pole draught, the Brigadier alleges "a duplicate occasion of the whole of one side of a team being shot down, yet both were replaced, ready, and moved off when it became necessary to move the battery."

Both the 8-inch howitzers were disabled; a shot smashed the nave of one, causing the wheel to fall in pieces, the capsquares of another were broken. Brigadier Brooke and Captain Warner assign as a reason for the last the want of stability without a platform, but it is not a sufficient one for a single day's work. The greatest elevation required was 10°.

Of exploded wagons, one occurred in Captain Campbell's Troop on the left; one (or two) in Captain Mills' Troop; both of Lieutenant Moir's; a wagon and limber of Captain Garbett's, and two in Captain Horsford's Field Battery, representing a loss of about 500 rounds.

The failure of ammunition in this action was much criticised, and the question of an adequate reserve was forced into notice. The number of rounds carried in limbers and wagons into action was as follows:—

6-pr. gun	96 round shot	16 spherica	16 com. case	
9 ,, ,,	72 ,,	16 ,,	8 ,,	
12-pr. how.	32 com. shell	38 ,,	8 ,,	2 carcases
24 ,, ,,	22 ,,	32 ,,	8 ,,	2 ,,

or less than Royal Artillery batteries carried The capacities of

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the boxes allowed of more. Two spare wagons were allowed on service to each Battery, giving 96, 80, 66, and 46 additional rounds for each nature of piece; but these were drawn by bullocks, and could not be kept properly in touch with the first line. The Committee of 1836 had recommended a much larger proportion to be carried with each piece.

Lord Hardinge was too good a soldier, and too practical a character, not to address himself to this question as soon as the war was over, and the result was the addition to every Battery on service of a second line of wagons. It still, however, continued to be drawn by bullocks, a system that afterwards called forth the reprehension of Royal Artillery officers. And Lord Hardinge did not allow his interest in this matter to cease with his tenure of office. More than three years after the writer of this history had fired his farewell salute from the ramparts of Fort William, he was corresponding with Colonel G. Brooke upon the subject, and the information which the latter then procured from different officers relative to the campaign is of the greatest interest and value.

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CHAPTER VI.

SIEGE OF MULTÁN.

STATE OF THE PUNJAB IN 1848 – Mulráj Diwán of Multán—Murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson—Rebellion—Operations of Lieutenant Edwardes—General Whish sent with a force by the Resident—Sher Singh's Contingent—Sikh Feeling in the Punjab—Captain Abbott in Hazára—Operations of First Siege—Position of Force—First parallel of Attack—Enemy dislodged from its Front—Defection of Sher Singh—Siege Raised—Position taken up—Preparations for Renewal—Action at Suraj Khund—Junction of Force from Bombay—Renewal of Siege—Plan of Attack—Operations against City and Fort—Principal Magazine blown up—Capture of the City—Batteries on the North-east side of Fort—On the South-east Side—Breaches reported practicable—Preparations for Assault—Mulráj Capitulates—Remarks.

THE year 1848, with the commencement of the Earl of Dalhousie's government, opened in peace, but the seeds of war in the Punjab were near the surface and soon germinated. The Sikh, as he ploughed his field, thought with bitterness that his nation, nominally independent, was under foreign rule, and that the army to which he belonged was overawed by the Feringhi and Hindustani soldiers.* The Governor of a district, who farmed the revenue, knew that behind the authority of the Durbar, the National Council, lay the power vested in a British Resident. 1848.

By the treaty of 1846, the supplementary Articles (11th March) provided that a British force should be left at Lahore for that year, during the reorganisation of the

* The feeling against the Sepoy was more intense. This came out plainly in 1857. Khan Singh Majithia, with whom in 1849 I sometimes spent an hour at his house near Amritsar, where he was living under surveillance, and who boasted to me that he was the last of the Sirdars who had laid down their arms before Sir Walter Gilbert, said to me that one Sikh was equal to three Sepoys, and that the latter were only good for fighting when they had the "gora log" beside them.

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1848. army. It was done at the solicitation of the Durbar. Two years after the force was still there; a British Resident was at Lahore with a large staff of assistants. Major G. H. Macgregor, C.B., of the Artillery, was one of them and Captain J. Abbott was employed at first in the delimitation of territorial boundaries, afterwards in the Hazára district north-east of Ráwal Pindi; Major G. St. P. Lawrence, of the Cavalry, was at Peshawar; Lieutenants H. B. Edwardes, 1st European Regiment, and Reynell G. Taylor, of the Cavalry, at Bannu beyond the Indus. Lieut.-Colonel H. M. Lawrence, C.B., of the Artillery, the Resident, was on leave home, his place being taken first by his brother, Mr. John Lawrence, afterwards by Sir Frederick Currie, both of the Civil Service.

Mulráj had succeeded his father Sáwan Mal, assassinated in September, 1844, as Diwán, or Governor of the Multán district, an important one, and not easily controlled by the Durbar. Sirdar Lal Singh had imposed a heavy nazarána, or succession fine, upon him, which was still a subject of remonstrance when the war broke out. Appeal was made first to Mr. John Lawrence, and he had unwillingly agreed to pay the reduced sum of 18 lakh of rupees, but at the same time tendered his resignation of the province. After Sir F. Currie had taken over office, the resignation was again tendered to the Durbar, who in 1848 appointed one Khan Singh Man to succeed him, and Mr. Vans Agnew, of the Civil Service, with Lieutenant A. W. Anderson, 1st Bombay Fusiliers, were sent down by the Resident to take over the accounts.

The murder of these officers at Multán on the 20th of April was the opening act of a rebellion in which, with few exceptions, all the chief Sirdars were soon implicated. That it was not the premeditated act of Mulráj did not make much difference, for he took no steps to succour or protect the wounded officers, and distinctly made himself *particeps criminis*. So, committed, he threw himself entirely into rebellion, and the reduction of Multán was the

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first object to which the attention of Government and the Commander-in-Chief was directed. The latter was much averse to undertaking active operations till later in the season, when he wished to have given the command to General Sir W. R. Gilbert, K.C.B., and the direction of the Artillery to Lieut.-Colonel G. Brooke, C.B. He proposed to assemble at Ferozepore by November 1st a force of 24,000 men, 50 siege-pieces, 7 horse, 6 field batteries and 7 reserve companies of Artillery, 6 companies of Sappers; 3 British and 10 Native regiments of Cavalry, 5 British and 18 native regiments of Infantry.* 1848.

Lieutenant Edwardes, Assistant-Commissioner at Bannu, at once organised what force he had, and wrote to the Nawab of Bháwalpur, who assembled his Daudputra feudatories, while the former advanced to meet him. But Mulráj at Shujabad intervened. Edwardes obtained the Resident's permission to act. He crossed the Indus, joined General Van Cortlandt at Dera Ghazi Khan, passed the Chenab on the 18th of June at Kineri just as the Bháwalpur force was attacked, and defeated the troops of Mulráj. Advancing, he, on the 1st July, a second time defeated Mulráj at Suddosain, almost under the walls of Multán, and effectually shut him up within them. Lieutenant Lake, of the Engineers, had joined and taken command of the Daudputra force.

Sir Frederick Currie, availing himself of the powers vested in him, then directed Major-General W. S. Whish, C.B., commanding at Lahore, to arrange for the despatch of a second-class siege-train and march with the moveable column from Lahore and Ferozepore to Multán. He was under the impression that the rebel force had dwindled down to about 4,000 men, and would probably be still smaller. A proclamation was issued by the Govenor-General, July 22nd, to the people of the Punjab, and as it was felt that any appearance of divided councils would be injurious, the Commander-in-Chief directed (G.O.C.C., Aug. 4) the

* C.-in-C. to Resident Lahore, May 13th, 1848. Papers, p. 166.

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1848. August. formation of a force under Major-General Whish to co-operate with a force under Raja Sher Singh, who had been sent by the Durbar at Lahore to reduce the rebel.

The force was constituted as follows:—

Artillery.

Major H. Garbett, Commanding; Major E. F. Day; Lieutenant J. Mill, Brigade-Major; Lieutenant W. K. Fooks, Brigade-Quarter-Master; Lieutenant P. Christie, Commissary of Ordnance.

D-2 Reduced 1862. K-C Reduced 1879. 9 Mt. Batt. 14 Co. S. Div. 36 Fd. Batt. Red. 1862. 4th Troop 1st Brigade, 4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., 2nd Company 2nd Battalion, 3rd and 4th Companies 3rd Battalion, 6th Company 7th Battalion.

Engineers.

Bt.-Major R. Napier, Chief; Bt.-Captain H. Siddons, Commanding Sappers and Miners; Lieutenant P. Garforth, Brigade-Major; Lieutenant J. E. Cracroft (69th N.I.), Quarter-Master.

1st, 2nd, and 3rd Companies Sappers, 2nd and 3rd Companies Pioneers.

Cavalry.

Lieut.-Colonel H. F. Salter, Commanding.

11th L.C., 7th I.C., 11th I.C.

Infantry.

1st Brigade.—Lieut.-Colonel A. Hervey, Commanding: H.M. 10th Regiment, 8th and 52nd N.I.

2nd Brigade.—Lieut.-Colonel F. Markham, Commanding: H.M. 32nd Regiment, 49th, 51st, and 72nd N.I.

Field-Surgeon, Surgeon T. E. Dempster, 1st Brigade H.A.

The force marched in two columns; the right took up, on the 18th of August, a position two and a half miles east of Multán, to cover the damming up of the canal, already begun by Lieutenant Glover of the Engineers. The left joined on the 19th. Sher Singh's camp was near Tibbi, where Lieutenant Edwardes' camp had been since

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the battle of Suddosain, about four miles south-west of Multán, and the latter took up a position at Surajkhund, east of the canal, from which he shortly afterwards advanced to a position between the canal and the Kach Bairág gardens, about one and a half miles south of the town. General Whish's camp was further to the right and about two and a half miles east of the town. On the 4th of September Major Day, with the native company and siege-train, arrived. Next day General Whish summoned the town to surrender unconditionally. 1848. August.

The fort of Multán, built on a high natural mound, scarped and reveted with masonry, commanded the town from the north. The difficulty of making a practicable breach constituted its main strength. The bastions of the outer works gave a certain amount of flanking defence and were built of good tough masonry. It contained about fifty pieces of ordnance.

The city was surrounded, except along the side adjoining the fort, by a crenelated wall, old and somewhat unsound, defended in some places by a ditch. Outside the city were extensive suburbs of mud-houses.

The Sikh force under Sher Singh was known to be infected with the hostile spirit that pervaded the whole Khalsa army; but it was hoped, even after his father, Chatar Singh, had openly declared against us, that he was more alive to his own interests. Sirdar Chatar Singh was the Názim of Hazára, a district lying between the territories of the Maharája of Kashmir and the River Indus. Captain James Abbott, whose services on the Herat Mission have before been mentioned,* was Political Assistant here. High-minded and chivalrous even to romance, he was well versed in the character of the men he had to deal with; his straightforward nature would not be taken in by the intrigues of the Sirdar, and he detected with a clearer eye than Sir F. Currie the agencies at work. To the last, even after the murder, on the 6th of August,

* Chapter I. ote D.

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1848. August. of Colonel Canora, the Commandant of the Sikh Artillery at Haripur, the Acting Resident at Lahore believed that the conduct of Sirdar Chatar Singh was the result of Captain Abbott's suspicion, and his arming the Muhammedan population of Hazára against the Sikhs.

Lord Dalhousie saw better how things were, and wrote that "Captain Abbott's conduct since the commencement of the outbreak had been marked with much vigour and determination." He also quoted Sir F. Currie's own words respecting him, "that he has many excellent qualifications as a public officer, indefatigable application to business, a most scrupulous desire to show the strictest justice in all his investigations, decisions, and proceedings, and a kind and eminently conciliatory manner to the natives, coupled with great firmness and intrepidity of character. In Hazára, of which he has made the settlement, he is beloved, in fact, almost worshipped by the people. . . . They say that he has gained such an influence over the inhabitants of the province, that he can do whatever he pleases with a race whom the Sikhs could never control, and whom the wily and shrewd Maharája Golab Singh was glad to get from under his government on almost any terms."* In truth it was, humanly speaking, a shield of his own forging that saved Abbott from captivity or the fate of Vans Agnew and Anderson at the hands of Chatar Singh.

By the end of August there was no doubt of Chatar Singh's intentions, but still Sher Singh appeared to be restraining his soldiers within the bounds of loyalty, and
September. on the 1st of September voluntarily opened fire upon the enemy, while General Whish, with Major Napier, made a close reconnaissance of the north side of the fort, and Lieutenant Edwardes changed his position, and formed his camp, extending from Wali Muhamad's canal to the east of the Jog Máya temple.

* Governor-General to the Secret Committee, September 7th, 1848. Papers, p. 269.

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On the 6th, at a meeting of the Chief Staff, Artillery and Engineer Officers, at the General's tent, plans of attack were discussed. Breaching the Khuni Burj and taking the town in one day by a *coup de main* was rejected as unadvisable, not only for a risk of failure and the unavoidable loss of life, but because there was no urgent political necessity to justify such a course. Attacking the citadel from the north by regular approaches, which was Major Napier's second plan, was also given up, as the position was too remote from the river, and the change of position might be misconstrued into a retrograde movement. Finally, Lieutenant Lake, of the Engineers, who had been sharing Edwardes' successes and the honours of the first investment of Multán, made a proposition which was agreed to, to run a trench from the right of their camp to Rám Tírat, a distance of more than a mile. 1848. September.

Next morning the two camps were moved into closer propinquity, and by daylight the trench was marked out. This first parallel of attack was at a distance of 1,600 yards, a distance necessitated by the nature of the intervening ground.*

On the night of the 9th an attack was made upon some houses and gardens in front of the trenches, but without success. It was renewed on the 12th, by a force under Brigadier Hervey, which had the desired effect of clearing the front of the trenches for about 800 yards. General Whish in his dispatch of the 13th says :— Sept. 12th.

"The position was a strong one, and stoutly defended, the conflict terminating only in a series of hand-to-hand encounters. A troop of Horse Artillery under Captain Mackenzie was brought up at an opportune moment and prevented an accession of numbers to the enemy, who were repulsed with severe loss in about an hour and a half."

Colonel Pattoun, 32nd, Major Montizambert, 10th, and

* "It was a most unusual proceeding . . . but the features of the ground—thick gardens, villages, brick-kilns, jungle and ravines, made it reasonable enough in the eyes of the Engineers" (Major Siddons).

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1848. Sept. 12th. three other officers were killed; three officers of the 10th, four of the 32nd, four of the Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Bunny, Horse Artillery, were wounded.

Although a position within battering distance had been thus early gained, the inadequacy of the force for the regular and severe toil of a siege was now plainly seen. The reliefs of workmen were insufficient, there were no guards of the trenches properly so called. The Artillery General had a good adviser in the Chief Engineer. The practicability of maintaining active operations was considered, but Sept. 14th. the question was decided by the defection of Sher Singh, who moved away with his force closer to Multán, beating the religious drum in the name of the Khalsa. General Whish the same day reported to the Adjutant-General that he had directed the troops to be withdrawn from their advanced positions, and would retire across the canal to Tibbi. His action in doing so has been vindicated, but it brought upon him a storm of adverse criticism.

Sept. 15th. On the 15th, Lieutenant Edwardes, with his force and the Daudputra contingent, took up his old ground at Sept. 16th. Surajkhund, and next day General Whish encamped two miles west of him, and about three miles south-west of the fort, with his left at the grove of Arabi. Sher Singh, distrusted by Mulráj, remained outside Multán on its northern side till the 9th October, when he withdrew, crossed the Ravi on the 11th and 12th, and proceeded towards Jhang, October. after which his movements belong to the field operations of this campaign.

The period of inaction which followed was taken up in preparations to renew the siege. Captain Siddons with the Sappers and Pioneers went to Shujabad and prepared an ample supply of gabions and fascines. General Van Cortlandt with his Sappers, and Lieutenant H. B. Lumsden* with the Guides were similarly employed. Mulráj, on his side, was not idle. He improved his defences, and in-

* Son of Colonel T. Lumsden, Bengal Artillery.

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creased his followers from without. On the night of the 1st of November he occupied a position on the canal with batteries which raked the allied camp. During the night of 2nd to 4th of November, a battery of two 18-pounders, two howitzers, and four mortars was formed a mile in front of the camp, but as their fire was ineffective, a brigade under Brigadier Markham was formed to attack, and the heavy guns were withdrawn, two Horse Artillery guns under Lieutenant Bunny being sent instead, along with the Katár Mukhi Regiment of Cortlandt's force, 1,000 Daudputras, and 500 Irregulars, under Lieutenant Pollock. That night, however, all the Purbiyas* of these regiments deserted, and Lieutenants Bunny, Pollock, and Paton, were in a critical position. Markham was therefore directed to make a flank attack from the east side of the canal. His force consisted of:— 1848. Nov. 1st. Nov. 6th.

Cavalry.

Major Wheler: 11th Light, 7th, and 11th Irregulars—two squadrons each.

Horse Artillery.

Captain Anderson's Troop.

Infantry.

Lieut.-Colonel Franks, C.B.: Six companies 10th Regiment, eight of the 8th N.I., eight of the 52nd N.I.

Lieut.-Colonel Brooke: Six companies 32nd Regiment, eight of the 49th, eight of the 51st N.I.

The rest of the force was held in reserve under Brigadier Hervey.

The attack next morning was completely successful. The enemy, leaving five guns in our hands, were driven from their batteries, which were destroyed. Brigadier Markham handled his force with considerable skill. Lieutenant Bunny, who had two guns at an advanced point, was mentioned by General Whish, and both Brigadier Markham and Major

* Hindu inhabitants of the Doab between Allahabad and Meerut and Oudh, lying to the east (Purab) of the Punjab.

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1848. Nov. 6th. Wheler named Captain J. Anderson, H.A., in dispatches. Our loss was trifling compared to that of the enemy. Lieutenant Edwardes heard they had 15,000 men in the field. Colonel J. Cheape, C.B., joined on the 30th as Chief Engineer, with rank of Brigadier.

December. A column from Bombay, under command of Brigadier the Hon. H. Dundas, C.B., 60th Royal Rifles, arrived on the 21st. It was composed as follows:—

Artillery.

Brigadier J. S. Leeson.

3rd Troop Horse Artillery, Brevet-Major C. Blood; Q., R.H.A. 2nd Company 1st Battalion, Captain J. B. Woosnam; 15th Fd. Batt. 4th Company 2nd Battalion No. 5 H.B., Captain B. Bailey; 55th Fd. Batt. Reduced 1862 1st Company 4th Battalion (Native) No. 7 H.B., Captain Reduced 1862 S. Turnbull; 2nd Company 4th Battalion (Native), Lieutenant J. Hamilton.

Engineers.

Major W. Scott, Commanding.

1st and 4th Companies Sappers.

Cavalry.

2nd L.C., Scinde Irregular Horse.

Infantry.

1st Battalion 60th Rifles, 1st Bombay Fusiliers, 3rd, 4th, 9th, and 19th Native Infantry.

On Christmas Day General Whish had reoccupied his old position, and the Bombay force next day formed on his Dec. 27th. left. On the 27th the enemy in the suburbs were attacked by four columns. Captain Turnbull and No. 7 Field Battery was with the left; Captain Bailey and No. 5 with the left centre; Captain Anderson with four guns of his Troop, supported by two 24-pounder howitzers, with the right centre; and Captain Mackenzie with four guns accompanied the right column. Brigadier Dundas, commanding the left, moved round the left of the first original parallel and drove the enemy successively from the Jog Maya temple

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and the mound called the Sidi Lál Ke Bed and the Bághi Bágh. Brigadier Capon advanced upon Rám Tirat, compelled the enemy to evacuate the Mandi Awa, and drove them out of the suburbs into the city. Captain Bailey lost his arm by a round shot at the Mandi, and died on the 8th of January. Lieutenant Hill, Bombay Engineers, was severely wounded. The right column occupied without any loss the suburbs and buildings east and north-east of the citadel, including the Am Khás, Shams-i-Tabriz, the fortified village of Wazirábád, Sáwan Mall's tomb, and the brick-kilns with their entrenchments. 1848. Dec. 27th.

Artillery officers mentioned in various dispatches of this day: Major Leeson, commanding; Lieutenant G. G. Pearse, Madras Artillery,

General Whish had decided upon attacking the north-east angle of the citadel in regular form. Brigadier Cheape advocated an attack upon the suburbs and town, which was considered too great a risk, but a diversion* on the south-east side was resolved upon. There were, therefore, a right and a left attack; the first fell to the Bengal Gunners, the latter was shared with the Bombay Artillerymen. The numbering of the batteries is that of the Engineers, which included both Bengal and Bombay batteries.

RIGHT ATTACK.—A ravine to the right of Shams-i-Tabriz, occupied the day before, was converted into a battery, No. XI., for six 8-inch mortars, which moved out of park that evening, and opened this morning at 700 yards from the outer walls of the fort. The Infantry posts were loop-holed. At dusk, No. X. for two 24-pounders to destroy the upper defences of the north-east face of the citadel, and No. XII., for two 8- and three 10-inch howitzers to enfilade the face commanding the town, were marked out. Dec. 28th.

LEFT ATTACK.—No. I., three 10 and four 5½-inch mortars (Bengal) was established during the night on the Mandi Awa. No. II. for six 18-pounders (Bengal) to

* So Brigadier Cheape in his memorandum terms it; but it was, as he wished it to be, a real attack.

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1848. Dec. 28th. breach the curtain next the Khuni Burj at about 120 yards was traced out, but not completed, material having to be conveyed from a distance. In the morning a heavy matchlock fire prevented more than the reveting of the finished portion. No. I. opened in the evening, and continued during the night.

Dec. 29th. RIGHT ATTACK.—Nos. X. and XII. commenced and completed during the night, as also connecting trenches with Shams-i-Tabriz. They were armed and opened during the day, and trenches widened.

LEFT ATTACK.—On the previous day, Edwardes (now Brevet-Major and C.B.) and Lake had relieved the Bombay troops of the posts about Sidi Lál Ke Bed, and the latter, closing to the right, had their left posts in the suburbs about the Khuni Burj. No. II. was completed by midnight, but the first gun was not brought in till daybreak, and a company of the 9th Bombay Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Baugh, were unable, after several attempts, to bring in a second. Several gunners were wounded.

Dec. 30th. RIGHT ATTACK.—Magazine for No. XII. commenced and completed.

LEFT ATTACK.—No. II. armed during the night and opened at daybreak. No. V. for two 9-pounders was commenced and armed by daybreak among the houses between the Khuni Burj and Delhi gate, to destroy the town wall defences at about 200 yards. Two Bombay 18-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers were placed behind a high mud-wall opposite the Delhi gate (No. IV.), and opened with effect on the gateway. The mud-wall coming down, a sand-bag parapet was put up. Lieutenant Henderson, Bombay Artillery, wounded this day.

At 10 a.m. this day a shell from a mortar laid by Lieutenant Newall in No. XI. Battery fell upon the principal magazine near the southern face of the fort, a mosque which had been appropriated to that purpose, and which blew up, opening an extensive crater in the ground through the inner wall. General Whish in his report compares it to the ex-

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plosion at the siege of Háthrás, March 1st, 1817. When the smoke and dust had cleared away, the enemy resolutely resumed their fire. 1848. Dec. 30th.

RIGHT ATTACK.—A trench of communication opened between Shams-i-Tabriz and Am Khás garden. Dec. 31st

LEFT ATTACK.—Two 9-pounders (Bombay) No. VII. were placed among houses on left of No. II. to prevent the enemy replacing a disabled gun near the breach at the Khuni Burj. Four 5½-inch mortars (Bombay) also to the left of the breaching battery opened upon the breach. No. III., a sunken* battery for two 18-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers (Bombay) opposite the Delhi gate, opened this morning on the third curtain from the gateway. 2nd-Lieutenant A. Garnett, Bengal Engineers, wounded.

RIGHT ATTACK.—A zigzag trench was pushed forward 270 yards towards a large pipal-tree during the night. No. IX. for four 24-pounders was traced out, but the enemy's fire was too heavy to place the guns *en barbette*, and the gunners were withdrawn till an efficient sandbag battery could be constructed. 1849. January 1st.

LEFT ATTACK.—A 24-pounder howitzer (Bombay) No. VI. placed among the houses left of No. II. to command the breach, and opened at daybreak, when No. VIII. for two 8-inch howitzers to breach the Khuni Burj and enfilade the east wall of the town was traced out and begun. A second howitzer placed close to the one in No. VI. (Bombay).

The Commanding Engineer at noon reported the Khuni Burj as looking well, though not likely to be a good breach, and recommended the assault, if it was to be made here, should be done at once.

RIGHT ATTACK.—No. IX. completed. Repairs to batteries during the day. January 2nd.

LEFT ATTACK.—The fire of the four right† guns of No. II. was turned from the curtain on to the Burj itself. No. VIII. armed, but the howitzer-carriages being sprung and

* Where not otherwise stated, the batteries were elevated ones.

† Lieutenant Pollard did this without interfering with the direct fire of the left pieces.

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1849. Jan. 2nd — no platform being laid down, it ceased firing. Captain Siddons examined the breach in the early morning, and reported it practicable, though steep. That at the Delhi gate was said to be sufficiently ready for an attempt.

The troops told off for the assault left camp after noon in two columns; the right under Brigadier Markham to attack the Delhi gate; the left under Brigadier Stalker to attack the Khuni Burj. The Bombay Column was completely successful. The leading party crowning the breach found the communication with the Burj interrupted, but with the aid of two ladders procured by Lieutenant Oliphant and his Sappers, they got over a low house into it, driving out the enemy. The other parties forced their way through the town, taking possession of the Pak, Haram and Bohar gates, which were held during the night. Major Scott commanded the Engineers with this column.

That under Markham, on getting to the Delhi gate, found the lower part of the wall previously concealed from view too high for escalade. Captain Smyth, 32nd Foot, with great decision, withdrew the leading companies under cover. This column had to find its way in through the other breach, whence it followed the eastern face of the town to the Delhi gate. The Daulat gate was taken next morning. Major Napier commanded the Engineers here.

Captain Garforth was dangerously, Lieutenants A. Taylor and J. A. Fuller severely wounded; the latter by an explosion of a magazine near the Bohar gate.

Jan. 3rd & 4th. — Strengthening posts, opening communications, and surveying citadel. The Commanding Engineer established his headquarters at Wazirábád. A Bombay Brigade ordered to the Diwan Bágh, on the north. Major Edwardes at the Shish Mahal and line of the canal. The Artillery fire on right was kept up.

January 5th. — The trench of approach to the large pipal-tree completed. Communication from this point to the Daulat gate made, partly by trench, partly by features of the ground. No. XV. for four 5½ mortars (Bengal) intended to shell the

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raoni (covered way) of the eastern face, completed in the hollow to the left of the pipal-tree during the night. Mortar fire kept up. 1849. January 5th.

The sap was widened into a trench of approach. Sappers and Pioneers moved into the Am Khás garden.

Sap pushed on 500 feet. No. XVI. for four 5½ mortars (Bombay) in trench to right of pipal-tree to shell the raoni. No. XVII. for two 8-inch and two 24-pounder howitzers (Bengal) traced out and completed before morning; to enfilade the short north-east face. The light howitzer sap advanced 150 feet during the day. No. XIII. for six 8-inch mortars (Bombay) commenced to the right of No. XII. January 6th.

No. XIII. completed with an epaulement on its right, and communication with the batteries on its left. No. XVIII. for seven 18-pounders (Bombay) to beat down the defences from the Bháwal Hak to the junction with the city-wall, commenced. The two 8-inch howitzers of No. XII. were transferred to No. XVII.; one had been sent on the 5th to the park for repairs. The sap towards the north-east angle of the fort was continued 150 feet, but was much interrupted by the guns directed on its head during the night. Our vertical fire constant. January 7th.

No. XIV. for three 10-inch mortars (Bengal), prepared in a mound to the right of No. XIII., to bear directly on the short north-east face. Lieutenant M. C. Sankey was severely wounded in the leg by a fragment of a shell in No. XVII. to-day.

No. XVIII. completed; four guns in position at daybreak. Constant repairs to batteries, and improvement of trenches necessary. By noon the sap had advanced 150 feet, and a turn was made to bring it nearer to the glacis. January 8th.

No. XVIII., for 18-pounders, was manned by sailors of the Indian Navy. It opened this morning, but at three p.m. a shell from the citadel exploding, set fire to it, and in spite of every effort, the battery was destroyed. The guns were withdrawn with difficulty, and powder saved. January 9th.

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1849. January 10th. No. XIX. to breach the north-east front of the citadel was commenced during the night. The two 8-inch howitzers of No. XVII. were changed for 9-pounder field-guns, as the splinters of 8-inch shells endangered the lives of the men working at the sap on that side. No. XXI. for two 18-pounders on the city side against the south-east bastion completed.

January 11th. 2nd-Lieutenant C. Pollard, Engineers, wounded during the night. No. XX. sunken battery for two 18-pounders, commenced and finished in the trench to the left of the burnt battery. Four 18-pounders, separated by a traverse, were added on the left; but one of the first two was afterwards removed and replaced by two 8-inch howitzers.

January 12th. Prolonging the sap. A breaching battery, No. XXII., for four 18-pounders commenced on the south side opposite to the crater formed by the explosion of the 30th of December, which had ruined the upper defences.

January 13th. The working party at the head of the sap was attacked, and work somewhat delayed. No. XIX. breaching battery for nine 24-pounders was completed.

January 14th. No. XXIII. for five 8-inch howitzers (Bengal) commenced, to assist in breaching the curtain at the north-east front commenced. No. XX. extended to the left for four more guns. The sap had now reached the crest of the glacis at the north-east angle of the fort. A cavalier for a guard of 30 men was constructed here, and the sap continued to the left parallel to and 30 feet from the edge of the ditch. The guard in the cavalier were kept on the look-out by occasional discharges of brick-bats from the bastion opposite. The breaching battery No. XIX. opened with good effect. At this period of the siege the enemy sent some of our shells back to us.

January 15th. Widening and repairing trenches and batteries.

January 16th. No. XXIII. and magazine completed. Position for two 10-inch mortars (Bombay) prepared on the left of No. XVII. Three shafts were sunk in the trench opposite to the north-east breach to blow in the counter-scarp. The

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breaching battery No. XXII., on the town side (Bengal), was armed, and another, No. XXV., for two 8-inch howitzers to assist it was traced out during the night. The fire of No. XXI. was efficient; that of the enemy's guns everywhere was becoming silent. 1849. January 16th.

No. XXIII. armed. A sap commenced from No. XXV. across the esplanade to the edge of the ditch opposite the south salient bastion. Mines on the right completed. 2nd-Lieutenant C. T. Graham, H.A., was badly wounded in the breaching battery. He died on the 4th of February. January 17th.

The mines at the north-east angle were exploded at 6.30 this morning. They had been charged each with 900 lbs. of powder, and the descent into the ditch was quite practicable, though the scarp was not completely laid open. Sixty yards of the lodgment on the crest of the glacis were destroyed. Captain Abercrombie, Engineer on duty, considered the breach here practicable. January 18th.

On the city side the sap was carried across the esplanade to within twenty-four feet of the ditch.

Battery No. XXIV. for two 24-pounder howitzers and two 9-pounder guns to sweep the breach and its defences at the north-east was commenced in the trench, and completed by daybreak. No. XXVI. for two 8-inch howitzers to breach the raoni scarp under the great breach was prepared in the trench on the right of No. XXIV. January 19th.

On the city side the sap was carried forward during the night. 2nd-Lieutenant Gulliver was severely wounded. The practicability of the breach on this side was proved; a horse was seen walking down from the summit of the breach in the inner wall, and then to the bottom of that in the outer wall.

Batteries for Nos. XXIV. and XXVI. armed. The pieces intended for the former were part of the Bombay Field Battery, and were driven at night along the trench close to the battery, where they were unlimbered and the horses with limbers taken back. The 8-inch howitzers of No. XXVI. opened with great effect, as also a 10-inch January 20th.

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1849. January 20th. placed so as to breach the south face of the raoni scarp near No. XXV., with a plunging fire and charge of 2 lbs. 8 oz.

January 21st. The howitzer battery No. XXV. made a good breach in the raoni scarp. Lieutenant J. Thompson, who had behaved throughout with exemplary zeal, while incautiously watching the effect of his fire, was mortally wounded by a matchlock-ball, and died in the evening.

Everything was now ready for a storm. Mulráj had on the 5th been in communication with Major Edwardes, but an unconditional surrender was demanded. Nothing further was heard from him till the 19th, when another message was received from him by General Whish, who in reply fixed the following morning as the time when he expected him to surrender. No answer being received, orders were given for the assault on the morning of the 22nd. The fort was a ruin, there was no hope for the survivors of the garrison, who were deserting, and Mulráj gave himself up. The garrison, between 3,000 and 4,000, came out, and surrendered their arms as the columns told off for the storm filed through the Daulat gate.

The second part of the siege had lasted for 27 days, and its details were carried out strictly in accordance with the scientific principles which experience had laid down. Major Siddons remarks that the Engineers' works were probably too much in advance of the Artillery, which a more active enemy might have taken advantage of. The Artillery practice, he says, was most excellent, and the exertions of officers and men indefatigable. The walls were mostly of mud or of brick and mud, and some parts breached were defective, a mere facing over the old wall; here the solid shot brought down large masses. But in sounder places the shot buried themselves, while the 8- and 10-inch shells acted as small mines, exploding within the earth with better effect.

Major Siddons also remarks upon the valuable service rendered to the gunners by Lieutenant A. Taylor in charge

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1849. January.

of the Bengal Engineers' park, in supplying mantlets for the embrasures of 4-inch planks hung upon roughly-squared uprights of palm-tree and fixed to the throats of the embrasures. His mechanical aptitude enabled him to prepare numerous contrivances for facilitating siege operations, and his park was quite a show.

As Lieutenant Newall remarks in a memorandum appended to Major Siddons' journal of the siege, the Bengal Artillerymen were so few that the battery duties could not be performed without indenting on the services of the Horse Artillery. The Bombay gunners likewise had to be assisted in their batteries by sailors from the Indus flotilla. Notwithstanding the constant strain of work, both ordnance and carriages stood it well, and the withdrawal of pieces from battery occurred seldomer than might have been expected. The supply of Engineers' stores was most ample, which was due to the foresight of Major R. Napier, and while the siege in its conduct and termination reflected the highest credit on the two ordnance services, no less should be awarded to the Infantry, who worked with indefatigable zeal in the trenches, and to the share which Major Edwardes, General Van Cortlandt, and Lieutenant Lake with their subalterns and men bore in the reduction of the fortress.

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AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THIS CHAPTER.

General Orders; Muster Rolls; Army Lists.

"Siege of Multán," by Major H. Siddons, Bengal Engineers; Corps Papers Royal Engineers, 1849-50.

Papers laid before Parliament.

M.S., Captain D. J. F. Newall, and letters from various officers of the Engineers and Artillery.

APPENDIX.

A. Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served.
B. Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served.
C. Lieutenant G. G. Pearse, Madras Artillery.
D. Officers of the Bengal Engineers.
E. Return of ammunition expended.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served at the Siege of Multán.

Major-Genl. W. S. Whish, C.B.	Commanding the Force.
Major H. Garbett	Commanding H.A.
Major E. F. Day	Commanding F.A.
Lieutenant P. Christie ...	Commissary of Ordnance.
4th Troop 1st Brigade H.A.	*Reduced* 1862.
Bt.-Major M. Mackenzie	
Lieutenant J. Mill	Brigade-Major.
Lieutenant J. W. Swinhoe	
Lieutenant A. Bunny	
2nd-Lieutenant C. T. Graham	Doing duty from 3-3 H.A. Died 4th of Feb. of wounds.
2nd-Lieut. J. Y. Worthington	
Assistant-Surgeon D. McRae	
4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.	*Reduced* 1879.
Captain J. Anderson	
Lieutenant G. Moir	
Lieutenant F. Alexander	
Lieutenant H. Francis	
Lieutenant R. Mecham	
Asst.-Surg. G. F. Thompson, M.D.	
2nd Company 2nd Batt.	*9th Mountain Battery.*
Captain J. H. Daniel	
Lieutenant W. K. Fooks ...	Quartermaster F.A.
Lieutenant J. F. Raper	
2nd-Lieutenant W. F. Quayle	Doing duty from 3-2 F.A.
Asst.-Surgeon G. C. Rankin	In medical charge F.A.
3rd Company 3rd Batt.	*14th Co. Southern Division.*
Captain E. P. Master	
Lieutenant D. J. F. Newall ...	Adjutant F.A.
Lieutenant F. R. De Bude	
2nd-Lieutenant M. C. Sankey	
Asst.-Surg. Haldane Stewart	
4th Company 3rd Batt.	*36th Field Battery.*
Lieutenant W. Miller	
Lieutenant J. Thompson ...	Killed in battery, 21st of Jan.
Lieutenant H. P. Bishop	
2nd-Lieutenant J. Hunter	
2nd-Lieutenant F. C. Simons	
Doing Duty.	
Lieutenant W. Hay	From Malwa Contingent Arty.
2nd-Lieutenant E. W. Day ...	From 1-1 F.A.

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NOTE B.

Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served at the Siege of Multán.

Major J. S. Leeson ...	...	... Commanding,
Lieut. W. Stevenson...	...	... Brigade-Major.
Captain T. W. Hicks	...	... Commissary of Ordnance.
2nd-Lieut. H. T. B. Berthon		... Asst. Field Engineer.

3rd Troop H.A.	*Q., R.H.A.*
Brevet-Major C. Blood	2nd-Lieut. A. Blunt
Lieut. G. J. Lightfoot	2nd-Lieut. C. E. Cotes
Lieut. D. McDougall	
2nd Company 1st Batt.	*15th Field Batt.*
Lieut. J. B. Woosnam	2nd-Lt. W. H. J. Henderson
Lieut. A. Crawford	2nd-Lieut. J. H. Reid
2nd-Lieut. W. H. Anderson	
4th Company 2nd Batt.	*55th Field Batt.*
Captain B. Bailey *	2nd-Lieut. J. Shekleton
Lieut. J. T. Keir	2nd-Lieut. P. D. Marett
1st Company 4th Batt.	
Captain S. Turnbull	2nd-Lieut. C. E. Allom
2nd-Lieut. D. G. Anderson	
2nd Company 4th Batt.	
Lieut. J. Hamilton	2nd-Lieut. T. W. Graham
2nd-Lieut. A. A. Bayly	2nd-Lieut. T. B. Heathorn
Asst.-Surg. T. S. Shekleton	Asst.-Surg. F. W. Clay
Asst.-Surg. F. J. Shinhausen †	Asst.-Surg. H. J. Wilmot

NOTE C.

Lieutenant G. G. Pearse, Madras Artillery, served at the siege of Multán. He had been appointed Assistant Field Engineer under Major Napier. In December, 1848, he was appointed to command the Daudputra Artillery, and served with them throughout the rest of the siege. After this he was sent to assist Lieutenant Reynell Taylor at the siege of Lakki. For some years subsequently he was employed in the Punjab as an Assistant Commissioner.

* Died 8th June of wounds in action.
† Proceeded in charge of sick to Bombay.

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NOTE D.

Officers of the Bengal Engineers who served at the Siege of Multán.

Colonel	J. Cheape, C.B. ...	Brigadier and Chief.
Brevet-Major	R. Napier *	Chief Engineer, Multán.
Captain	W. Abercrombie *	
,,	J. R. Western	
,,	H. Siddons *	
Lieutenant	J. H. Maxwell *	
,,	E. J. Lake *	Civil Employ, Punjab.
,,	P. Garforth *	Brigade-Major.
,,	G. W. W. Fulton	
,,	A. Taylor *	
,,	A. Fraser *	
,,	C. S. Paton *	
2nd-Lieut.	T. G. Glover *	
,,	H. Hyde	
,,	R. Young *	
,,	F. C. Grindall *	
,,	W. W. H. Greathed *	
,,	W. S. Oliphant *	
,,	H. W. Gulliver *	
,,	C. Pollard *	
,,	C. T. Stewart	
,,	F. R. Maunsell	
,,	A. W. Garnett	
,,	D. C. Home	
,,	B. M. Hutchinson	

NOTE E.

Expenditure of Ammunition at the Siege of Multán in Letter No. 1161, Calcutta, 6th December, 1865, Adjutant-General to Government of India. From the Records of the Office of Examiner Ordnance Accounts.

Round Shot:			*Carcass:*	
24-pounder	6,100		8-inch	150
18-pounder	7,700		5½-inch	300
9-pounder	267		4⅝-inch	8
6-pounder	1,250		*Common Shell:*	
			10-inch	4,000
			8-inch	12,086
Case:			5½-inch	4,208
10-inch	200		4⅝-inch	168
8-inch	302		*Spherical Case:*	
24-pounder	737		8-inch	528
18-pounder	600		24-pounder ...	1,014
12-pounder	57		18-pounder ...	854
9 pounder	206		9-pounder	438
6-pounder	275		6-pounder	705

N.B.—The above-mentioned letter does not state whether this return includes Bombay Expenditure or not.

* Served in the first part of the siege.

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CHAPTER VII.

SECOND SIKH WAR.

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES—Cavalry Action at Ramnagar— Disposition of Artillery—Battle of Sadulapur—Brigading of the Army—Halt at Helán—Advance to Chiliánwála—Battle—Remarks on it—Entrenched positions taken up—Sikhs abandon Rasul—General Whish joins—Allotment of Batteries in the Line—Battle of Gujarát—Gilbert's pursuit of the Sikhs—Surrender of their Guns and Arms—General Wheeler's force in the Jullundur Doab.

1848 WHILE Sher Singh was encamped under the walls of Multán a declared rebel, and the still untaught warriors of the Khalsa-ji were smelling the battle afar and near, in the Council Chamber of Calcutta the gates of Janus were being opened wide. "They want war, and on my honour they shall have it," said Lord Dalhousie at the Barrackpore banquet. A lesson had soon to be learned, costly to the masters as well as to the scholars. On the 13th of October the first general order appeared forming the "Army of the Punjab." Its detail was considerably altered after the action at Ramnagar. Troops were moved rapidly up. Brigadier-General Cureton, C.B., crossed the Ravi on the 2nd of November with a small force to cover Lahore, threatened by the marauding troops in front of Sher Singh coming up from Multán. The Sikh regiments from Bannu had signalised their revolt by the murder of their Commandant, Colonel John Holmes, and the Malik Fateh Khán Towána, whom Edwardes had left in charge. The whole Punjab was up in arms. General Cureton's force only consisted of H.M. 3rd and 14th Light Dragoons, 5th and 8th, Light Cavalry, 12th Irregulars, the 2nd European Regiment,
November. and 70th N.I. The Artillery consisted of the 1st and

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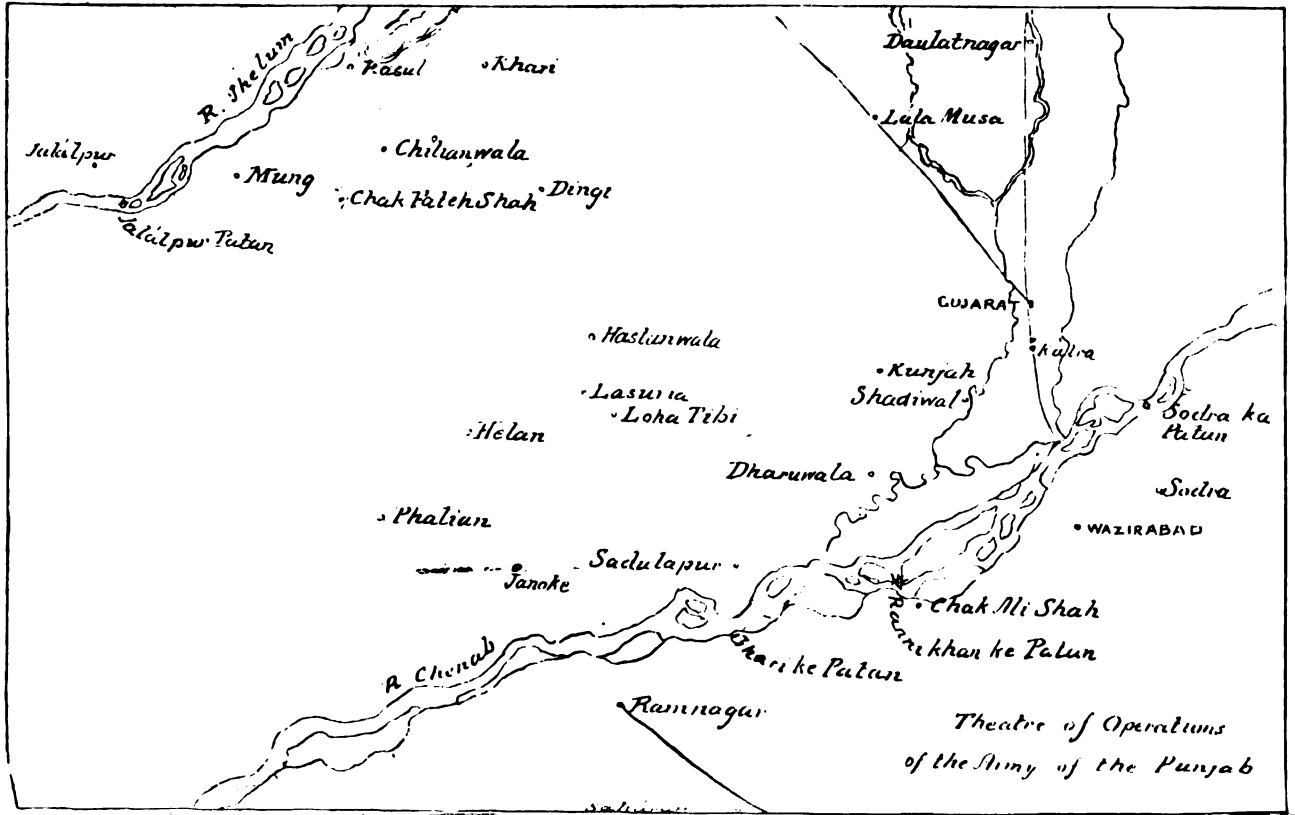

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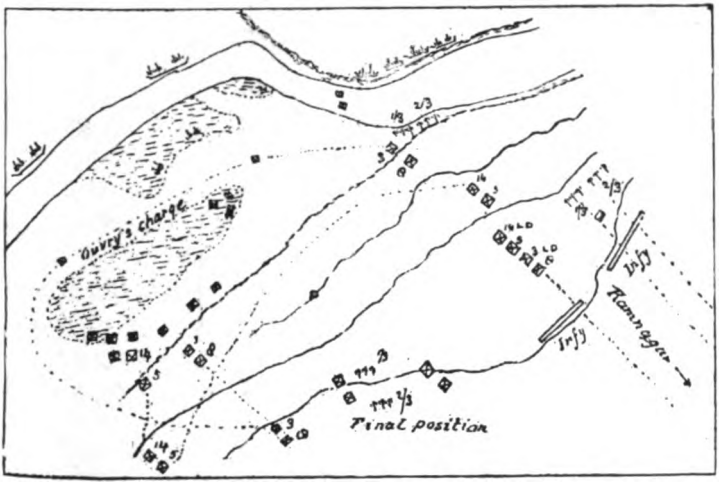
2nd Troops 3rd (Captain Warner and Lieut.-Colonel Lane), the 4th Troop 2nd Brigade (Captain Duncan) of Horse Artillery, and the 1st Company 1st Battalion, No. 10 H.F.B. (Captain E. G. Austin). 1848. November.

The force advanced to Saháran, about ten miles from Ramnagar, on the Chenáb, where the Sikh army was. Sir Joseph Thackwell, with Pennycuick's and Penny's brigades



ACTION OF RAMNAGAR.

of Infantry, were at Nohiwala, about three miles to Cureton's left rear.

Lord Gough left Lahore on the 16th and joined the army. At 3 a.m. on the 22nd he left camp with a strong force to reconnoitre their position. All the above-mentioned regiments and batteries went with him, except Captain Duncan's Troop, replaced by Captain Dawes' Field Battery (No. 17 3rd Company 1st Battalion); and H.M.'s 61st, the 30th and 46th N.I. The rest of the force in camp knew nothing of this until they had gone. Nov. 22nd.

The Cavalry and Horse Artillery went forward at an increased pace. On approaching Ramnagar the Sikhs were seen retiring towards the river. There was a short expanse

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1848. Nov. 22nd. of hard ground, and then an abrupt descent into the wide expanse of heavy sand near the river-bed. Down into this went the guns, the horses already feeling the effect of the pace at which they had come along ;* and before long Lieut.-Colonel Grant ordered them to come into action. The Sikhs had crossed the river, on the further high bank of which were several batteries armed with guns. Ours at first came into action close to the enclosing bank of the river bed, but a Staff Officer directed Lieutenant Cookes (1st-3rd) to get his guns down, and advance them close to the water's edge, which was done. The other guns followed. Here the ground was naturally soft. The Sikh guns on the high bank were screened from observation, while ours were completely exposed. After several rounds of shot, shell and shrapnel, they were ordered to limber up and retire to a better position. Captain Warner's Battery had lately been placed on an experimental modification of the detachment system, and his spare men having harnessed horses, he was able to add to his teams. Moving quickly was impossible, and in surmounting the bank, one of Colonel Lane's guns and two of his wagons were stuck in the soft muddy sand. The horses were unequal to extricating them. The hostile fire increased in intensity, and the enemy began recrossing the river. General Colin Campbell with his Staff came up after the horses had been unhooked, and a second attempt was made, but ineffectually. The order to abandon them was given.† Lieutenant Clifford went down and spiked the gun. When the Horse Artillery first were coming into action, Lord Gough ordered a squadron of the

* They had come, Lieut.-Colonel Grant's report says, under orders, at utmost speed, which Brigadier Brooke properly said should have meant their being brought into action in the possession of the physical strength of men and horses.

† Brigadier Brooke, writing to General Tennant, said that an effort might have been made to try some other spot, where the bank was less precipitous, and the ground harder. It would have been done but for the depth to which the wheels had sunk. Gunner F. A. Ping, who rode the off centre horse of the gun, told me all that could be done then was tried. Nearly an hour elapsed before it was finally abandoned (Lieutenant Tombs in Brigadier Brooke's Journal).

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3rd Light Dragoons to clear the left side of the river. Lieutenant H. A. Ouvry was sent. Somewhat further down, a long bank rose like an island in the level sand. Between this and the river the squadron swept, scattering all stragglers, and passing under the fire of some batteries as they went along and round the island back to his regiment. 1848. Nov. 22nd.

Then the Sikhs began recrossing in numbers and making a defiant show. Lieut.-Colonel Havelock, 14th Light Dragoons, asked permission to charge, but Lord Gough refused. It was not his object to bring on an action. Colonel Havelock pressed his request, and obtained a reluctant assent. Havelock, leading the 14th and supported by the 5th L.C., dashed on. The enemy now were very numerous. Lord Gough saw the error, and desired to recall him. This was undertaken by Brigadier-General Cureton, but as he went, a Sikh concealed in one of the nullahs intersecting the sandy plain, took with a matchlock-ball the life of the best Cavalry soldier in the army. The Dragoons went on and out of sight; they disappeared among the Sikh horsemen, and when they rallied again, it was with greatly diminished numbers and without their Colonel. His body was not found till the 2nd of January.

Lord Gough has been severely criticised for having unnecessarily allowed himself to be drawn into a fight. Much has been laid to the impetuosity of a Celtic temperament. This same impetuosity is not so bad a quality in a soldier. Sir J. Tennant, in a private letter on an article in the *Calcutta Review*, thus defends his chief:—

" . . . No General can be blamed for the conduct of others when his plans are not carried out. As far as I know, Lord Gough is nearly blameless for the affair at Ramnuggur, where poor Cureton was killed. He had been informed that the Seikh army was *in force* on our side of the Chenáb at Ramnuggur, and thought it necessary to look out with a strong detachment, chiefly Cavalry. So little idea had he of a battle, that the main army was left behind in camp, and he, I believe, meant to return to it to breakfast."

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1848. Nov. 22nd. The effect of the day's work was to confine the Sikhs entirely to the right bank of the Chenáb.

The siege-train was on its way up. Colonel Tennant on the 1st of November requested Major Abbott to have 48 pieces equipped, but in a memorandum of the 12th to Colonel Huthwaite, he says he had reduced the number to 34 on account of the want of cattle. Colonel Tennant had also obtained the sanction of the Commander-in-Chief for the equipment of three heavy batteries with elephant and bullock draft as batteries of position, of three guns and one howitzer each, which was done. But the number of pieces which joined the army was only 23. These were: 18-pounder guns, six; 24-pounder guns, two; 8-inch howitzers, four; 8-inch mortars, eight; 5½-inch mortars, three; they joined on the 27th of November.

Colonel James Tennant had been appointed to command the Artillery with the army. He had seen much service in his early days, and had held the office of Assistant-Adjutant-General from 1824 to 1835. He had never belonged to "the mounted branch," but held a high character as a scientific officer, and for his acquaintance with all questions of *matériel* and equipment.

The first distribution of the Artillery made by Brigadier-General Tennant was as follows:—

With the Cavalry Division: 1st, 2nd, and 4th Troops 3rd Brigade H.A., under Lieut.-Colonel C. Grant; Lieutenant J. Mill, Staff Officer.

With the 1st Infantry Division: 4th Troop 1st Brigade H.A., under Major H. Garbett (at Multán); Lieutenant E. Kaye, Staff Officer, when Multán should have fallen.

With the 2nd Infantry Division: 1st and 3rd Companies 1st Battalion, Nos. 10 and 17 Field Batteries, Major J. L. Mowatt.

With the 3rd Infantry Division: 2nd and 3rd Companies 7th Battalion (Native), Nos. 5 and 6 Field Batteries, Major R. Horsford.

With the Reserve Field Artillery under Brigadier G.

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Brooke, C.B.: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Troops 2nd Brigade H.A., Lieut.-Colonel F. Brind; Lieutenant C. V. Cox, Staff Officer. 1848. Nov. 22nd.

Lord Gough now determined to detach a force to cross the Chenáb higher up and turn the Sikh flank. The nearest ford, Ghari ka Patan, was only eight miles distant; that of Rani Khán, thirteen; the next practicable one, thirty miles off at Wazirábád. December.

For a front attack, heavy batteries under Captain Sir R. C. Shakespear and Lieutenant H. P. de Teissier were thrown up within range of the enemy. The Field Batteries of Captains Dawes and Miles were in support. The pontoon-train was in readiness to be thrown across the river. For some days an exchange of shots took place.

The force detached under Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell consisted of five regiments of Cavalry under Brigadier Michael White, Pennycuick's, Hoggan's, and Eckford's Brigades of Infantry under Brigadier-General Colin Campbell, and the following Artillery:—

Lieut.-Colonel C. Grant, Commanding; Lieutenant G. H. Clifford, Staff Officer.

Horse Artillery, 1st Troop 2nd Brigade, Captain A. Huish; 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade, Major E. Christie; 1st Troop 3rd Brigade, Captain Warner.

Field Batteries, Major R. Horsford; 1st Company 1st Battery No. 10, Captain E. G. Austin; 3rd Company 7th Battery No. 5, Captain Kinleside; two 18-pounders, Lieutenant Robertson.

It moved off at daybreak on the 1st, and got to Ranni Khan Ke Patan at 9. Here Thackwell found a body of Sikhs watching, the scouts, perhaps, of a larger force. Brigadier-General Campbell was for returning, but Sir Joseph, following his instructions, moved on to Wazirábád, where Lieutenant J. Nicholson, 27th N.I., with his Pathan Horse, had collected seventeen boats. Captain Baird Smith of the Engineers was there. Crossing one of these Punjab rivers is no child's play, but his exertions for the whole

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1848. December. force, and Lieut.-Colonel Grant's energy for his guns, smoothed all difficulties. Brigadier Pennycuick's brigade got over the same evening; Brigadier Eckford's got half way, and by 2 p.m. next day all had crossed except the heavy guns and pontoon-train, which were sent back with the 12th Irregular Cavalry. The force then formed line to the left and reached Dharuwala at dusk.

Dec. 3rd. Next morning, after going six miles, a message from Lord Gough told Thackwell that Brigadier Godby would join him at the Ghari ford, so he kept in touch with the river and halted near four villages surrounded with fields of tall sugar-cane and dhák. While the men were taking some refreshment, the Sikh force in front opened fire. Sir J. Thackwell's orders were not to fight if possible till Godby's brigade had joined, and he retired a very short distance upon the village of Sadulapur and then replied.

The attack began at one o'clock in front and on both flanks. Major Christie's Troop was sent to join the Cavalry on the right. Supported by the 3rd Light Dragoons, he advanced for about 800 yards, coming into action at intervals, and driving the enemy back in every direction. He mentioned with commendation his subalterns Le G. Bruce, C. Cookworthy, W. A. Mylne, and A. Darling. Captain Warner's Troop was sent to the extreme left, and came into action under a heavy fire of jingals and guns. The 31st N.I. had been obliged to throw back its left wing to meet the threatened attack, but the Artillery fire kept the enemy back. An officer of the 36th N.I. thus describes it:—

"A large body of Gurcharras threatened to turn our left flank. Warner's Troop was sent from the right along the rear, and coming up with them, it appeared to me they rode right into them. I was sent to protect the General Hospital with my company, and had a good view of the dashing style Warner brought his Troop into action. He poured in grape among the huge mass with great effect, and away they all skedaddled much faster than they came. I think this was the turning-point of the battle, and after the retreat of the Gurcharras the whole line retired." *

* Colonel C. J. Godby (36th N.I.) to author.

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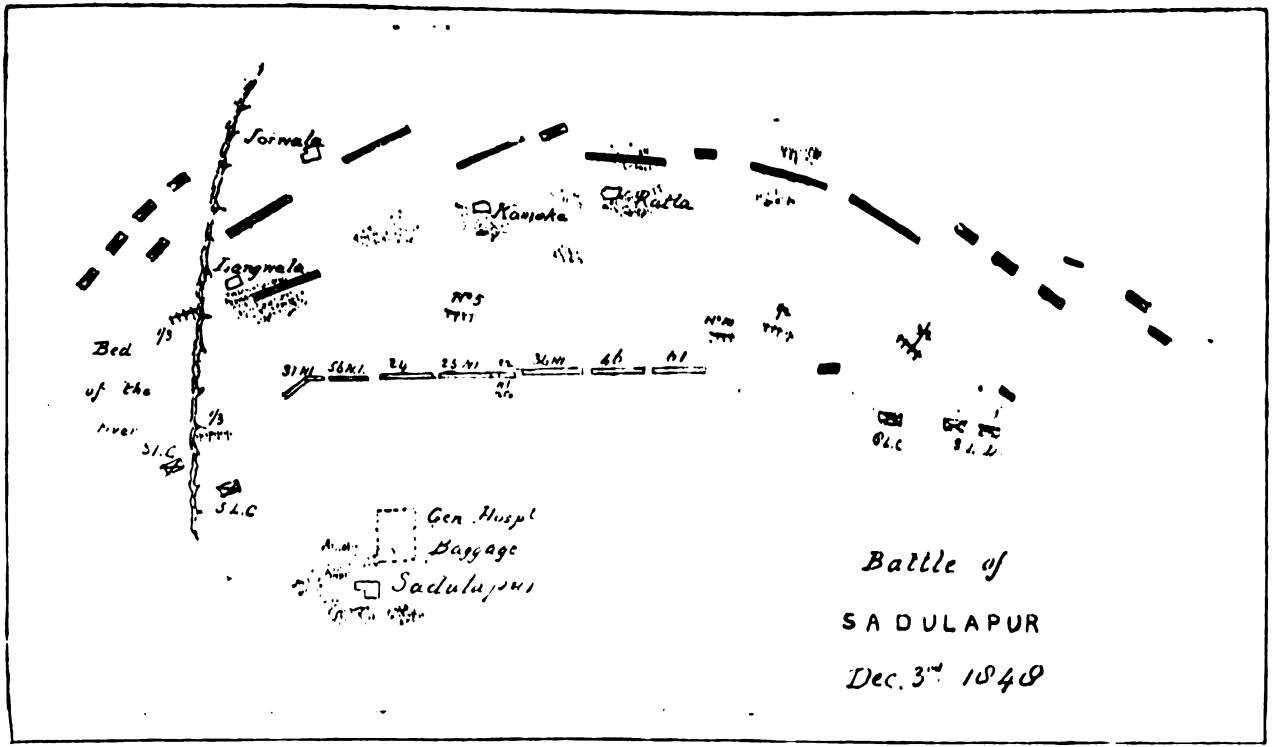

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1848. Dec. 3rd.

On the right of the Infantry Captain Austin, with his four guns, was sent to support Captain Huish against a superior number of the enemy's Artillery. Our fire told with marked effect. Captain Austin and Lieutenant J. E. Watson were both wounded, the former severely.

The action lasted nearly four hours, Artillery against Artillery, and the enemy, beaten at all points, retired. Had Lord Gough crossed at once, and the enemy been actively followed up, their guns would probably have been captured. They withdrew from their position opposite Ramnagar the same day, and Sir W. Gilbert was sent with two regiments of Cavalry and some Horse Artillery to co-operate with Thackwell, who encamped at Helán.* Lord Gough crossed on the 18th, finally taking up a position near Loha Tibbi, east of Helán.

Among the troops left at Ramnagar was No. 6 Field Battery. General Tennant had been obliged to transfer sixty-five of Captain Miles' horses to No. 10 to take the place of a like number reported unfit for work. His correspondence at this time contains some strongly-worded passages regarding the neglected condition of these batteries, whose captains had often before appealed for better treatment.

The Artillery portion of the army, as now brigaded, stood as follows, Multán batteries omitted :—

GENERAL ARMY STAFF.—Lieutenant E. B. Johnson, D.J.A.G.; Ensign unattached, S. Douglas, Baggage-master; Sergeant-Major S. Budd, 2nd Brigade H.A., Provost-Marshal.

ARTILLERY DIVISION STAFF.—Brigadier-General J. Tennant; Lieutenant H. A. Olpherts, A.D.C.; Bt.-Captain J. Abercombie, D.A.A.G.; Lieutenant H. Tombs, D.A.Q.M.G.; Captain C. Hogge, Commissary of Ordnance.

HORSE ARTILLERY.—Brigadier G. Brooke, C.B.; Lieutenant C. V. Cox, Brigade-Major.

* Heylah or Hillah in dispatches.

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1848. Dec. 3rd. 2ND BRIGADE.—Major F. Brind; Lieutenant R. R. Bruce, Officiating Adjutant, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Troops.

3RD BRIGADE.—Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel C. Grant; Lieutenant G. H. Clifford, Officiating Adjutant, 1st and 2nd Troops.

FOOT ARTILLERY.—Brigadier E. Huthwaite, C.B. (1st Brigade H.A.); Lieutenant E. Kaye (Adjutant 1st Brigade H.A.), Brigade-Major.

1ST BATTALION.—Major J. L. Mowatt; Lieutenant W. H. Delamain, Adjutant; 1st Company No. 10 F.B., 3rd Company No. 17 F.B.

4TH BATTALION.—Major R. Horsford; Lieutenant C. A Wheelwright, Adjutant; 1st Company No. 1 Heavy Battery, 2nd Company No. 2 Heavy Battery; Detachment, 4th Company.

7TH BATTALION.—2nd Company No. 6 F.B.

The order of brigading of the Cavalry and Infantry will be seen by referring to the plan of the battle of Chiliánwála.

The cause of the long halt near Helán was set down to the necessity of waiting for the fall of Multán. But the rumours that Lord Gough had his hands tied by the Governor-General were not devoid of foundation. It was said that there was a prohibition against our operations extending beyond the Chenáb. In war, however, the intentions and movements of both parties have to be considered, and this Lord Dalhousie did not seem to take into account. He may have thought that the fall of Multán would be followed by the submission of Chatar and Sher Singh. Certain it was that Lord Gough was order-bound, and equally certain that, as was natural, he chafed under the restriction.

Our camp was not well placed for a protracted halt. Our supplies were mostly obtained from the Gujarát district. Had Sher Singh moved up the Jhelum, he would have intercepted these supplies, turned our flank, and been able to sweep down upon Lahore, which would have welcomed him. The day Lord Gough moved to Helán, December 18th, Sher Singh did send 10,000 men forward

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to Dingi, which looked like such an attempt. Lord Gough must have contemplated such a possibility, as he intended at one time moving eastward to cover Wazirábád and Gujarát. In fact, rumours that this flank movement had taken place reached us down country, but Sher Singh could only fight, not manœuvre. 1848. Dec. 3rd.

Between us and the River Jhelum were extensive patches of dhák vegetation, more tree than bush, very dense in places, impossible to work through in connected order, where a charge in line was impossible; consequently the individual swordsman, master of his weapon, had a considerable advantage. Our Dragoons, their swords blunted by too close an acquaintance with the steel scabbard, even had they been masters of the art of fence, could not deliver a cut as efficiently as the Sikh;* the guard and point was best for the Dragoon. December

Lord Gough knew that a difficult task lay before him, and that the delay which had taken place had only put fresh courage into the men he had to fight, a thought, to one of his temperament, likely to add to the desire "to get at them." The restrictions that had been laid upon him were now removed, and on the 9th the camps at Helán and Janoke marched to Lasuria, where the force encamped in order of battle as follows, commencing from the right: 9th Lancers, 6th and 1st L.C. (this Brigade slightly thrown back), 1-2 (Huish), 3-2 (Christie), and 2-3 H.A. (Lane) 2nd Eur. Regiment, 70th and 31st N.I. (Godby's Brigade). No. 17 F.B (Dawes). 56 N.I., 29th Regiment and 30th N.I. (Mountain). Heavy Batteries (Shakespear and Ludlow). 24th Regiment, 25th and 45th N.I. (Pennycuick's). No. 5 F.B. (Walker).† 61st Regiment, 46th and 1849. January.

* Not the fault of the steel. The Pindári Chief, Amir Khan, used to arm his followers with our discarded Dragoon sabres. At Almorah, in 1852, at an annual festival of the Gurkhas, I saw the pay havildar of the Sirmur Battalion, with his regulation sword, cut off the head of a bullock, going clean through the dewlap. A heavy curved Kukri failed to do it as completely with another bullock.

† Lieutenant Walker commanded, as Captain Kinleside was on the sick list.

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1849. January. 36th N.I. (Hoggan). No. 10 F.B. (Robertson).* 1-3 H.A. (Warner). 3rd and 14th Light Dragoons, 8th and 5th L.C. (Sir J. Thackwell). Headquarter Camp in rear of the centre. The 2nd and 4th Troops, 2nd Brigade H.A. (Fordyce and Duncan). Reserve H.A. in rear of the left centre and in front of the park. In rear of all Brigadier Hearsey with the 20th N.I., 9th and 3rd I.C.

The country between Helán and the enemy's position at Rasul had been examined by Sir J. Thackwell and Major Mackeson, and reported impracticable. The ground on the Dingi side had not been examined.† From this village the road to Rasul passed over the ridge of sandhills, and, turning to the right, led to the town of Jhelum. Another road, N.N.W., led over the same ridge higher up. It was Lord Gough's intention,‡ after proceeding towards these hills, to change his direction to the left, and moving on a line parallel to them, to attack the Sikh position in flank, which would probably have given him a less formidable task to accomplish.§ But in camp that night counsels were divided. The distance from Dingi would have been about thirteen miles, and recollections of the former Sikh War made many of the officers about him opposed to the risk of an action at the end of a long march. But in spite of much that has been alleged about the hot blood of the Commander-in-Chief having precipitated the action of Chiliánwála, such was not the case in the opinion of some of those most capable of judging. It seems to have been thought by some of the Headquarter Staff that the Artillery officers advised Lord Gough to fight, but the only ground for this was his having requested Brigadier-General Tennant to send for Colonels Brooke, Brind, and

* Lieutenant A. Robertson was placed in charge, Captain Austin having been severely wounded at Sadulapur.

† Thackwell, p. 118.

‡ Kaye.

§ If Lord Gough had, as it appears he previously intended, moved north-east from Helán to cover Gujarát, the attack on the Sikh left would have been forced upon him. They would no doubt have changed front to meet him.

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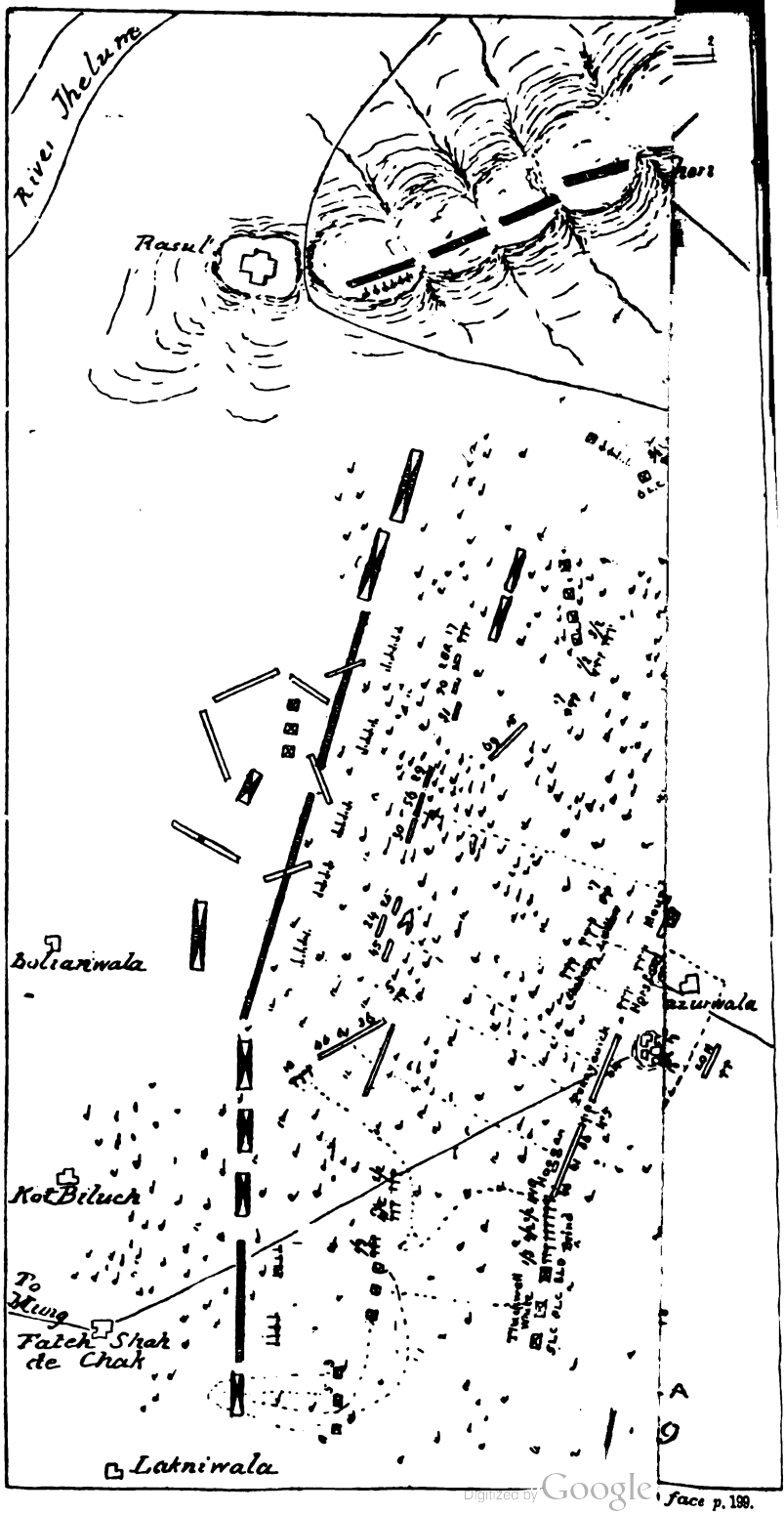
River Jhelum
Rasul
Bolianwala
Kot Biluch
To Mung
Fateh Shah de Chak
Lakniwala
face p. 199.

Grant, who all, except one, said they thought the horses would not be equal to a long day's work. This was on the afternoon of the 12th. Two days before, Major Mackeson, the Governor-General's Political Agent at Army Head-quarters, had communicated the intelligence that Attock, after a gallant defence by Lieutenant C. Herbert, had fallen, and that Sirdar Chatar Singh was moving down to join his son, and urged Lord Gough to strike an effectual blow without delay.* There were, therefore, sufficient grounds for attacking the enemy. 1849. January.

Next morning the army marched from Dingi at 7 a.m. The direct distance to Rasul was nearly ten miles. After a halt at 10 o'clock to refresh the men, it again moved on in columns of Brigades, the Cavalry on the flanks, and Artillery in the intervals. The direction had been towards Rasul, but on nearing the village of Chota Umrao, Lord Gough brought up his right, and his line now faced Chiliánwála, and beyond it the villages of Loliánwála and Mung. The position of the enemy was discovered to be from Fateh Shah de Chak to Rasul. But up to the halt at ten o'clock Lord Gough did not intend to fight that day if possible.† Jan. 13th.

After moving forward it was found that there was no water to be had nearer than the village of Chiliánwála, and Lord Gough was obliged to go on. Reaching the village of Mujiánwala, a Sikh picquet was seen on a low bare mound to the right of the former place, and some light guns were sent forward, followed by the light companies of the 29th and 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, which took possession of it about two o'clock.

The Quarter-Master-General at once went forward to mark out the camp; but they had scarcely begun when

* Lord Gough's dispatch January 16th; corroborated in correspondence of Sir J. Tennant

† General Tennant rode up to the Staff as they were halted, and was asked by the Chief, "Are all the guns in their right places?" "Not as we agreed, my Lord; the G.O. last night altered that a little." "Oh, never mind, we shall not need them to-day, I think."

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1849. Jan. 13th. the enemy's shot came bowling in among them, and it was clear we should have to fight. But an alteration of front was necessary. The left had to be brought up, and line was formed from the right Horse Artillery, Pope's brigade of Cavalry not changing front,* so that its direction crossed the line of fire of the guns. This throws some light on the events that followed.

During this movement the heavy guns under Major Ludlow and Sir Richmond Shakespear were moved up to the mound and opened fire, supported on the right by Captain Dawes (No. 17) and on the left by Lieutenant Walker (No. 5), and continued in action till the British line advanced, about three o'clock.

The Sikh line could be seen from the tops of the houses in Chiliánwála. It extended far on either side of us, and their numbers evidently were very great. Their guns were hidden by the jungle, and their exact formation was not known.

Before the line advanced, the enemy's Cavalry on their left had advanced and were threatening our right and rear. So Lieut.-Colonel Lane was detached with four of his own guns, two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, and two of the 6th L.C. His other two guns and two of Major Christie's Troop, under Lieutenant H. Le G. Bruce, were sent to him shortly afterwards. They were of essential service in that position in covering the flank, though they took no active part in the battle.

The first part of the line to enter the jungle were Pennycuick's and Hoggan's brigades, under General Campbell. The former had the 24th Regiment, the latter the 61st, in the centre; the native ones on the flanks. General Campbell, on receiving the order to advance, rode up to the 24th and briefly addressed them: "There must be no firing; the bayonet must do the work." After passing the village of Chiliánwála, the 24th took ground somewhat to the right

* My authority for this is the official plan.

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(perhaps to preserve touch with the centre), and were thus separated from the other brigade. There was more than a mile to be traversed, and this was done at a rapid pace.* The 24th were unusually strong (about 1,100), a large number of recruits having lately joined. In the dense jungle continuity of the line could not be kept, and the native regiments were left behind in the impetuous advance. For most of the distance they were unperceived by the enemy, whose attention was directed more towards our right; but once seen, when they emerged into more open ground, broken here and there by pools of water, every gun was turned upon them. Discharges of grape told with fatal effect on their rapidly thinning ranks. Still they rushed on and drove the Sikhs from their guns. While some were spiking these, the enemy emerged from the jungle on all sides, seeing the paucity of their numbers. The Native Infantry had come up to where the struggle was going on, but in vain. The shattered remains of a fine brigade fell back. The field-guns that should have been in support were not there; Brigadier-General Campbell, seeing the mistake, sent a Staff Officer to bring up No. 5 Battery, but it was too late. The casualties in this brigade amounted to 518 in the 24th, 204 in the 25th, and 79 in the 45th. Thirteen officers of the 24th next day lay dead in their mess-tent, Pennycuick and his young son among them. 1849. Jan. 13th.

When Pennycuick advanced, General Campbell rode off to the Brigade commanded by Hoggan, an Irishman after Gough's own heart. It advanced under the General's leading, and therefore in more order than the other was doing. An officer belonging to it says that they seemed to be inclining too much to the left and losing sight of No. 5 Battery between the two brigades. This was probably due to the other having, as before mentioned, taken ground to its right, and in the jungle a little interval hid every-

* Not at the double.—ARCHER.

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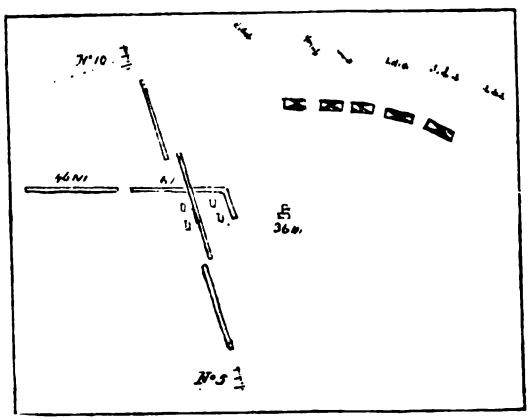
1849
Jan. 13th.

thing. No. 5 Battery should have remained with the right brigade, and No. 10 with the left. But the latter was directed by a Staff Officer to proceed to the left, to keep down the fire of some Sikh guns in that direction. He did so and found Warner's and another troop in action there. Much valuable time was thus lost. A considerable gap now existed between the Cavalry on the left and the main body. Lieutenant Robertson had some difficulty in finding his way back alone. A Staff Officer again met him and told him to join Campbell's division sharp, as the Infantry were hard pressed.* †

As Hoggan's brigade advanced, the attention of the enemy was directed more towards Pennycuick's retreat-



ing brigade; but as soon as they were perceived they wheeled round and opened a heavy fire, supported by musketry, on them. The Ghorchara horsemen too came down, and the 36th N.I. on the right, unable to resist the onslaught, were broken up. Major Flemyng and the officers

* Thackwell says (p. 157) that neither the Brigadier-General nor his Brigadiers regarded the Artillery as necessary; that contempt of the enemy was not confined to Pennycuick. This may be true to some extent, but want of caution was not part of General Colin Campbell's character. It may have been a temporary oversight.

† Captain (Major-General) A. H. Heath.

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of the Regiment, with many of the native officers, N.C. officers, and men, collected round the colours, and stood there, a gallant band, while the rest took refuge behind the 61st. General Campbell, whose coolness was most conspicuous, threw back the two right companies of that regiment; and while No. 5 Field Battery, under Walker, which had joined, covered the movement, changed front to the right. The brigade, thus formed in line, passed obliquely over the ground lost by the 5th Brigade, and drove the Sikhs from their guns with heavy loss. Eleven guns were captured; the 61st spiking all, or nearly so, took off the wheels and rolled them away, and destroyed what ammunition they could.* Lieutenant Robertson and No. 10 Field Battery was in line on the left of the 7th Brigade. The remains of the 5th Brigade had again advanced and joined the 7th. 1849. Jan. 13th.

Major-General Gilbert's division went forward on the right of the heavy guns; there was only one field battery with it, No. 17, under an excellent officer, Captain Michael Dawes. No. 3 Brigade (Godby's) had the 2nd European Regiment on its right, the 31st N.I. on its left. Covered by skirmishers, with which, moving at an increased pace, they soon became mixed up, they entered the jungle, and after passing over some distance they came under a heavy Artillery fire. The 2nd Europeans, in advance and somewhat separated from the other regiments, suffered severely. Captain Dawes, keeping up, afforded material support.† The Sikhs, moving round the right, came on in

* Captain C. C. Deacon, 61st, to Captain N. A. Staples, April 10th, 1849. It is to be feared that they did not think of putting the linch-pins in their pockets.

† The following extract from Captain Dawes' journal gives a very clear account of what the battery did. "We then reformed and attacked the enemy's position, my battery with the heavy guns commencing. I was afterwards sent on to the extreme right of the Infantry, when the right flank was turned and rear threatened by Cavalry. Opened with grape, and, retiring, covered the left flank of Godby's brigade, which was likewise threatened by the enemy's Infantry. Under fire of my guns, the 2nd Europeans charged and

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1849. Jan. 13th. rear, so the regiment, facing about, charged rear rank in front while the guns assisted with grape in clearing the ground, enabling them again to advance. General Gilbert, riding up, asked Major Steel if he were near enough to charge. "By all means," was the reply. On they went with a cheer and swept the enemy from before them, taking three of the guns, which were brought back.

No. 6 (reserve) Brigade, under Penny, had been ordered up to support the left centre, but in the jungle it inclined too much to the right, and after some severe fighting found itself on the left of Brigadier Godby's regiments. Two of Captain Dawes' guns, under Lieutenant R. Murray, came to their assistance and did good service. The day was closing in, and the enemy were in flight.

In No. 4 Brigade H.M. 29th was on the right, the 30th N.I. on the left, and the 56th N.I. in the centre. Brigadier Mountain had to attack a formidable part of the Sikh position and to force his way through the densest part of the bush. The regiments got separated, but the detached bodies, though unsupported by Artillery, pressed on in spite of heavy loss and drove back the enemy from their guns. Twelve were captured by the 29th,* but some of them were carried away by the Sikhs during the night. Brigadier Mountain with his regiments remained with Brigadier-General Campbell's division in rear of the enemy's position till after 8 o'clock, when they were withdrawn. The large number of casualties in the two native regiments showed they had done well.†

Some time after the right division advanced, the two troops of Horse Artillery on that flank were sent forward.

drove back the enemy, who commenced retreating from the left. Again got into position to enfilade them, and then again forming on the right of the brigade opened and kept up a heavy fire along the line of retreat till near dusk, during which the 2nd Infantry Division was formed preparatory to moving into camp." He omits the fact that he himself was slightly wounded.

* "Regimental History," p. 467.

† The 56th N.I. had 322, the 30th N.I. 285, and H.M. 29th, than which there was not a better regiment on the field, 241.

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1849. Jan. 13th.

There were only ten guns, as Lieutenant Courtenay, with the remaining division of the 2nd-3rd, and Christie's right division, had been sent to reinforce Lane's detachment on the right. The position of the Cavalry with respect to the guns on their left has already been noticed. Colonel Grant moved forward about 500 yards and came into action; again advanced and unlimbered. But the Cavalry line was now before them, and they were unable to fire. The Sikh Cavalry were in front, and the movements of ours seem to have been marked by a hesitation that encouraged the Sikhs to come on more boldly. Brigadier Pope was severely wounded about this time, which Thackwall thinks must have accounted for what happened. There was a halt, whether at this time or not * is difficult to say, but consequent, it has been told, of the order "Threes about" to the 14th Dragoons; the whole line came back. That regiment, being just in front of the guns, rode through them, closely followed by the Ghorcharas. The gunners could neither limber up nor fire. Those in the teams were cut down. Major Christie received several sword and spear wounds, Major Huish, in front of his Troop, was nearly cut down by two Sikh horsemen, one of whom was killed by his sergeant-major and one by Major C. Stewart of the 14th, who was himself wounded. The rest of the Cavalry shared in this unfortunate flight, but most of the 9th Lancers formed up behind the guns that were able to move, now slowly retreating. Christie's four guns and two of Huish's were left on the ground. The Headquarter Staff were in an open piece of ground in the middle of the bush jungle, when there emerged from it

* Lieutenant (now Major-General) C. J. Godby was told by one of the Native Cavalry that the officers of his regiment were some 50 yards in front of their men during this halt, when the Sikh horsemen appeared, coming out of the jungle, and they were ordered back to their places. The men, seeing their officers galloping back, wavered, and some rascal calling out "Threes about," away they all went. I had the pleasure of knowing many of the 14th at Lahore very shortly after. They were ready to repeat the Ramnagar charge, and would not have excused themselves by throwing blame on others.

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1849. Jan. 13th. Artillery spare horses, several limbers, and some guns. With them, supported on his horse by one of his sergeants, his right hand grasping his sword hanging powerless down, came Major Christie. Behind them came a number of the enemy's Cavalry caricoling in a kind of triumph. Colonel Grant drew up two of the guns, unlimbered, and a few shots sent them back into the bushes.

This unfortunate business left Gilbert's division perfectly uncovered, but they had won their ground and held it. With the support which they might and ought to have had, the right wing of the army might have been pushed forward and the Sikhs been cut off from their entrenchments at Rasul.* Already many were crossing the river.

On the left the Horse Artillery were placed, the 9-pounder battery under Fordyce on the right, Duncan's Troop in the centre, and Warner's on the left. Next stood Brigadier White's Cavalry, 8th and 5th Native, and the 3rd Light Dragoons on the flank. Colonel Brind took forward the guns to meet those of the enemy. They opened upon them, and after more than half an hour's work silenced them. The Sikh line outflanking ours to guard against a turning movement, Sir Joseph Thackwell ordered a squadron of the 3rd Dragoons, supported by five troops of the 5th Cavalry, to charge them. Captain

* Sir J. Tennant says in a private letter: "I have no doubt from what we saw of the Sikh Cavalry afterwards at Goojerat, that had these men [our Cavalry] charged, and the H.A. been allowed to open . . . that the left of the Sikh line would have been turned, their retreat by Russool would have been cut off, and the result would probably have been as effective as at Goojerat, even in spite of the failure of the 24th Foot, &c. But when the mishap which happened on the right was backed by this failure, the only wonder is that we were not driven from the field. As it was, we retained the ground, and had the greater part of their Artillery in our possession. But it was dark, there was no water and no provisions for the men, who had fasted already all day. The position was in a thick jungle of which we knew nothing . . . while the Sikhs knew every inch of the ground. . . . It was possibly not unwise to then retire. . . ."

This undoubtedly is in favour of General Colin Campbell's advice, as against another view taken a little lower down.

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Unett, with the Gray squadron of the 3rd, advanced with those of the 5th in line. A matchlock-fire was opened upon them as they went forward; the Native squadron, in spite of the efforts of their officers, failed to penetrate the dense mass opposed to them, but the gallant Unett, Stisted, and Macqueen, with their men, charged through to some distance. Captain Unett, severely wounded, cut his way back with the men about him: the other two officers with the remainder did likewise. The Sikhs, unwilling to await the shock, opened out, abused and cut at our men as they passed through. The casualties in this gallant charge were 46. Major Wheatley, with the 5th L.C., unable to penetrate the dense mass in his front, after a hand-to-hand encounter retired and took up his place in the line. He had sixteen killed; three officers (one native) and eleven men wounded.* 1849. Jan. 13th.

Shortly after, Colonel Brind was ordered to the right with his guns, and was followed by Brigadier White with the Cavalry. The enemy still remained on the ground, and kept up a fire on our troops as they moved, but did not follow them. Lieutenant J. A. Manson, of Captain Ewart's Troop, had his leg taken off by a round shot and died the same night.

It was now becoming dark. Our troops held still the ground they had won. A considerable part of both divisions, particularly General Campbell's, with their guns, were resting on the further side of the dense jungle. In truth the position was a far from safe one. They were separated from the rest of the force by a mile of difficult ground. They were cold, hungry, and thirsty, with little means of satisfying their wants. Yet the last thought in their minds was to give up what they had fought so hard for. Brigadier-General Campbell had proved his individual courage as well as his ability to lead his men to victory. But here caution prevailed, and

* MS. statement by Major Wheatley, Commanding 5th L.C., among papers of Captain (Sir N. A.) Staples.

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1849. Jan. 13th. he advised the Chief to withdraw them to Chiliánwála. "What," exclaimed the wrathful Irishman, "and leave my wounded to be massacred? Never!" These counsels, however, prevailed, and the bugles and trumpets told the astonished troops that they were to move back. An officer described what he heard as he trudged along in the dark: "D—d if we ain't a-deserting the guns."—"Suppose we shall have to take them again."—"So many poor fellows killed for nothin'."* Theoretically General Campbell may have been right. Practically he was wrong. The Sikhs were even then crossing the Jhelum behind them,† and by the morning all would have been on the other side. But as soon as they heard of our retirement, back they came, took away all their own and four of our guns, and slaughtered every wounded man found in the jungle. This crowned the disasters of the day; our guns might have been recovered, but Lord Gough forbade any forward movement again into the jungle. A subaltern of Major Christie's Troop, however, took the limbers of his division and returned to where they had been left, far away in the jungle. There the six guns were still, and had he had limbers sufficient he could have brought all away; but he could only recover his own two. The subaltern's name was Colin Cookworthy. "The Victoria Cross was not in those days," writes Colonel Kaye, "or surely he would have been decorated."

Jan. 14th. With the dawn of the next day came the sad duty of bringing in the mutilated remains of those that had fallen. The Sikhs were back in their old position at Rasul and the sand-hills north-east of it, but offered no opposition. The casualties amounted to:—

* Lieutenant A. E. Osborn, 45th N.I.

† This was ascertained afterwards. Ilaihi Baksh, an Artillery Commander who came into camp on the 19th of January, said so. It was not then known certainly, but we knew the Sikhs would not make any attack in force upon us by night, though they might have harassed our men by desultory firing. Major G. Biddulph, of Tait's Irregulars (afterwards killed at the relief of Lucknow), found that about half the Sikh army had crossed.

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Killed: 22 Europeans, 16 native officers, and 564 men. 1849. Jan. 14th.

Wounded: 67 Europeans, 27 native officers, 1 warrant officer, and 1,556 men.

Of the latter several died during the next two or three days. There were thirteen officers of the 24th buried in one grave. The Native Infantry regiments suffered very severely, and if not first into the enemy's guns, behaved well. The 36th N.I. retrieved its character fairly before the day was over. Of the Artillery Lieutenant J. A. Manson was killed; Captain Dawes was slightly, his subaltern, Lieutenant Dundas, was severely wounded. Major Christie died on the 15th. His men, by whom he was much beloved, came to the Chaplain, the Rev. W. J. Whiting, and begged that his body might be interred with those of his troop who had fallen; a request willingly granted. Jan. 13th.

This was almost wholly an Infantry battle. The only charge was by a squadron of the 3rd Light Dragoons, and the ineffectual one by the 5th L.C. The battery most seriously engaged was Captain Dawes'. No action we had ever fought in India was marked by so heavy a death-roll, with so little compensating advantage. If it is allowable in a work of this kind to criticise it by the light of subsequent knowledge, it will be seen that the direction of the attack and the manner in which it was conducted were both in fault. The army of the Sikhs extended for about five miles in an unbroken line, supported by batteries in front, and numerous bodies of cavalry in rear and on the flanks. In a dense jungle the most complete co-operation of the brigades with one another, and their support by an adequate number of guns, was absolutely necessary. But each brigade went on independent of its right or left. This "longing to be at 'em" seemed to pervade all the leaders, from the Chief down, except, perhaps, Brigadier-General Campbell. When the original plan of attacking and thereby turning the Sikh left was set aside, if the main

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1849. Jan. 13th. attack had been on that wing the greater portion of the army might have been cut off from Rasul. A line five miles long and not very deep, as Sir J. Tennant describes it, could not have readily met such a movement. The precipitous ravines down the sides of the heights would have made their capture difficult in face of a strong opposition, but once severed from Rasul, their most important sources of supply would have been lost, and our communications need not have been endangered.* The Multán force was coming up to Ramnagar by forced marches, and Sher Singh would not have felt comfortable between two fires. His line of retreat must have been across the Jhelum. The Amir Dost Muhamad was intent, if possible, on recovering the Peshawar district, and the Singhs knew he had a wholesome respect for British power, and that his assistance would be measured by their success.

The army was now destined to remain halted for another month. The Sikhs occupied their former position at Rasul, but reconnoitring parties on the 16th found that Mung was deserted, and they seemed to have closed in upon their left. A picquet on the sand-hills watched the passage through them by the road from Khori. Their right covered the ford near Rasul, and their front was covered by batteries of guns behind a line of entrenchment. On our side the heavy guns were placed at the mound; on their left the 5th Infantry Brigade, now commanded by Colonel A. Carnegy; then No. 5 Field Battery; then the 7th Brigade; the 4th and 1st Troops 2nd Brigade H.A.; the 1st Cavalry Brigade had its left somewhat thrown back, and the 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A. on the extreme left. On the right of the mound came the 4th Brigade; No. 17 Field Battery and the 3rd Infantry Brigade. The 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade, 1st and 2nd of the 3rd Brigade H.A. were in the angle formed by the 2nd Brigade of Cavalry thrown back. The 6th Brigade and 45th N.I, flanked by Christie's and Tait's Irregular Cavalry,

* It is only right to say that Sir J. Tennant thought there might be such a risk. But consult a good map.

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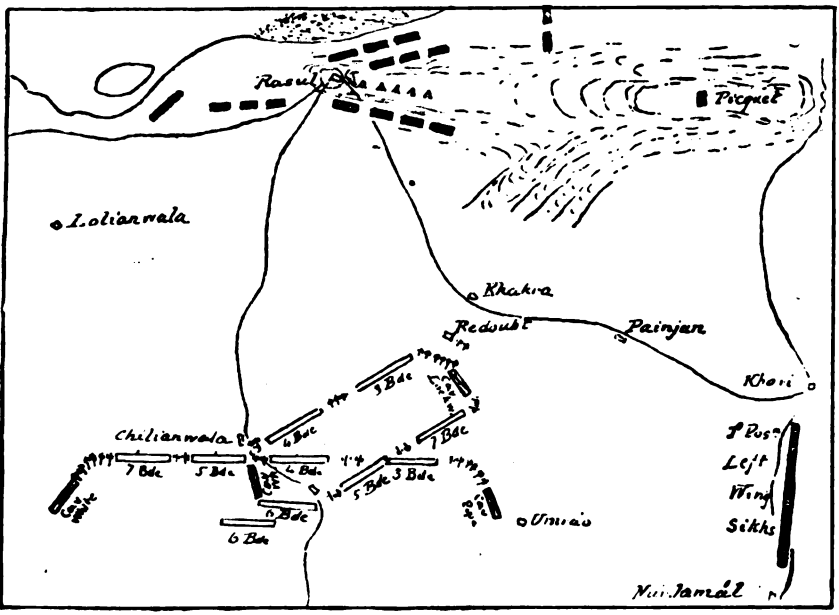
were in rear of the centre. Subsequently a redoubt was thrown up half a mile to the right front on a mound near the village of Khakra. Thus two armies entrenched were looking at one another. 1849. Jan. 13th.

Captain Kinleside was posted to the 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade. This troop was temporarily armed with 9-pounders and the heavier howitzers, and the detachments with which it had been furnished experimentally were taken away and the horses sent to the troops most in need of them.

During this period of inaction General Tennant was engaged in urging on the Commander-in-Chief and the Commandant of the regiment the inefficient condition in



men and horses of the troops and batteries. His arguments, unanswerable in themselves, were acknowledged to be perfectly true, but were, like other correspondence of the same nature, consigned to pigeon-holes, from which it is one object of this work to rescue them.

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1849. Jan. 13th. Reports brought in told us that the loss of the enemy on the 13th was somewhat severe, especially under the fire of the heavy guns. On the 26th news reached the camp that Multán had fallen, and a part of General Whish's army was now free to co-operate with Lord Gough. The Sikhs were reticent about it, for Lieutenant Bowie, who was sent in on parole by Sher Singh, then seemed to think it not generally known. He described them as not so confident now, and said that what they feared the most was the fire of our guns and the Infantry file-firing.

February. At the commencement of February several movements were observed in the enemy's camp, giving rise to all sorts of rumours. They were preparing to attack, to move round to our rear, or were crossing the Jhelum. Our Cavalry frequently went out to reconnoitre, but could see little. Sikh horsemen came prowling about our picquets, so that they knew more of our movements than we did of theirs. But their own counsels were divided, and the news of the fall of Multán, when it became generally known, seemed to dishearten them.

Movements were taking place in their camp. They seemed to be closing in more towards Rasul on the 28th of January. On the 30th a patrol of the 9th Irregulars (Christie's), under Lieutenant Crawford Chamberlain, had a brush with the enemy's horse, killing 16, losing two killed and having their gallant leader wounded. A salute heard on the 4th was reported to be for the resumption by Sir Henry Lawrence of the duties of Resident at Lahore. On the 5th they were reported coming through the Khori Pass, and next day a wing took up a position between the villages

Feb. 8th. of Khori and near Jamal. Our camp was also shifted; General Campbell's division taking post in rear of Gilbert's, and facing outwards towards Dingi, as shown in the foregoing sketch. Penny's brigade was placed between Gilbert's division and White's Cavalry brigade. Sher Singh was probably endeavouring to bring on another action before the Multán force could arrive on ground

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which had proved so unfortunate for us. The day previous the enemy were collecting, and a Cavalry force of about 500 sabres was drawn up, masking guns. About 4,000 of them advanced, and at 900 yards tried to work round a flank, but finding the guns there, retired. A man with a bundle of fireworks was captured, who said he intended to have blown up our powder in park. Another with a bundle of spikes was seized on the 10th. 1849. Feb. 8th.

This state of restless alarms continued on the 11th; the troops had been for some time much harassed by working parties, patrols, and convoy guards; but during the night of the 11th, noise both in the Rasul and Khori camp denoted some movement in progress. At daylight there were no tents on the Rasul heights, and by noon it was empty. They were still at and beyond Khori. On the 14th it was ascertained that a part of them were at Gujarát, and orders were immediately issued to follow them up.

It was necessary to be prompt, for Sher Singh, had he been allowed, would undoubtedly have moved upon Lahore. But Colonel Byrne with H.M. 53rd, 13th N.I., 12th Irregulars (Holmes'), and four guns of No. 6 Field Battery was sent from Ramnagar to Wazirábád, where some of them were preparing to cross. Lord Gough's march to Lasuria on the 15th and to Sadulapur on the 16th co-operated, and Sher Singh was compelled to concentrate about Gujarát.

General Whish, leaving a strong garrison there, had marched from Multán with Markham's and Hervey's brigades and a Bombay brigade under General Dundas. The 3rd Troop Bombay H.A., the 4th-1st and 4th-3rd Bengal H.A., the 2nd Company 1st Battalion Bombay F.A., four 18-pounder guns and four 8-inch howitzers (Major Day), and the 11th Irregulars (Captain R. A. Master's) completed this force. The leading portion marched 18 miles a day. Narain Singh, a disaffected chief, held the fort of Chiniot, and was ineffectually besieged therein by Shekh Imam-ud-din, but he surrendered on the 9th to General Whish.

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1849. Feb. 8th. Orders were here received to push on, so Captain Anderson and the 4-3 H.A. accomplished a march of 40 miles. He made 19 miles in the morning, rested during the day, went on at night, chiefly at a trot, reaching Ramnagar before morning.*

From Sadulapur the army marched on the 17th to Kunjah, where part of the Multán force joined next day. Major Mackenzie with his Troop and the heavy guns joined General Dundas, while the Bombay troops were hurrying up. Meanwhile, Lord Gough was slowly approaching the Sikh position at Gujarát, from which on the 18th only three miles intervened.

February. The formation of the British force on the morning of the 21st, by which time General Dundas had joined with remainder, will be seen in the plan. General Whish commanded the right Infantry Division. Brigadier Huthwaite took post near the heavy guns.

General Tennant allotted the Artillery as follows:

Under Lieut.-Colonel Grant: 1st-3rd H.A., Captain Warner; Brigadier Lockwood's Cavalry on the right.

Under Major Garbett: 4th-1st H.A., Major Mackenzie; 4th-3rd H.A., Captain Anderson; 1st Infantry Division, General Whish.

* Another remarkable march must not be omitted. It did not fall within the operations of the first Sikh War, so was not then mentioned. Captain J. L. Mowatt, with the 4th Troop 1st Brigade, had marched 16 miles to Khanghar in Sind, January 15th, 1845. Under orders from Sir C. Napier, a gun and howitzer accompanied him the same evening to Uchh, a further distance of 40 miles, which was accomplished during the night. Sir C. Napier, in G.O., records: "Captain Mowatt in 24 hours marched 56 miles through the desert with two guns, a march rarely exceeded in the history of military movements, and it does great credit to the effective state of his battery." Second-Lieutenant J. R. Sladen was with Captain Mowatt. Colonel Geddes followed the next morning with the rest of the troop, the Sind Camel Corps, and 170 volunteers of H.M. 13th Regiment, and reached Shahpur *viâ* Minoti, 34 miles. At noon on the 15th, Lieutenant T. W. Pulman, with a howitzer and mountain 3-pounder gun, had gone with a detachment of horse under Captain Salter from Khanghar to Uchh, which was reached in 8½ hours, and where a party of the enemy were met and defeated with loss. Pulman's guns were carried by mules.

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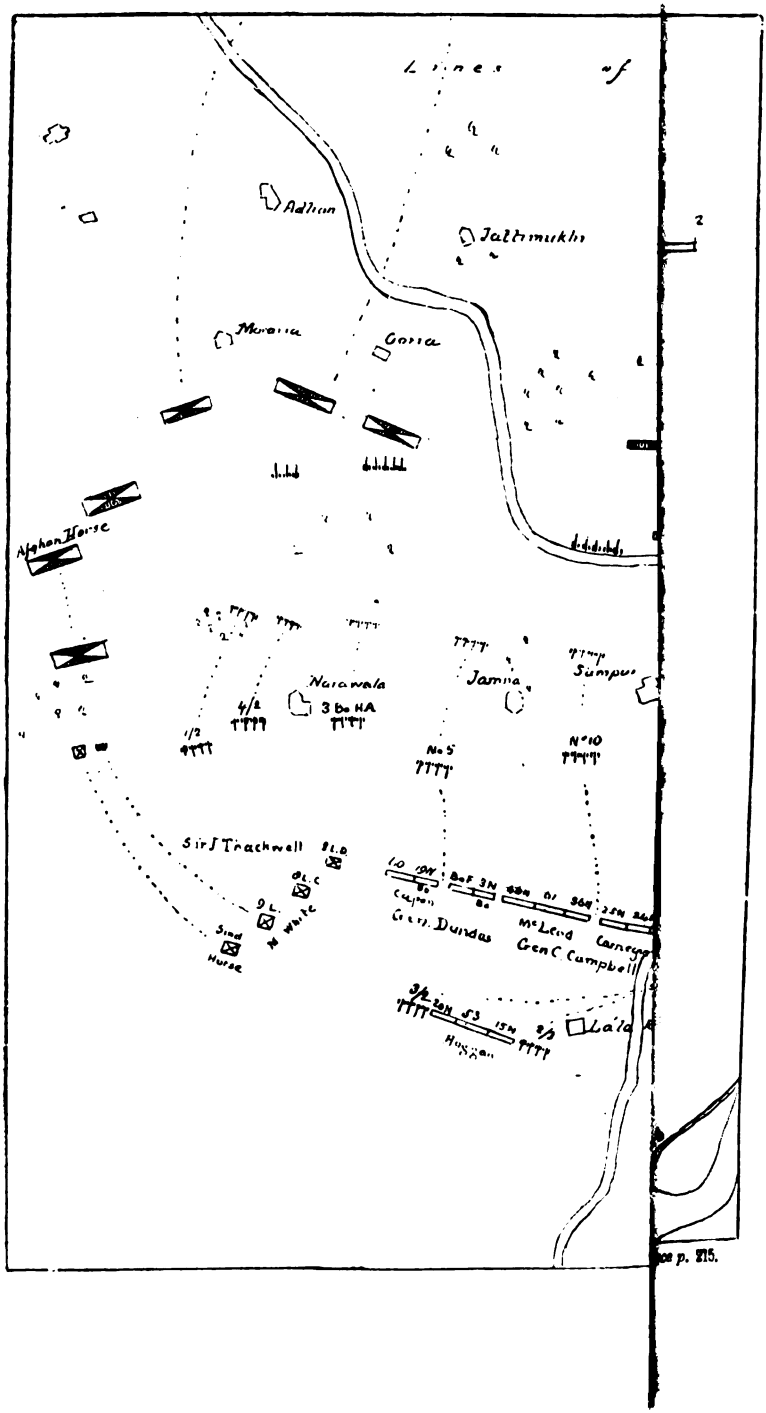

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Under Senior Officer: 2nd-2nd H.A., Major Fordyce; No. 17 L.F.B., Captain Dawes; 2nd Infantry Division, General Sir W. Gilbert. 1849. February.

Under Major Mowatt: No. 5 L.F.B., Major Ludlow; No. 10 L.F.B., Lieutenant Robertson; 3rd Infantry Division, General C. Campbell.

Under Senior Officer: 4th-2nd H.A., Captain Duncan; 1st-2nd H.A., Captain Huish; Brigadier M. White's Cavalry on the left.

Under Lieut.-Colonel F. Brind: 2nd-3rd H.A., Lieut.-Colonel Lane; 3rd-2nd H.A., Captain Kinleside; Reserve under Brigadier Brooke.

Under Major R. Horsford: Four 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, Major Sir R. Shakespear; two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, Captain J. D. Shakespear.

Under Major Day: Two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, Captain E. P. Master; two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, Captain E. G. Austin, who was incapacitated by his wounds from accompanying his own battery, No. 10.

At seven a.m. on this morning the assembly sounded. Feb. 21st. The day was bright and sunny, the view across patches of luxuriant low green crops, unobscured by jungle or, except about the various villages, by trees. Soon the enemy's line of horse and foot, gay with colours, interspersed with batteries of guns, became visible. A dry nullah intersected our line perpendicularly, and the heavy guns crossing, advanced up its left bank. Major Horsford's guns on the right of Brigadier Mountain's Brigade, Major Day's guns on the left; Captain Dawes, with No. 17 Field Battery, in the centre of it. An advanced post of the enemy, against which it was directed, was vacated by them. As the whole line advanced, the batteries disengaged from their positions in it and went to the front. No. 17 Light Field Battery took up a place between the two brigades of Heavies. The line of Infantry halted while the guns went forward. Captain Dawes came into action at 1,100 yards, and in his

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1849. Feb. 21st. report says that he had the honour of commencing the battle,* advancing and opening again at 800 and 700 yards, the Heavies of Master and Austin, under Day, being slightly then in front, those of Sir R. and Captain Shakespear, under Horsford, slightly thrown back on his right.

In front of the enemy's line, between the two nullahs, were the two villages, named Bara (Great) Kálra and Kot Kálra. On their left, close to the nullah on that side, was the village of Chota or Little Kálra. Major Fordyce, advancing with his 9-pounder Troop, moved up between the two former. The lines of skirmishers thrown out by the Infantry acted as a support to the guns, which came into action at intervals of two or three hundred yards. But when this Troop got between and a little beyond the two villages, it was exposed both to the Artillery fire in front and to that of the Sikhs holding Great Kálra, and its casualties were very numerous. Twice did its commander send his limbers to the rear for fresh men and horses. As they passed through the ranks of the 2nd Europeans waving their caps, they answered the cheers which greeted them. General Gilbert ordered Penny's Brigade to storm the village, which was some 200 yards in their front. The 2nd European Regiment sprang to their feet, and rushed on. The number of Sikhs in the place was much larger than they imagined, and the Brigade lost very heavily, more so, indeed, than the rest of the Infantry together. Those who had not cleared out as the attack came on, died fighting to the last.

The two Native Troops of Horse Artillery on the right were in like manner exposed to a musketry fire from the village of Kálra in their front, and suffered very severely.

* Letter No. 323, dated 25th of February, to D.A.A.G. second Infantry Division. Colonel Kaye says the H.A. began, but Captain Dawes was the last man likely to claim what was not his due. Not more than a minute, however, if so much, intervened between his first shot and those of the other batteries. The few shots fired at the long range were supposed to have been by Lord Gough's order to make the Sikhs show their hand.

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Captain John Anderson, a younger brother of the officer who had so distinguished himself in command of Shah Shuja's Troops of Horse Artillery during the Afghan War, was killed. No officer who fell that day was more generally lamented. The casualties in these two Troops and Fordyce's, especially in the killed, much exceeded those of all the other Troops put together. 1849. Feb. 21st.

Captain Warner, with the 1st Troop 3rd Brigade, had at first advanced and engaged the enemy's Cavalry and Batteries at Little Kálra at a long range, but was recalled to meet a demonstration of their Cavalry against our right and rear; while thus employed another body of Horse was observed coming down against the right of General Whish's Division, and Lieutenant C. H. Cookes was ordered by Lieut.-Colonel C. Grant to limber up a half battery and stop them. This was done at once at a gallop, with a strong escort of Cavalry, and Lieutenant Cookes succeeded in first checking their advance and finally breaking the mass up into smaller parties. A glorious opportunity for a charge was here given the Cavalry, which ought to have been taken advantage of. Captain Kinleside's Troop had been ordered from the left of this wing of the army to support Captain Warner. It had a long distance to get over, but was in time to aid with a few rounds.

Whether it was a fragment of this portion of the enemy's Cavalry or not it is hard to say, but after these had been driven back a small body of some fifty men passed along the rear from right to left. The Commander-in-Chief and his Staff were for the greater part of the day in rear of the heavy guns in the centre. Some of the Staff, observing these men galloping in their direction, took them for some of Lieutenant Nicholson's levies in their jungly vestments, marvellously alike to our enemies. Lieutenant H. J. Stannus, with a Troop of the 5th Light Cavalry, the escort, was attacked by them. One or two, and Mr. A. H. Cocks of the Civil Service, who was with the Staff, were wounded,

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1849. Feb. 21st. but Lieutenant Stannus did not let many of them escape to tell of their hardy attempt.

On the left wing the Infantry had little to do but advance as the Artillery in front took up their successive positions. The Bombay Troop, under Major Blood, and the two field batteries drove the enemy back before them. Lieutenant Robertson's junior subaltern, 2nd-Lieutenant E. W. Day, nephew of the gallant officer commanding the heavy batteries of the Multán force, fell in this action.*

The enemy opposed to our left consisted principally of Cavalry, with their Artillery advanced in front. General Thackwell directed Captain Duncan, commanding the left Troop, to advance, which he did "in good style," opening within 600 yards. Captain Huish went to the front in support, and together the twelve guns did good execution upon the enemy. A brilliant charge of a squadron of the 9th Lancers, supported by the Sind Horse, was executed.

Thus the Artillery advanced. The fire of 88 guns so ably directed was more than even better troops than the Sikhs could have borne unflinchingly. As they said themselves, "they were in hell" while it lasted. By half-past eleven o'clock the whole line was advancing, and they in rapid flight, leaving all their camp and nearly all their guns behind. The Cavalry and most of the Horse Artillery followed them up on the roads leading towards Bhimbar in the hills and Jhelum on the line to Peshawar.

Early next day Sir W. Gilbert, as active on horseback as any subaltern in the army, was ordered in pursuit with a strong force of Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery.

The Artillery accompanying consisted of the 2nd and 4th Troops 2nd Brigade and Bombay Horse Artillery, No. 17, and the Bombay Light Field Batteries, a detail of heavy

* Captain Deacon, H.M. 61st, with his company, was covering Captain Ludlow's battery. He says in a letter: "The two young officers with it, Messrs. Salt and Walker, deserved well of their country. Never did I see lads work harder than they did."

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guns with four reserve companies. Major Fordyce, who had lost very heavily, was completed in men and horses. Brigadier Huthwaite, C.B., commanding, and Lieutenant E. Kaye, his Staff Officer. All started at once except the heavy guns and the Native Troop, which followed two days later. The selection of the 9-pounder battery for this service was injudicious; the road was rugged and very difficult, especially over the Bakrala Pass beyond Jhelum, and Major Blood's Troop, with his well-bred small Arab horses, had much the best of it in staying power. The 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade was one of the most distinguished troops in the regiment, and its commander a very able and gallant officer, but weight must tell in rapid and continuous marching. 1849. Feb. 21st.

The force halted at Jhelum to allow the whole to concentrate. Crossing the river by fording was a slow operation, but the Sikhs retreated as Gilbert advanced. On the 9th of March Sher Singh came in, bringing Major George Lawrence, his wife and children, Lieutenants Herbert and Bowie. He said it was no use fighting; the lesson they had learned at Gujarát was not to be forgotten. He offered to send in his guns and the small arms in carts and disband his men, but General Gilbert's reply was firm; they must bring them in themselves and lay them down, or else he would go and take them. The 11th was the day appointed. By the banks of the Jhelum River, near Rawal Pindi, General Gilbert and his Staff awaited the humiliation of the Khalsa Army. The Sirdars came, but Gilbert would not see them until the guns had been first brought in. This was done at 2 o'clock. Next day the Infantry came in, and as they filed before the British General each man flung down his sword and matchlock with many a muttered curse upon the fate that had humbled them before the Feringhi—37 guns, besides 300 or 400 zamburaks, with four more guns subsequently surrendered, 55 taken at Gujarát, 12 at Chiliánwála, 50 at Multán, and 50 in the fort of Govindghar made a total of 208 guns. March.

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1849. March. Dost Muhamad did not remain long on this side of the Indus. Followed up by the indefatigable Gilbert, he passed away from Peshawar into his own country.

And so the last Sikh War ended. A gallant enemy ere long became a faithful servant of the British Government, and a valuable province was added to the Indian dominions of Queen Victoria.

Brigadier-General Wheeler's Operations in the Jullundur Doab.

1848. A force had been detailed in September under Brigadier-General Wheeler commanding at Jullundur for the purpose of operating on the right of the main army to keep down any insurrectionary movements in that part of the Punjab. It had been disturbed by the proceedings of a fanatic, Bhái Maharája Singh, and in the beginning of September one Rám Singh of Nurpur had made an incursion from the hills in the direction of Pathankot, near the modern Sanatarium of Dalhousie.

To prevent the Sikhs from giving us trouble about Amritsar, it was considered necessary to occupy the fort of Govindghar, which, under the terms of the treaty with the Sikh Government, could be done. As it was looked upon as almost sacred by them, it was necessary to proceed with caution, and Brigadier C. Campbell arranged accordingly. Colonel Macsherry took his regiment, the 1st N.I., off duty in Lahore on the afternoon of the 19th of September and marched with it and some Irregular Cavalry that evening for Govindghar, thirty-five miles distant. Mr. A. H. Cocks and Mr. J. Inglis, C.S., rode on a little ahead of the Infantry with a few of the Irregulars, and passed within the gates. The other horsemen came up, and before the garrison well understood it, they were told they were to turn out. The Native Infantry close by had halted for a short time, and remained to refresh themselves, after which they marched into the fort, only two men having fallen out by the way.

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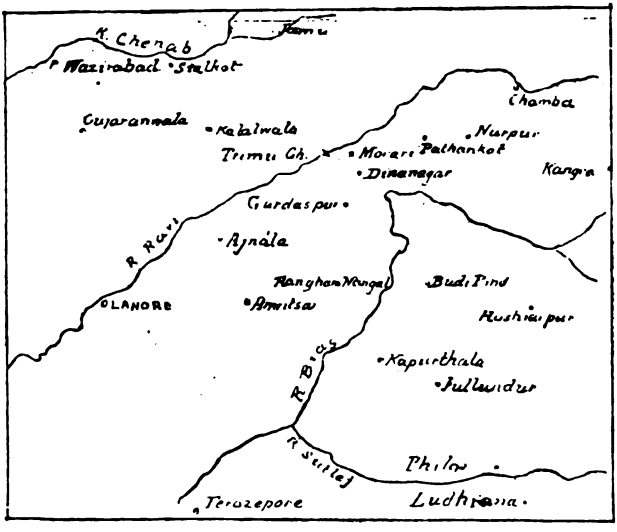
1848.

The Artillery attached to General Wheeler's force were the 2nd and 3rd Troops 1st Brigade H.A., under Majors Waller and Swinley, the 4th Company 6th Battalion, No. 19 H.F.B. (Captain Burnett), and the 6th Company 8th Battalion, No. 15 F.B. (Captain T. H. Sissmore). The latter was being supplied with horses, but was still in bullock draft. Lieutenant E. Atlay acted as Staff Officer.

General Wheeler's force, after moving about the Doab, halted at Budhi Pind, 25 miles north of Jullundur. Moving



from thence, on the 13th of October, he marched across the Bias towards the fort of Ranghar Nangal, which he attacked next day and shelled. It was evacuated during the night. Artillery casualties : one of Captain Sissmore's native gunners wounded. Lieutenant Machell* was deputed to blow up the place.

The column then proceeded against Morari, six miles north-west of Dina Nagar, in the Gurdaspur district, which also was evacuated on the 24th.

* Transferred to the 1st-3rd H.A. in November.

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1848. Thence, General Wheeler, leaving Major Waller's Troop to assist Mr. John Lawrence in keeping order east of the Bias, moved towards the Chenab, where the army of the Punjab was collecting. He was at Eminabad on the 17th of November, but was ordered back towards Jullundur, leaving H.M. 61st and the 36th N.I. with the army. On his way back he captured the fort of Kalálwala, nearly 30 miles east of Gujaránwala, on the 23rd of November, after some resistance by a large body of insurgents.

The force then proceeded to Dina Nagar, where it was encamped for about a month. Its presence there was of essential service to the main army between the Chenab and Jhelum, not only on account of the excited feeling throughout the Punjab, but also because it materially encouraged the villagers to contribute supplies for its support. In January, a small hill chief, Rana Singh, becoming troublesome, was attacked in the lower hills. The paths were blocked up by barriers of cactus stems, difficult to force. Captain Sissmore's guns were not employed here. Some loss was incurred. Lieutenant D. Christie, 7th Light Cavalry, a volunteer with the Infantry, was killed, and Captain W. W. Davidson, 16th I.C., was severely wounded. After this they returned to Jullundur, where the force was broken up at the termination of hostilities.

NOTE.—As this chapter was going through the press, the papers announced the death of Field-Marshal Sir Patrick Grant. Although he was not immediately connected with the Regiment of Bengal Artillery, I had hoped that the portion of this book from 1843 to 1848 might have had the great advantage of his criticism. For there was no one more anxious to vindicate against unjust judgment the character of the gallant old soldier on whose staff he then was; and there is no one now left so capable of pronouncing an opinion upon it.

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General Orders; Army Lists; Muster Rolls.

Papers laid before Parliament.

Correspondence: Sir J. Tennant and Sir G. Brooke.

Journal of Sir G. Brooke.

Letters from officers belonging to most of the batteries and regiments engaged.

"Second Sikh War," by E. J. Thackwell.

"Commentaries on the Punjab Campaign," by J. H. Lawrence-Archer.

"Journal of a Subaltern," by Lieutenant D. A. Sandford.

"Regimental History of the 29th Worcestershire Regiment."

APPENDIX.

A. Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the second Sikh War.

B. Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served at the Battle of Gujarát and pursuit of the Sikh Army.

C. Casualties at Sadulapur.

D. Casualties at Chiliánwála.

E. Casualties at Gujarát.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the second Sikh War, Siege of Multán excepted.

	Ramnagar.	Sadulapur.	Chilianwála.	Gujarát.	Jullundur.	
DIVISIONAL STAFF ARMY.						
Major-Gen. W. S. Whish, C.B.	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant E. B. Johnson ...	p	...	p	p	...	Dep. Judge Adv.-General.
DIVISIONAL STAFF ARTILLERY.						
Brigadier-General J. Tennant ...	...	...	...	...	...	
Lieutenant H. Tombs	p	...	p	p	...	D.A.Q.M.G.
Mr. T. Spencer	...	...	p	p	...	Dy. Assist. Com. Ordnance.
H.Q. 1ST BRIGADE H.A.						
Lieut.-Col. E. Huthwaite, C.B.	...	...	p	p	...	Brig. Commg. F.A.
Major H. Garbett	...	...	...	p	...	
Major J. L. Mowatt	...	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant E. Kaye	...	...	p	p	...	Brigade-Major F.A
Surgeon T. E. Dempster ...	...	...	...	p	...	
Surgeon C. Mackinnon... ...	p	...	p	p	...	
Vet.-Surgeon H. C. Hulse ...	...	...	p	p	...	
Riding-Mr. S. Douglas (Ensign)	...	...	p	p	...	Army Div. Staff Bag.-Mastr.
2nd Troop.						*56th Field Battery.*
Captain R. Waller	...	...	...	...	p	
Lieutenant H. P. de Teissier ...	...	...	p	p	...	Acting-Adjt. 1st Brigade.
Lieutenant S. C. Woodcock ...	...	...	...	...	p	
Lieutenant W. A. Mackinnon...	...	...	...	...	p	
Lieutenant C. H. Blunt ...	...	...	...	...	p	
3rd Troop.						*58th Field Battery.*
Captain G. Swinley	...	...	...	...	p	
Lieutenant R. M. Paton ...	...	...	...	...	p	
Lieutenant E. Atlay	...	...	...	...	p	
Lieutenant J. Oldfield	...	...	...	...	p	
2nd-Lieutenant J. S. Frith ...	...	...	...	...	p	
Assist.-Surg. J. F. Beatson, M.D., A.B.	...	...	...	...	p	
4th Troop.						*Reduced* 1862.
Captain M. Mackenzie	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant J. Mill	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant F. W. Swinhoe ...	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant A. Bunny	...	...	...	p	...	
2nd-Lieut. J. Y. Worthington...	...	...	...	p	...	
Assistant-Surgeon D. McRae ...	...	...	...	p	...	
2ND BRIGADE, H.A.						
Lieut.-Colonel G. Brooke, C.B.	p	...	p	p	...	
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel F. Brind ...	p	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant C. V. Cox	...	...	p	p	...	Brigade-Major H.A.
Surgeon G. G. Brown, M.D. ...	...	...	p	p	...	
Vet.-Surgeon J. Siddall ...	...	...	p	p	...	
Riding-Master C. Connolly ...	...	...	p	p	...	

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NOTE A—*continued.*

	Ramnagar.	Sadulapur.	Chiliánwála.	Gujarát.	Jullundur.	
1st Troop.						*K., R.H.A.*
Captain A. Huish	...	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant R. R. Bruce ...	p	...	p	p	...	Acting-Adjt. 2nd Brigade.
Lieutenant H. A. Olpherts ...	p	...	p	p	...	A.D.C. to Brig.-Gen. Tennant.
Lieutenant J. Angelo	...	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant J. E. Watson ...	...	p	p	p	...	Doing duty from 3-1 F.A.
Lieutenant G. R. Brown ...	...	p	p	p	...	
Assist.-Surgeon D. Scott, M.D.	p	p	p	p	...	
2nd Troop.						*52nd Field Battery.*
Captain J. Fordyce	...	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant P. Christie	...	...	...	p	...	Dep. Assist. Commy. Ordce.
Lieutenant S. W. Stokes ...	...	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant G. Maister	...	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant J. R. Sladen ...	...	...	...	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant W. Delane ...	...	...	p	p	...	
3rd Troop.						*2nd Co. 2nd Depôt Div.*
Bt.-Major E. Christie	...	p	p	...	...	Died of wounds received at Chiliánwála.
Captain R. R. Kinleside ...	...	p	...	p	...	
Lieutenant H. Le G. Bruce ...	...	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant C. Cookworthy ...	...	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant W. A. Mylne ...	...	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant A. Darling	...	p	p	p	...	
Assist.-Surg. H. W. Rumley ...	p	p	p	p	...	
4th Troop.						*Reduced April*, 1882.
Captain F. K. Duncan	...	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant A. P. Simons ...	...	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant J. A. Manson ...	...	...	p	...	...	Killed in action, Chiliánwála.
Lieutenant W. M. Gowan ...	...	...	p	p	...	
Assist.-Surg. H. B. Buckle ...	...	...	p	p	...	
3RD BRIGADE H.A.						
Bt.-Lieut.-Col. C. Grant, C.B. ...	p	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant J. Abercrombie ...	p	...	p	p	...	D.A.A.G.A.
Surgeon G. Craigie, M.D. ...	...	p	p	p	...	
Vet.-Surg. C. Turner	...	p	p	p	...	
1st Troop.						*L., R.H.A.*
Bt.-Lieut.-Col. H. M. Lawrence, C.B.	...	...	p	...	...	Political Employ.
Captain W. K. Warner ...	p	p	...	...	...	
Lieutenant G. H. Clifford ...	p	p	...	...	...	
Lieutenant A. Pearson	p	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant C. H. Cookes ...	p	p	p	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant L. Machell ...	...	...	p	p	...	

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NOTE A—*continued.*

	Ramnagar.	Sadulapur.	Chilianwala.	Gujarát.	Jullundur.	
2nd Troop.						*57th Field Battery.*
Bt.-Lieut.-Col. J. T. Lane, C.B....	p	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant G. Moir	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant E. A. C. D'Oyly ...	p	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant J. S. Tulloh ...	p	...	p	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant A. O. Mayne ...	...	...	p	p	...	
Assist.-Surg. G. F. Thompson, M.D.	...	...	...	...	...	
4th Troop.						
Captain J. Anderson	...	...	...	p	...	Killed in action at Gujarát
Lieutenant F. Alexander ...	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant H. Francis	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant R. Mecham ...	...	...	...	p	...	
1ST BATTALION.						
Lieut.-Colonel A. Wilson ...	...	...	...	...	p	
1st Company No. 10 H.F.B.						*21st Field Battery.*
Captain E. G. Austin	...	p	...	p	...	Severely wounded at Sadulapur.—With heavy guns at Gujarát.
Lieutenant A. Robertson ...	...	p	p	p	...	Doing duty G.O. Dec 11. Transferred from 1-4 G.O. Dec. 28.
Lieutenant A. H Heath ...	...	p	p	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant E. W. Day ...	...	...	...	p	...	Killed in action at Gujarát
3rd Company No. 17 H.F.B.						*53rd Field Battery.*
Captain M. Dawes	...	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant C. S. Dundas ...	p	...	p	p	...	From 2-7.
Lieutenant E. J. Goodridge ...	...	...	p	p	...	
2nd Company 2nd Battalion.						*9th Mountain Battery.*
Lieutenant W. K. Fooks ...	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant J. F. Raper ...	...	...	...	p	...	
3RD BATTALION.						
Major E. F. Day	...	...	...	p	...	
3rd Company.						*14th Co. Southern Div.*
Captain E. P. Master	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant C. V. Bowie ...	...	...	...	...	...	Prisoner in hands of Shé Singh.
Lieutenant D. J. F. Newall ...	...	...	...	p	...	Adjt. left wing 3rd Batt.
Lieutenant H. P. Bishop ...	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant F. R. De Bude ...	...	...	...	p	...	Doing duty from 1-5.
2nd-Lieutenant W. F. Quayle...	...	...	...	p	...	

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NOTE A—*continued.*

	Ramnagar.	Sadulapur.	Chilianwala.	Gujrát.	Jullundur.	
4th Company.						*36th Field Battery.*
Lieutenant W. Miller	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant J. Hunter	...	...	...	p	...	
Lieutenant J. C. Simons ...	...	...	...	p	...	
4TH BATTALION.						
Major R. Horsford	...	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant C. A. Wheelwright	...	...	p	p	...	
Surgeon E. Tritton	...	p	p	p	...	
1st Company (Heavy Battery).						*2nd Mountain Battery.*
Captain Sir R. C. Shakespear, Kt.	...	...	p	p	...	
Captain C. Hogge	...	...	p	p	...	Commy. of Ordnance.
Lieutenant G. Holland ...	...	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant H. Montgomery ...	...	...	p	p	...	
Lieutenant C. Dempster ...	...	...	p	p	...	
2nd Company (Heavy Battery).						*4th Mountain Battery.*
Bt.-Major E. H. Ludlow ...	...	...	p	...	...	Transferred to 3-7.
2nd-Lieutenant E. J. Goodridge	...	...	p	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant W. A. Ross ...	...	...	p	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant E. Simeon ...	...	...	p	p	...	
4th Company, Detachment.						*6th Co. Eastern Div.*
Lieutenant W. J. Gray... ...	...	...	p	p	...	With heavy guns.
2nd-Lieutenant W. Dickson ...	...	...	p	p	...	
4th Co. 6th Batt. No. 19 H.F.B.						*Reduced* 1871.
Captain F. C. Burnett	...	...	...	...	p	
2nd-Lieutenant A. W. Pixley ...	...	...	...	...	p	
2nd-Lieutenant W. T. Brown ...	...	...	...	...	p	
3rd Co. 7th Batt. No 5 H.F.B.						*Native—Reduced* 1862.
Captain R. R Kinleside... ...	...	p	...	...	...	
Bt.-Major E. H. Ludlow ...	...	...	...	p	...	From 2-4.
Lieutenant E. W. E. Walker ...	...	p	p	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant T. H. Salt ...	...	p	p	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant R. Murray ...	...	...	p	...	...	
6th Co. 8th Batt. No. 15 F.B.						*Native—Reduced* 1862.
Captain T. H. Sissmore ...	...	...	...	...	p	
2nd-Lieutenant T. Presant ...	...	...	...	...	p	
2nd-Lieutenant J. H. Lamb ...	...	...	...	...	p	
Captain James Abbott	...	...	...	...	...	In political charge Hazára District.
Lieut. W. Hay, 1st Co. 3rd Batt.	...	...	...	p	...	From Malwa Contingent Artillery.

Received Punjab medal as part of Lahore Garrison :—

3rd Troop, 3rd Brigade H.A.

Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel G. Campbell.
Lieutenant F. F. Remmington.
Lieutenant H. J. B. Macleod.
Lieutenant D. McNeill.

2nd-Lieutenant B. R. Williams—Doing duty from 3-7.

1st Company 6th Battalion.

Bt.-Captain H. M. Conran.
Lieutenant T. H. Bosworth.

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NOTE B.

Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served with the Army of the Punjab in the battle of Gujarát, and pursuit of the Sikh Army to Peshawur.

Brigadier J. S. Leeson, Commanding.
Lieutenant William Stevenson, Bde. Major.

3rd Troop H.A.—Q., R.H.A.
Major C. Blood.
Lieutenant D. McDougall.
2nd-Lieutenant A. Blunt.
2nd-Lieutenant C. E. H. Cotes.
Lieutenant J. G. Lightfoot—Doing duty.

2nd Co. 1st Batt. and Field Battery, 15th Field Battery R.A.
Captain S. Turnbull.
Lieutenant J. Hamilton.
,, D. G. Anderson.
,, W. H. J. Henderson.
,, C. E. Allom.

NOTE C.

Return of casualties in action at Sadulapur, December 3rd, 1848.

	Killed.			Wounded.					
	Sergeants.	Rank and File.	Horses.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Rank and File.	Syce Drivers.	Syces.	Horses.
1st Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.	1	1	3	1	1	1	...	...	2
3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
1st Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.	...	4	8	...	...	7	...	...	4
1st Co. 1st Batt. No. 10 L.F.B.	...	...	2	1	...	2	...	...	...
3rd Co. 7th Batt. No. 5 L.F.B.	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	1	2
	1	5	14	2	1	10	2	1	10

Names of Officers wounded—Captain E. G. Austin, 1st Com. 1st Batt. severely; Lieutenant J. E. Watson, 1st Troop 2nd Bde. H.A.

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NOTE D.

Return of Casualties in the Artillery Divison, Chiliánwála, 13th January, 1894. Dated 17th January.

	Killed.						Wounded.							Missing.		
	Officers.	Non.-Com. Officers.	Rank and File.	Lascars.	Syces.	Horses.	Officers.	Non.-Com. Officers.	Trumpeters.	Rank and File.	Lascars.	Syces.	Horses.	Rank and File.	Syces.	Horses.
1st. Troop 2nd Bde. H.A.	...	...	5	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	...	2	1	...	22
2nd Troop 2nd Bde. H.A.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	2
3rd Troop 2nd Bde H.A.	...	1	6	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	3	1	...	1	6	31
4th Troop 2nd Bde. H.A.	1	...	...	...	1	6	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	4
1st Troop 3rd Bde. H.A.	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
2nd Troop 3rd Bde. H.A.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
1st Co. 1st Batt. No. 10 L.F.B.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
3rd Co. 1st Batt. No 17 L.F.B.	...	...	...	...	...	3	2	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	1
1st Co. 4th Batt.	...	...	1	..	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
2nd Co. 4th Batt.	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
4th Co. 4th Batt.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
3rd Co. 7th Batt. No 5 L.F.B.	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	5	...	...	1	...	...	1
Park Establishment	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	1	2	14	1	1	11	3	1	1	28	8	1	7	2	6	61

Names of Officers killed or wounded—4th Troop 2nd Bde. H.A., Lieut. J. A. Manson, killed; 3rd Troop 2nd Bde., Capt. (Bd.-Major) E. Christie, wounded, very dangerously (since dead); 3rd Co. 1st Batt., Capt. M. Dawes, slightly wounded; Lieut. C. E. Dundas, severely wounded.

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NOTE E.

Return of Casualties in the Artillery Division, Gujarát, 21st February, 1848.

	Killed.								Wounded.										Missing.	
	Officers.	Non-Com. Officers.	Rank and File	Lascars.	Syce Drivers.	Syces.	Horses.	Bullocks.	Officers.	Native Officers	Non-Com. Officers.	Trumpeters.	Rank and File.	Lascars.	Syce Drivers.	Syces.	Horses.	Bullocks.	Syces.	Horses.
General Staff	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4th Troop 1st Brigade H.A.	...	...	3	...	...	1	17	...	...	1	...	...	5	2	...	5	11	...	...	...
2nd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.	...	...	7	1	...	...	25	...	...	...	1	1	17	4	...	...	13	...	...	...
3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.	...	...	...	...	...	1	7	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
4th Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
1st Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.	...	...	...	...	. .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
2nd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.	...	...	1	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	2	...	3	...	...	1	1	...	...	2
4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.	1	1	6	1	...	...	16	...	...	...	1	...	4	1	...	1	6	...	...	1
1st Company 1st Batt. No. 10 L.F.B.	1	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	3	...	...	1
3rd Company 1st Batt. No. 17 L.F.B.	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
3rd Company 3rd Battalion	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
4th Company 3rd Battalion	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	....	...	...	...	2	1	3	...	...	...	...	...
1st Company 4th Battalion	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
4th Company 4th Battalion	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3rd Company 7th Batt. No. 5 L.F.B.	...	...	...	...	1	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Total	2	1	20	2	1	3	87	10	2	1	4	2	50	10	8	7	37	...	1	6

Killed—Captain J. Anderson, 4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.; 2nd-Lieutenant E. W. Day, 1st Co. 1st Batt.
Wounded—Provost-Marshal S. Budd, General Staff, severely; Captain Bt.-Major Sir R. Shakespear, 1st Co. 4th Batt.

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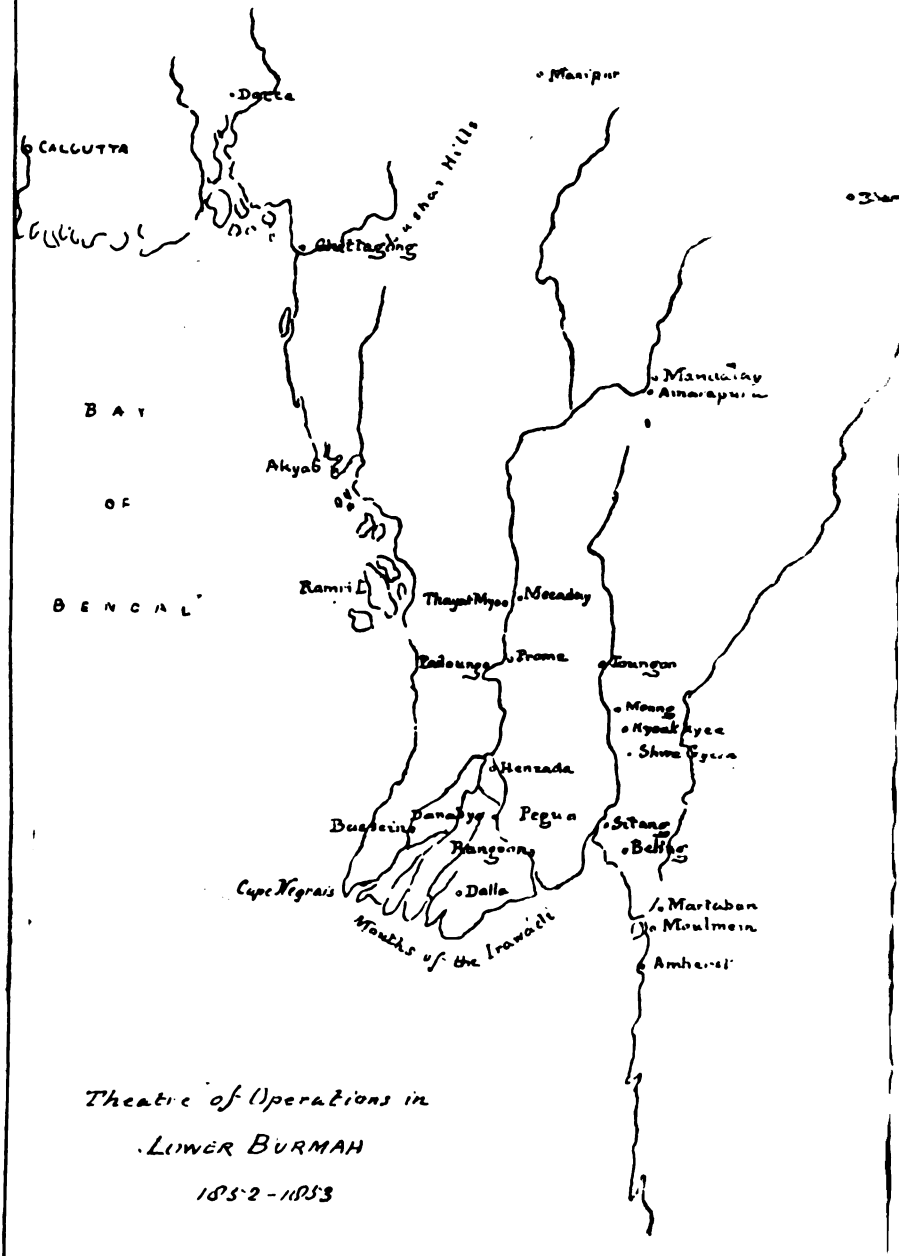

Theatre of Operations in

LOWER BURMAH

1852-1853

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CHAPTER VIII.

SECOND BURMESE WAR, 1852-53.

FORCES SENT FROM BENGAL AND MADRAS—Attack on Rangoon—Bassein Captured—Re-brigading of the Force—Prome Occupied—Expedition to Pegu—Pegu invested by Burmese—Relieved—Province of Pegu Annexed to British Dominions—Cleared of Burmese Troops—Shwe-gyeen—Expedition against Mya Toon—Its Difficulties and Successful Termination—Army Broken Up.

THE insolence of the Burmese, which had for some years been increasing, materially interfered with our trade at Rangoon. Commodore Lambert, who had been stationed off the mouth of the river for its protection, was on the 6th of January, 1852, obliged to place the rivers of Rangoon, Bassein, and Salween in a state of blockade. On the 9th the Commodore sailed up towards the town of Rangoon and was fired on as he passed the stockades which the Burmese had on each side, which accordingly were bombarded by H.M. frigate *Fox*, H.M.S. *Hermes*, and H.M.S. *Phlegethon*. Thus the war was begun, and the English merchants with their families were removed from the town. 1852.

A combined force from Bengal and Madras was sent under command of Major-General H. Godwin, C.B.

The Bengal Column was commanded by Brigadier G. Warren, and consisted at first of one company of Artillery, one European and two Native regiments of Infantry. Brevet-Major Reid, with the 2nd Company 5th Battery, a wing of H.M. 80th Regiment, and the 40th N.I. had embarked at the end of March. Lieutenant A. Robertson was Deputy Commissary of Ordnance; Major H. Fraser was Commanding Engineer; Lieutenants E. C. S. Williams, L.

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1852. Donaldson, A. Craster, and W. S. Trevor were Assistant Field Engineers. A wing of H.M. 18th Regiment had gone the previous month to Moulmain. It proceeded to Rangoon in the end of March.

The Madras force was commanded by Brigadier W. H. Elliot, K.H., and consisted of:—

Artillery.

D Company 2nd Batt. Captain C. J. Cooke.
D Company 3rd Batt. Brevet-Major H. Montgomery.
A Company 4th Batt. Captain A. F. Oakes.

Engineers.

Captain J. W. Rundall; Lieutenants B. Ford (N.I.), H. Allen, H. Mackintosh (N.I.), 2nd-Lieutenants, G. Dennison, E. R. Blagrave, and J. O. Mayne. A and E Companies Sappers and Miners.

Infantry.

H.M. 51st King's Own Light Infantry, 5th, 9th, and 35th N.I.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. S. Foord, of the 4th Battalion, was placed in general command of the Artillery. His Brigade-Major was Captain J. D. Scott. Major Oakes had given up the post of Director of the Depôt of Instruction, and Major Montgomery a Civil Commissionership in Mysore to take their share of service.

Three companies of Artillery, the 18th Royal Irish, and a Native Infantry Regiment had been sent from Calcutta; three companies of Artillery, the 51st K.O. Light Infantry, and 2nd N.I. from Madras, and arrived off the Rangoon
April. River in the beginning of April. General Godwin and Rear-Admiral C. J. Austen, C.B., left for Martaban on the 3rd, arriving there on the 5th. A storming party under Colonel Reignolds, 18th R.I., attacked and carried the place, and the force were back in the Rangoon River on the 8th.

Captain T. Latter, 67th B.N.I., who from his intimate acquaintance with the Burmese language acted as inter-

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preter to the General, was sent up with a flag of truce in the *Proserpine*, but was fired upon while passing the stockade; wherefore the ships with troops on board moved up and opened fire upon the Rangoon and Dalla stockades, capturing the latter. 1852. April.

Next day the troops landed on the Rangoon side in two columns. The right consisted of the 18th and 51st Regiments on either flank, the 40th Bengal N.I. in the centre. The Sappers and Miners with ladders were in rear of the left, the Artillery in rear of the column itself. The left column landed as boats were available. It consisted of the 9th and 35th Madras N.I. with a wing of the 80th in centre.

The General, with the right column, moved on to attack the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda. The road led up from the river through the new town to the south gate. The enemy, however, opened fire from the White House stockade, so called from a house in its front. The General was in advance with Colonel Foord, Major Turton, Brigade-Major Scott, and four guns of the 2nd Company 5th Battalion under Bt.-Major Reid. These were unlimbered at 800 yards, and continued in action until their ammunition, of which they had a somewhat limited supply, was expended. Major Oakes, with the two 24-pounder howitzers of his battery,* continued the fire until his was also expended. He was himself disabled by sunstroke, which was very fatal this day. His 9-pounder guns joined, and then two divisions of D-3 with Major Montgomery and Lieutenant Laurie.

A storming party of four companies of the 51st, with Sappers, was then sent forward, and after a severe struggle carried the stockade. The casualties this day were numerous. Captain Blundell, 51st Regiment, died of his wounds. Lieutenants Donaldson and Trevor, Engineers, wounded, the former mortally. Brigade-Major Griffiths, April 12th.

* They had not adopted in Madras the recommendation of the Committee of 1836, and exchanged one of the howitzers for a gun.

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1852. April 12th. Madras Division, and Major Oakes,* Artillery, died of sunstroke. Brigadier Warren, Colonel Foord, Artillery, and Colonel St. Maur, 51st, were disabled by the great heat.

April 14th. Four 8-inch howitzers were brought into camp next day, and on the 14th the Great Pagoda was attacked. H.M.'s 80th Regiment with four guns of A-4 under Major Montgomery was in advance. On coming within range of the Pagoda and its defences, from which a fire was opened, two of the guns under Major Montgomery were moved to the left, the two others to the right, leaving the centre for the heavy howitzers, served by a company of the Bengal Artillery, which were being dragged up by 120 men of the Naval Brigade under Lieutenant Dorville of H.M.S. *Fox*. Major Back superintended the fire of these guns, which was very effective. Lieutenant St. G. Ashe, with a 24-pounder howitzer on the left of the heavy howitzers, dislodged some of the enemy from bushes in front. It was 10 a.m. when the howitzers came into action. At 11.30 Captain Latter told the General that the east entrance of the Pagoda had been cleared by their fire, and volunteered to lead the storming party. It was formed of the wing of the 80th under Major Lockhart, two companies 18th Royal Irish under Lieutenant Hewitt, and two of the 40th Bengal N.I. under Lieutenant White; Colonel Coote, 18th, commanding the whole. The assault was well delivered, and the Pagoda was taken. The loss in the operations of the 11th, 12th, and 14th was 17 killed, 132 wounded. In the Artillery, there were: Bengal, 1 sergeant killed, 6 sergeants wounded; Madras,

* "G.O. Fort St. George, 11th May, 1852. In nominating a successor to Major Oakes as Director of the Artillery Depôt of Instruction, the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council desires to express the deep regret with which he has received the report of that officer's death.

"Major Oakes' whole course of service was distinguished by the singular activity and unceasing labour with which he devoted himself to every subject belonging to his profession, rendering his death a loss not only to his immediate regiment, but to the service at large.

"Major Oakes died, as he had lived, in the energetic discharge of his duty."

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1 sergeant killed, 1 sergeant, 1 lascar and 3 Syce-drivers wounded. This does not include casualties by sunstroke, Colonel Foord being laid up from this cause. Major Turton commanded on this day. Ninety-two pieces of ordnance were captured; of these 60 were 3-pounders or smaller—82 jingals on wooden carriages also were taken. 1852. April 14th.

The capture of Rangoon was followed by that of Bassein on the 19th of May, but the Artillery were not employed here. A detachment of the 51st Regiment (which had four officers wounded) and of the 9th Madras N.I. (one officer wounded), and 60 Sappers under Lieutenant Ford, with a party of Marines (Lieutenant Rice, R.N., wounded) formed the force. Lieutenant Craster, Bengal Engineers, was on this service and was mentioned in dispatches.

During the next four months the heat prevented further operations. In the end of August a fresh brigading of the Bengal troops took place (G.G.O. August 24th). The 1st Brigade, H.M. 18th, 40th and 67th N.I., was under Brigadier T. S. Reignolds, C.B., Colonel Warren having been obliged to go home from the effects of sunstroke. The 2nd Brigade, H.M. 80th, 10th N.I., and 4th Sikh Infantry, was under Brigadier T. Dickinson, 10th N.I. The 3rd Brigade, 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, 37th N.I., and the Regiment of Ludhiána, was under Brigadier G. Huish, C.B., 37th N.I. The whole of the Bengal contingent under Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape, K.C.B., Bengal Engineers.

Major Hugh Montgomery, of the Madras Artillery, had died at Calcutta on the 4th of June. Rear-Admiral Austen, Naval Commander-in-Chief, died on board H.M.S. *Pluto* on the 7th of October.

In September, General Godwin, with H.M. 18th and 80th and 35th M.N.I., left for Prome. A-4 and part of D-2 Madras Artillery were ordered for this service under Captains Mein and Cooke.* Prome was reached on the 9th of October.

* Subalterns, Lieutenants Hitchins and Robertson, 2nd-Lieutenants Bridge, Blair, and Lloyd (Lieutenant Laurie). General Godwin only mentions one company in his dispatch of October 12th.

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1852. April 14th. Under cover of the shell from the boats under Captain Loch, R.N., the 80th Regiment and two guns landed, and the lower town was cleared. Next day Colonel Coote, with the 18th and 35th M.N.I., landed, and the enemy having evacuated, possession was taken. Major Reid, with half the 2nd Company 5th Battalion, arrived soon after with half his field battery.* General Godwin returned to Rangoon, leaving Brigadier-General Sir J. Cheape in command at Prome.

The town of Pegu had been taken early in June by a small force under Major Cotton, 67th B.N.I., but General Godwin could not then hold the place. Another expedition was sent in November under Brigadier Malcolm McNeill, of November. the Madras Cavalry. The force consisted of 300 of the Bengal, 300 of the Madras Fusiliers, 400 of the 5th Madras N.I., and two guns under Captain Z. M. Mallock. They proceeded up the river in four of the Company's river steamers, and disembarked below Pegu on Sunday morning, the 21st, on the left bank. The sun was very hot, and there was dense jungle to be penetrated. The advance was continued for four hours, the progress being slow, and working parties were clearing away. This was under fire. At 9.45 a column of attack was formed. The two Fusilier Regiments charged over the ditch and the town was taken. Captain Mallock's two guns had covered the advance and assault. After a rest the great Pagoda to the north of the town was stormed by 160 of the Bengal and a similar number of the Madras Fusiliers. Captain Mallock was among the officers thanked on this occasion. General Godwin, who was present, returned to Rangoon, leaving a garrison at Pegu under command of Major Hill, Madras Fusiliers, of four hundred men with a small detail of Artillery and two guns under Lieutenant M. James and Lieutenant J. D. Campbell, Bengal Engineers.

* Subalterns, 2nd-Lieutenants Willoughby, Ashe, Dobbin, and Lewes. The other half, with 2nd-Lieutenants Anderson and Fraser, joined from Rangoon soon after.

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1852. December.

The Burmese, finding the force so small, soon invested the place, and from December 6th the small garrison was kept continually on the alert. Major Hill reported his position to the General, and asked for more ammunition. Commander Shadwell, H.M.S. *Sphinx*, left with seven boats armed with field howitzers and two cargo boats with Captain Mallock and twelve Artillerymen on board; but they found the place invested by such numbers of the enemy that they did not succeed in communicating with Major Hill. The Artillery had a sergeant and a gunner killed; a bugler and four gunners wounded.

General Godwin accordingly went up the river with a strong force, some Bengal and Madras Fusiliers, the 4th Sikh Infantry, and some of the 10th Bengal N.I.; while another under Colonel Sturt, 67th B.N.I., consisting of part of C Troop H.A., some Sappers, and the 67th N.I., proceeded by land. General Godwin reached the village of Lomensidi on the 13th, landed the troops, advanced next day, and, after a fatiguing morning, drove back the Burmese and entered the Pagoda, which Major Hill had been holding. Dec. 14th.

On the 16th, though Colonel Sturt's force had not arrived, General Godwin went with about 123 men to attack the enemy in the direction of Shwe-gyeen, but they did not show fight, and he returned to Rangoon, leaving a larger garrison at Pegu.

On the 30th, the notification by the Governor-General annexing the province of Pegu to the British dominions was published. The fifth paragraph of the Proclamation began: "Such Burman troops as may still remain in the Province shall be driven out." In the arrangements for the Civil Government of the Province, Captain H. T. Berdmore, Lieutenants G. Dangerfield and J. S. Baird were placed on the Commission. Dec. 16th.

1853.

In conformity with these orders, Brigadier-General Steel, C.B., directed a force to embark for Martaban under his personal command. It embarked on the 4th, and consisted January 4th.

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1853. Jan. 4th. of D-3 Madras Artillery under Lieutenant Laurie, detachments Bengal and Madras Fusiliers, and A wings of the 10th B.N.I. and 5th M.N.I., some Ramghar Cavalry, and a company of Sappers. At Martaban Lieutenant Purvis with A-2 Artillery had been stationed since the previous April. Lieutenant J. S. Baird, 2nd-Lieutenants E. M. Playfair, C. L. Yeoman, and Murray Stuart were attached. Colonel Anstruther, C.B., commanded the Artillery.

The force, consisting of about 2,100 men, left Martaban on the 14th, and came in contact with the enemy at Kyouk-ye-dwing, four miles from Martaban. Lieutenant Purvis, with two howitzers,* and 2nd-Lieutenant Onslow, with rockets, cleared the jungle. On the 18th, General Steel advanced to Gungoh, where the enemy had thrown up a breastwork covered with abattis and sharp stakes. The Artillery did the work, and Major Seaton, at the head of a storming party of the Bengal Fusiliers, attacked, but found no one to slay inside.

February. On the 14th of June the force marched along the coast and up the Sitang River, reaching Sitang on the 3rd of February, and thence on to Shwe-gyeen, reached on the 11th. No opposition was encountered, for the Court of Ava had begun to see their inability to fight. It was, however, deemed necessary by General Steel to make a further advance.

A light column of about 900 men was sent on the 15th. Colonel Anstruther proceeded in command of the Artillery, D-3, Lieutenants Bridge and Lloyd with it. Toungoo, on the Sitang River, was reached in eight marches on the 22nd, and here General Steel remained until negotiations for peace had begun. Lieutenant A. Fraser, Bengal Engineers, was with this force.

Peace had not come as yet. Dacoity was then, as now, a regular institution in Burmah, and when regular fighting was at an end, a guerilla warfare took its place. A noted

* Drawn by bullocks, an animal against which Lieutenant Laurie in his work on this campaign enters a protest.

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1853. February.

robber chieftain, by name Mya Toon, kept the country about Danabyo hot, and an expedition under Captain Loch, C.B., H.M.S. *Winchester*, was sent up the river against him. Besides 185 Seamen, and 62 Marines, there were 300 of the 67th N.I., under Major Minchin. They had advanced some twenty-five miles beyond Danabyo, through an almost impenetrable jungle, with a contracted front owing to the density of the vegetation and lines of sharp stakes on either side of the way, but saw no enemy till they came to a steep nullah, the perpendicular banks of which were about thirty feet deep. Unable to leave the path either to right or left, they suddenly found themselves under a heavy fire from a masked stockade on the opposite bank, while shots from the trees above and the jungle told with fatal effect. In a very short time Lieutenant Kennedy, H.M.S. *Fox*, was killed, Captain Loch and Captain Price, 67th N.I., were mortally wounded, and after losing in killed and wounded eighty-two men, the party had to retire, which was done in a very creditable manner, two companies of the 67th in rear.

It became necessary, therefore, to put down this Mya Toon. Meanwhile, a revolution had broken out at Ava. It was the opinion of the King's brother and heir and many others that the Lord of the White Elephant had put the Golden Foot into it, and the end was that the old King was deposed. The new one was not disposed to carry on hostilities. Mya Toon not representing the Burmese Government, Brigadier-General Cheape left Prome on the 18th February with a selected force for Danabyo—200 of the 18th under Major Wigston ; 200 of the 51st under Captain Irby ; a company 67th B.N.I. under Captain Hicks ; 200 of the 4th Sikhs under Major Armstrong ; 70 Sappers under Lieutenants Mullins and Trevor ; and a howitzer, and a gun and howitzer under Major C. S. Reid, with Lieutenants Ashe and Dobbin, and Lieutenant J. R. Magrath, with some rockets served by dismounted Horse Artillerymen.

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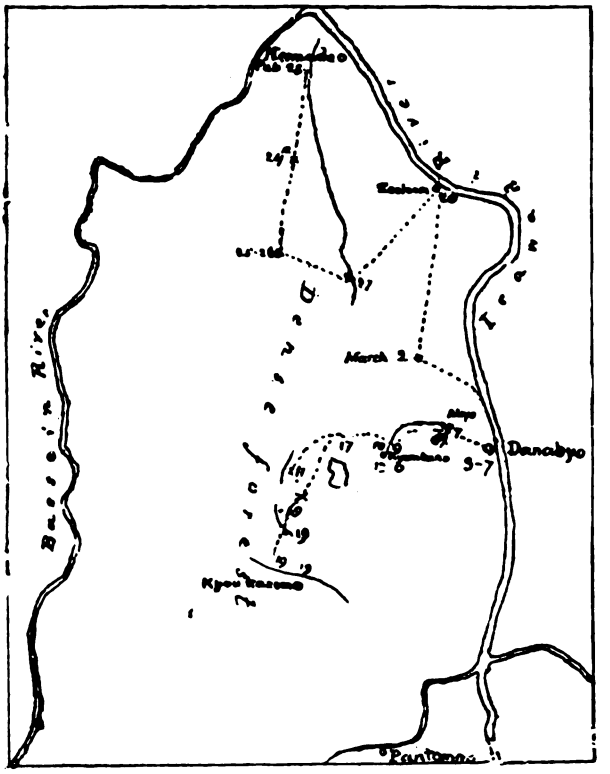
1853. February. Sir John Cheape landed from the Irawadi at Henzadah, about thirty-five miles north of Danabyo. Here Captain Singleton of the 51st joined. The delta between the Bassein and Irawadi Rivers was for the most part covered with forest, and no one except the inhabitants knew the paths that led to the robber's village of Khyoukazeen. It was



said to be only four days' march distant, so not more than about seven days' provisions were taken. The route taken will best be understood by referring to the accompanying sketch, copied from one in Lieutenant Laurie's narrative. After going in a southerly direction, it was thought advis-

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able to regain the Irawadi River, and the direction was changed north-east, to Zooloom. Here on the 1st of March Lieutenant F. W. Graham joined with a detachment of the Irregular Cavalry of the Ramghar Battalion, and the troops which had embarked in the steamers went down to Danabyo, while the battery horses, carts, etc., were escorted on land by 200 men, Royal Irish and Sikhs, and the Cavalry. 1853. March.

Danabyo had been burned some time before by Mya Toon, but the Pagoda sheltered the Native troops while the Europeans remained on board till the 6th, when a further reinforcement arrived from Rangoon consisting of 130 men of the 80th, under Major Holdich, 300 of the 67th B.N.I. under Colonel Sturt, and two mortars under Lieutenant J. Percival, and a large supply of commissariat stores in charge of Lieutenant Mackellar, Madras Service.

On the 7th, then, Sir John Cheape moved forward, Major Wigston commanding the advance detachments of the 18th and 80th Regiments and 4th Sikhs; Colonel Sturt commanded the left wing in rear; the Artillery in the centre. At Akyo, seven miles from Danabyo, the enemy opened fire from the other side of a broad nullah and kept up a random fire during the night. The 8th was taken up, getting over the nullah. Next day, owing to the guides misleading them, the force found itself at the end of a fatiguing march back at the point from which it had started, and it only proceeded a short distance on to the village of Kyomtano, on the banks of another nullah. This was bridged on the 10th, and on the 11th they passed through a dense forest, meeting with some troublesome attacks in front and rear, in which Lieutenant Clarke, 67th B.N.I., and one of the Rifles were wounded; the rear guard having a Sepoy killed, a private and six Sepoys wounded. This was a very weary march, and one of the Sepoys died of cholera. The absence of information was a most serious difficulty, and the supply of food was failing, wherefore Sir John Cheape went back to Kyomtano. Here they halted till the 16th; several more cases of cholera

March 9th.

March 11th.

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1853. March 11th. occurred. Colonel Sturt went to Danabyo, and returned with a food supply for ten days more.

A small stockade was constructed at Kyomtano, and a detachment under Lieutenant Dickson, 51st, left in charge with the sick and surplus stores. Information of the route was procured.

March 17th. On the evening of the 17th, Major Wigston, with the right wing, 18th, 80th, and 4th Sikh Regiments, was sent on by a road leading northward from Kyomtano, and turning round to the left to take post near a large lake, and clear a way. This he did successfully, removing abattis and making paths round felled trees.

March 18th. Next day, Sir John Cheape, with the left wing, 51st K.O.L.I. and 67th N.I. under Lieut.-Colonel Sturt, followed by the guns and Irregular Cavalry, followed and passed the left wing; their course being now south-west. Overcoming the serious obstacles, they got about noon to a piece of water, where the force halted for an hour. It took two hours to get a mile further on, and the enemy were close at hand. They had constructed a breastwork of trees and branches, and opened fire, but it was only possible to judge of their position by the direction from which it came. The guns and rockets were brought to bear upon them, and as soon as a path had been cleared, a charge was ordered. The 51st and the 67th N.I. carried the work most gallantly, Captain Singleton, of the former, leading the advance. Ensign Boileau, 67th, was killed while attacking the enemy on our left. A gun, which appeared the only one, was taken, and the force encamped about a mile further on.

March 19th. Next day the General marched at 7 a.m., the right wing leading. Another breastwork was encountered a mile further on. The 80th formed the advance, the Sappers clearing the road. The rockets opened fire, and the guns followed. The fire on both sides was very heavy, and there were several casualties. Lieutenant Magrath and Conductor T. Lisbey were both wounded, the latter dangerously. He died of his wound on the 25th. A 24-pounder

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howitzer and a 9-pounder gun were brought up close to the breastwork, dragged up by men of the 51st. They kept up an effective fire at twenty-five yards, and Major Reid was severely wounded, after which Lieutenant Ashe was in charge, assisted by Lieutenant Dobbin. Lieutenant Cockburn, of the 18th R.I., was very severely wounded, and died on the 21st. In the attacks by the Infantry, Ensign Wolseley leading a part of the 80th, Lieutenant Taylor, M.N.I., doing duty with the 51st, were wounded, the latter mortally. The attack succeeded, led by Sergeant Preston, 51st, and Sergt.-Major Irwin, 80th, after the other two officers had fallen. Lieutenant Trevor, Engineers, entered along with them and was slightly wounded. Besides those already mentioned, Major Wigston, 18th, Lieutenant Wilson, 80th, Lieutenant Clarke, 67th, Major Armstrong and Lieutenant Rawlins of the Sikhs were severely, Lieutenant Woodright, 18th, and Assistant-Surgeon Murphy, 80th, slightly wounded. 1853. March 19th.

In his dispatch of the 25th of March, the General mentions Major Reid, Lieutenants Magrath, Ashe, and Dobbin, and Conductor Lisbey in terms of high commendation. The operations of this column reflected great credit not only on the leader, but on the troops employed. The difficulties to be overcome were very serious. The almost total absence of information, the labour of cutting a way through a thick forest country, where the paths were everywhere obstructed by felled trees, and an unseen enemy could inflict serious loss; and when the troops could not carry with them more than a very limited supply of food or baggage; and not least, the unhealthiness of the damp forest, inducing cholera, made this expedition the most difficult one of the war. The casualties amounted to about 140 in killed and wounded, and 100 deaths from cholera.

Mya Toon himself escaped, but his followers were broken up and dispersed, and Sir John Cheape returned to Prome.

In April Commissioners arrived there from Ava, and he diplomatists took over charge of the negotiations,

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1853. March 19th. which lasted for some time, and an advance upon Ava was even contemplated as possible. The Burmese Court, however, had no choice. It submitted with a bad grace, and the Governor-General's notification of the 30th of June declared that war had ceased, and on the 1st of August the army of Ava was broken up.

NOTE.—Lieutenant Laurie's accounts of this were, and letters from officers employed are, the unofficial authorities for this chapter.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the second Burmese War.

Major J. Turton
Brevet-Major A. Robertson
Lieutenant G. E. Voyle
Lieutenant W. Stewart
Surgeon J. McCosh, M.D.
Asst.-Surg. A. C. C. De Renzy, B.A.

2nd Company 5th Batt. 4th Co. S. Div.
Brevet-Major C. S. Reid
Lieutenant G. M. Dobbin
Lieutenant P. C. Anderson
Lieutenant C. E. Lewes

3rd Company 5th Batt. (2·25—Reduced 1871).
Captain Z. M. Mallock
Lieutenant G. D. Willoughby
Lieutenant St. George Ashe
Lieutenant M. James

5th Company 9th Batt. (Native—Reduced 1862).
Captain J. Money
Lieutenant J. Percival

The following Officers did duty with different Companies:—

2nd-Lieut. G. R. Manderson
2nd-Lieut. H. M. Cadell
2nd-Lieut. J. McK. Fraser
2nd-Lieut. C. Vaughan Arbuckle

NOTE.—Ensign Wolseley, 80th Regiment (p. 245), is now Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley.

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NOTE B.

Officers of the Madras Artillery who served in the second Burmese War.

C Troop H.A.	*P., R.H.A.*
Bt.-Major F. Burgoyne ...	
Bt.-Captain A. Foulis	Died June 27th, 1853, at Rangoon.
Bt.-Captain W. C. L. Baker...	
Lieutenant J. Jefferis ...	
Lieutenant J. R. Magrath ...	
Lieutenant N. Dallas ...	Embarked for Service, but died Jan. 28th, 1853, of cholera in the Madras Roads.
2nd-Lieutenant R. A. Peach	Doing duty from A., H.A.
A Company 2nd Batt.	*13th Co. E. Div.*
Bt.-Captain C. A. Purvis ...	
2nd-Lieutenant J. S. Baird ...	Appointed Assist. Commissioner Prome, Dec. 30th, 1852.
2nd-Lieutenant E. M. Playfair	
2nd-Lieutenant C. L. Yeoman	
2nd-Lieut. Murray Stewart ...	
D Company 2nd Batt.	*49th Field Battery.*
Captain C. J. Cooke ...	
Lieutenant B. C. Hitchins ...	
Lieutenant J. W. F. Taylor...	
2nd-Lieutenant G. F. Blair...	
3rd Battalion.	
Bt.-Lt.-Col. P. Anstruther, C.B.	
D Company 3rd Batt.	*48th Field Battery.*
Bt.-Major H. Montgomery ...	Died June 4th, 1852, at Calcutta.
Lieutenant W. F. B. Laurie...	
2nd-Lieutenant L. Bridge ...	
4th Battalion.	
Lieut.-Col. H. S. Foord ...	
Major J. Back	
A Company 4th Batt.	*10th Co. S. Div.*
Bt.-Major A. F. Oakes ...	Died April 12th, 1852, of sun-stroke.
Captain J. D. Mein	Doing duty from A Troop H.A.
Lieutenant C. H. Harrison...	
Lieutenant J. R. J. Robertson	
2nd-Lieut. M. B. S. Lloyd ...	
Lieutenant G. Dangerfield ...	Appointed Assist. Commissioner Sarawak, Dec. 30th, 1852.
Surgeon T. W. Mudge, M.D.	C Troop
Surgeon W. Gordon Davidson	4th Batt.
Assistant-Surgeon Smith ...	

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CHAPTER IX.

SEPOY WAR—OUTBREAK—SIEGE OF DELHI.

Position of the British Army—Meerut 9th of May—Outbreak 10th—Delhi 11th—Lieutenant Willoughby at the Magazine—Measures of the Commander-in-Chief—Regiments ordered from Umballa—Native Regiments at Mian Mir Disarmed—Magazines of Ferozepur and Phillour Secured—Meerut Column takes the Field—Actions on the Hindan—Joins Umballa Force—Action at Badli-ke-Serai—Position before Delhi Secured—March of the Guide Corps—Attacks on the Ridge—Reid's and Tombs' Columns—Attack on Rear—Fierce Attack on the Ridge—Lieutenant Minto Elliot's Guns—Attacks on Metcalfe and Mandi Picquets—Reinforcements—Bakht Khan and Bareilly Mutineers Arrive—Renewed Proposals for a *Coup de Main*—Baird Smith and Neville Chamberlain Join—Coke's Column—Death of Sir H. Barnard—Attack of July 9th—Cavalry charge into Camp—Hills and Tombs—Reed makes over Command to Wilson—Attacks on our Position—Battle of Najafgarh—Arrival of Siege-train—Breaching Batteries—Assault—Kashmir Gate—Kabul Gate—Reid's Column—Hope Grant's Cavalry and Guns—Positions successively gained within the City—Remarks.

1857. WITH the causes which produced the Sepoy revolt of 1857 this history has nothing to do. Its outbreak placed the British portion of the army in northern India, nominally about 23,000 men, but actually not quite three-fourths of that number, in opposition to an armed and well-trained force of more than 100,000 recruited from Oudh and the north-west provinces, with the possible risk, should the Punjab and other regiments unite with the insurgents, of our having to hold the 1,400 miles from Peshawur down to Calcutta against an army ten times as large and a country in arms against us. But the Sikhs, Gurkhas, and regiments not recruited from Oudh and the provinces were true to us. Their fidelity and the circumstances in which they were placed enabled a few of the Native Infantry and Artillery to remain staunch. Not the least in the record of gallant conduct during the eventful year of 1857-58 is

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the behaviour of the 5th Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery; the 31st N.I. at Sagar; and the native soldiers who took their part in the glorious defence of the Lucknow Residency. 1857.

While we had no means of replacing the losses of war in the British regiments, those who revolted had an inexhaustible supply of recruits in their native villages, and of willing helpers in every village from Meerut down to Patna. But the most serious difficulty lay in the fact that the important magazines of Allahabad, Sagar, Delhi, Multán, and Phillour were places garrisoned solely by native regiments. Those of Cawnpore and Delhi furnished the mutineers with a more than ample supply of ordnance and ordnance stores for an organised rebellion.

The seeds of mutiny had existed in the Bengal Army for some years previous to 1857. The early events of that year showed that we were standing on the smouldering elements of an outbreak; still, when it did occur, though no one was surprised, no one was prepared. On Saturday, the 9th of May, a parade was ordered at Meerut to hear the sentence of ten years' imprisonment on eighty, and five years on five troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry who had refused the cartridges served out to them, read out; and to see them ironed in front of the line. The guns on the right and the 60th Rifles came prepared by order to repress any insubordinate movement on the part of the Native Cavalry and Infantry, who likewise had, though not by order, balled cartridges in their pouches. That between those who might then have been engaged in deadly conflict, there stood the unarmed Artillery recruits of the Meerut Depôt, about 400 in number,* was scarcely a prudent arrangement. The parade passed off, and General Hewitt reported the conduct of the native troops to be steady and soldier-like.† But he did not mention that May 9th.

* Some 300 European and 60 native recruits, but I do not exactly recollect. The recruit depôt then consisted of 364 Europeans and 86 natives.

† "Selections," Vol. I., p. 247

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1857. May 9th. the prisoners as they marched down the line threw boots and other articles which they had taken off down in front of the Sepoys, who stepped out of the ranks to pick them up. A company of the 60th Rifles escorted them to the jail, and having made them over according to order returned to barracks. Forty extra barkandáz had been entertained there to provide for the unusually large addition to the prisoners.

May 10th. Next afternoon the principal bazar was as usual frequented by a number of soldiers. One, an Artillery recruit, asked a ginger-beer seller for a bottle of "pop." He returned it, saying it was not good, on which the man threw it back saying, "Take it, for it is the last you shall get." * At once, as if by a preconcerted signal, all were attacked; two Artillery recruits,† a Horse Artilleryman, and one of the Rifles were killed, several others wounded. About the same time the 20th N.I. had turned out on their parade ground and were shooting down their officers. The 11th N.I. had turned out, but as a body committed no acts of violence. A troop of the 3rd Light Cavalry had gone to the jail; the doors were opened, and blacksmiths, already there, had removed the manacles.

As night fell the 20th N.I., after completing its work of murder, marched with its colours for Delhi. Passing across the Cavalry parade-ground, where two squadrons under their officers were drawn up, the latter became unsteady, broke up, and followed them, leaving the officers to make their way to safer lines. A great part of the 11th were

* The subsequent fate of the ginger-beer man is curious. When I went over to Delhi, after the siege, to settle the estates of the recruits (about 66) who had been killed or died there, one morning my sergeant-major came to me and said with evident pleasure, "Sir, they have got the popwala. Gunner——, posted to the 3rd Troop 3rd Brigade, coming in yesterday morning from drill through the Kabul gate, spied him crouching down in the gateway to escape observation. But stooping down from his saddle, he laid hold of him by the collar and brought him along. He was made over to Stroud [sergeant-major 3rd Brigade H.A. and Provost-Marshal], and he was hung this morning."

† A third recruit was killed outside the bazar. Twelve were wounded that night.

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still in or near their own. The Horse Artillery with some Rifles and Carabiniers * were sent down, but not in the direction they should have been ordered to go. Had the mutineers been followed up, the subsequent course of events must have been different, though the disease in the whole army was too far gone to be cured even then but by the sword. Thenceforward Delhi became the head-quarters of revolt here, as Lucknow was down country, and the wretched old King its nominal leader. The various Sepoy guards in the Artillery lines at Meerut, all provided with balled cartridge, were disarmed during the night by the Artillery recruits with blank cartridge. 1857. May 10th.

The appearance of the Cavalry next morning at the bridge over the Jumna under the palace of the King of Delhi was the signal for bloody work. Several of the officers of the Native Infantry ordered down to the city were shot by their men near the Kashmir gate. At the magazine, between it and the palace, the Deputy-Commissary of Ordnance, Lieutenant Willoughby, seeing the mutinous soldiers passing into the city, prepared to defend his post. He had with him Lieutenants G. Forrest and W. Raynor, Conductors J. Buckley, G. W. Shaw, and J. Scully, Sub-Conductor Crowe, Sergeants Edwards and Stewart. Guns were placed to command the gates from within, but the native establishment refused to obey, so Lieutenant Willoughby ordered a train to be laid to the powder magazine. There was, comparatively, only a small quantity stored here, as the main stock was in a magazine close to the river at the further end of cantonments, built a few years before. Presently the palace guards came down and demanded entrance. It was refused, but with the assistance of the traitors inside, the walls were scaled and a fire poured upon the little band about the guns. Two fell mortally wounded; Forrest and Buckley were hit in May 11th.

* This regiment, which had only just come out, leaving their heavier men at home, had so many recruits that only about twenty-five men per troop had passed riding school. So one of the officers told me.

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1857. May 11th. arm and hand; and after four rounds had been fired, Willoughby gave the signal to Scully, who fired the train. The destruction of life was great. In the confusion of bursting shells and exploding powder-barrels, the four survivors, Willoughby, Forrest, Raynor, and Buckley, got away outside to the Kashmir gate; other officers were there and some ladies, and they got over the rampart of the main guard. Some joined Brigadier Graves, who had been endeavouring to assemble some remnants of his brigade at the Flagstaff Tower. Some made their way out of cantonments at once, and as night began to fall, those who remained, after many narrow escapes, finally reached either Karnal or Meerut. A party of horse sent out from the latter place escorted in Lieutenant Forrest, his family, and some officers. Lieutenant Willoughby was murdered, it was supposed at a village where he had stopped by the way. On a tablet in the abbey church of Bath is engraved his name and death. The record of what he had done belongs to the Bengal Artillery.

May 12th. General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, on receiving the news of the outbreak at Simla, was prompt in action. The regiments at the neighbouring stations, the 75th at Kasauli, the 1st European Fusiliers at Dagshai, and 2nd European Fusiliers at Subáthu, were ordered to move down to Umballa. Lieutenant Worthington, then on leave at Simla, was sent to Phillour to order a third-class siege train to be sent down at once. The magazines there and at Ferozepore to be placed in charge of British garrisons.

3-25 Reduced in 1871. The 4th Company 6th Battalion, under Lieutenant R. T. Hare, left Ferozepore by bullock train on the 26th to join the heavy guns. The 1st Company 7th Battalion (Native), under Captain W. K. Fooks, came down from Nurpur and

S., R.H.A. Kangra. Major Turner's Troop (3-3) was supplied with 9-pounders, and the lighter pieces made over to the native company, which proved true.

At Lahore the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Robert Montgomery, represented the Chief Commissioner, Sir John

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Lawrence, then at Ráwal Pindi. Brigadier Stuart Corbett commanded at Mian Mir. They decided to disarm the native regiments. The former was for depriving them of their ammunition, but the latter did not stop half way. The native guards in the fort at Lahore were to be relieved next morning, and they had planned to seize it and the magazine it contained. A ball was given that night at Mian Mir. Before it broke up, three companies of the 81st, under Colonel Matthew Smith, had marched for the city. A parade ordered for the morning took place. The troops were formed in line of contiguous columns thus:— 1857. May 13th.

8th Lt. Cav. 49th N.I. 26th N.I. 16th N.I. H.M. 81st. 6 Cos. $\frac{2\text{-}2 \text{ H.A.}}{3\text{-}2 \text{ H.A.}}$

The orders of Government were read out in front of each native regiment, but while this was being done, the 81st and guns moved round to the rear, the latter loading as they went, and formed line, then the native regiments were ordered to change front to the rear by wheel of subdivisions round the centre. Two lines faced one another, the 81st on the right of the two troops in line, the others in contiguous columns of regiments. Twelve guns with port-fires lighted and three hundred British soldiers, whose ramrods were ringing in their barrels, told them what was in store for them. Brigadier Corbett, in a few words said he had served with them for nearly forty years, and to preserve their honour he was about to take away their arms. His own regiment was before him. None had a better record than the 16th Grenadiers. It stood there, hardly a man under 5 feet 10 inches, or without two to six medals on his breast, and for the moment there was hesitation. But conscience had made them afraid: they laid down their muskets, the Cavalry gave up their sabres, and the Punjab was saved.

The same day at Ferozepore the fort containing the magazine was occupied by a company of the 61st, under Major Redmond. The 45th N.I. seized ladders and rushed to retake it, but were repulsed. They burned the church

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1857. May 13th. and Roman Catholic Chapel, with some bungalows, were pursued and scattered, and had the 10th Light Cavalry really meant work, might have been annihilated. The 57th N.I. were disarmed. No lives were lost, but Major Redmond was severely wounded.

Brigadier A. Wilson, Commandant of Artillery and of the station of Meerut, was directed to move towards Bághpat, on the River Jumna, with a force to co-operate with that which the Commander-in-Chief was bringing down from Umballa. His column consisted of: Four guns 2nd Troop 1st Brigade H.A. (Major Tombs); 3rd Company 3rd Battalion No. 14 Horse Field Battery (Major Scott); 100 Artillery Recruits, with two 18-pounder guns (Lieutenant Light); two Companies Sappers and Miners (Lieutenant F. R. Maunsell); two Squadrons 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers) (Lieut.-Colonel Custance); and a wing 60th Rifles (Lieut.-Colonel J. Jones). Lieut.-Colonel M. Mackenzie commanded the Artillery.

May 26th. 56 Field Batt. 14 Co. S. Div.

May 30th On approaching Ghází-ud-din-Nagar, the rebels attacked in force about four p.m., driving in the advance picquets. The River Hindan, spanned by an iron bridge in front, was at once occupied by a company of the 60th, with the four H.A. guns and a squadron of the Carabiniers; the two heavy guns assisting. Two companies of the 60th, with Major Scott's Battery, the Sappers, and a troop of Carabiniers, followed in support. The fire of our guns bore down that of the enemy, and the Horse Artillery, with the two heavies on the flank, were most effective. Colonel Jones with his Rifles, crossing the bridge, attacked and drove the enemy from their guns, capturing, with comparatively little loss, two guns, 24-pounder and 18-pounder, and three howitzers, 10-inch, 8-inch, and 24-pounder, with their limbers. Captain Andrews, 60th, and four men were killed by the explosion of a wagon on the causeway, close to the toll-house. The heat was very great; a bombardier and gunner died of sunstroke; a non-commissioned officer and five gunners were wounded, all of the 2nd Troop 1st Brigade.

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Next day the rebels again attacked at one p.m., taking up an extended position on the ridge beyond the Hindan. The Horse Artillery, with a squadron of the Carabiniers supported by the two heavy guns, under Lieutenant Light, moved forward to reply to the fire of their guns. This was so heavy that Lieutenant Davidson, with two guns of the Field Battery, was sent to aid Major Tombs, while two guns remained with the picquet at the bridge. For two hours this lasted. Then the Rifles cleared the village left of the toll-bar; the line advanced, following up the retreating enemy, who, however, carried off all their guns into the city. The heat was intensely great, and the fatalities from sunstroke were numerous, so that the men could not well have done more. Lieutenant H. G. Perkins, 2nd Troop, was killed while laying a gun. Three rank and file killed, a non-commissioned officer and four men wounded, all of the Horse Artillery, including Rough-Rider Neal of the Recruit Depôt among the former. Ensign Napier, of the Rifles, and Assistant-Surgeon Moore, of the Carabiniers, died of their wounds. 1857. May 31st.

Next day Major Reid, with the Sirmur Battalion, marched into camp. He had been ordered from Dera to Rurki and thence to Bulandshahr, below Meerut, to reinforce the Meerut Brigade and keep open communication. His gallant regiment was only 490 strong. After a short halt, Brigadier Wilson marched northward to Baghpat, crossed the Jumna, and joined the Umballa force at Alipur on the 7th. June 1st.

Cholera had broken out in that camp, and the Commander-in-Chief had died at Karnal on the 27th of May, after a few hours' illness. Colonel J. L. Mowatt, commanding the Artillery, died in camp at Pipli on the 30th. Major-General Sir Henry Barnard arrived in time from Umballa to receive the dying words of farewell and the provisional command from his chief. The column consisted of:—

2nd and 3rd Troops 3rd Brigade H.A., Captain E. K. Money and Major Turner. 57 Field Batt. S.,R.H.A.

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1857. 3-25 R.A. Reduced 1871. 4th Company 6th Battalion and Siege Train,* Major E. Kaye.

9th Lancers, Colonel Hope Grant, C.B.

75th Regiment, Lieut.-Colonel C. Herbert.

1st E.B. Fusiliers, Major G. O. Jacob.

2nd E.B. Fusiliers, six companies, Lieut.-Colonel St. G. D. Showers.

Besides these the Raja of Jhind sent a contingent of 800 men, which joined at Panipat.†

June 8th. Sir H. Barnard marched from Alipur at one in the morning. The rebels were at Badli-ke-Serai, about five miles further on. Brigadier Hope Grant was detached to the right with three squadrons 9th Lancers, 2-1 H.A. under Major Tombs, and 3-3 H.A. under Lieutenant H. P. Bishop, to cross the Jumna canal and so get in rear of the enemy. Major Turner commanded the guns. Brigadier Showers, with the 75th and 1st E.B.F., moved on the right of the road; Brigadier Graves, with the 60th, 2nd E.B.F., and Sirmur Battalion, on the left. A heavy battery of two 18-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers advanced along the road. Major Kaye, with Lieutenants Fagan, Light, Hare, Chichester, and Riding-Master Budd, the 4th Company 6th Battalion, and a detail of the recruits were attached to it. Captain Money's Troop and four guns of Major Scott's Battery (two left in camp at Alipur), were on either side of the heavies.

The mutineers had erected a sandbag battery, armed with four heavy guns and a heavy howitzer in front of the Serai, flanked by a number of field guns. Major Kaye's orders were to come into action as soon as he came under fire. This was when they had come within easy range, and the first light of breaking day shone athwart the face of the advancing battery. The enemy knew their dis-

* 18-pounder guns, 8; 8-inch howitzers, 4; 8-inch mortars, 4; 5½-inch mortars, 6. Lieutenant J. C. Griffith (Commissary Ordnance, Phillour) in charge.

† These were usefully employed in keeping open the communication with Umballa.

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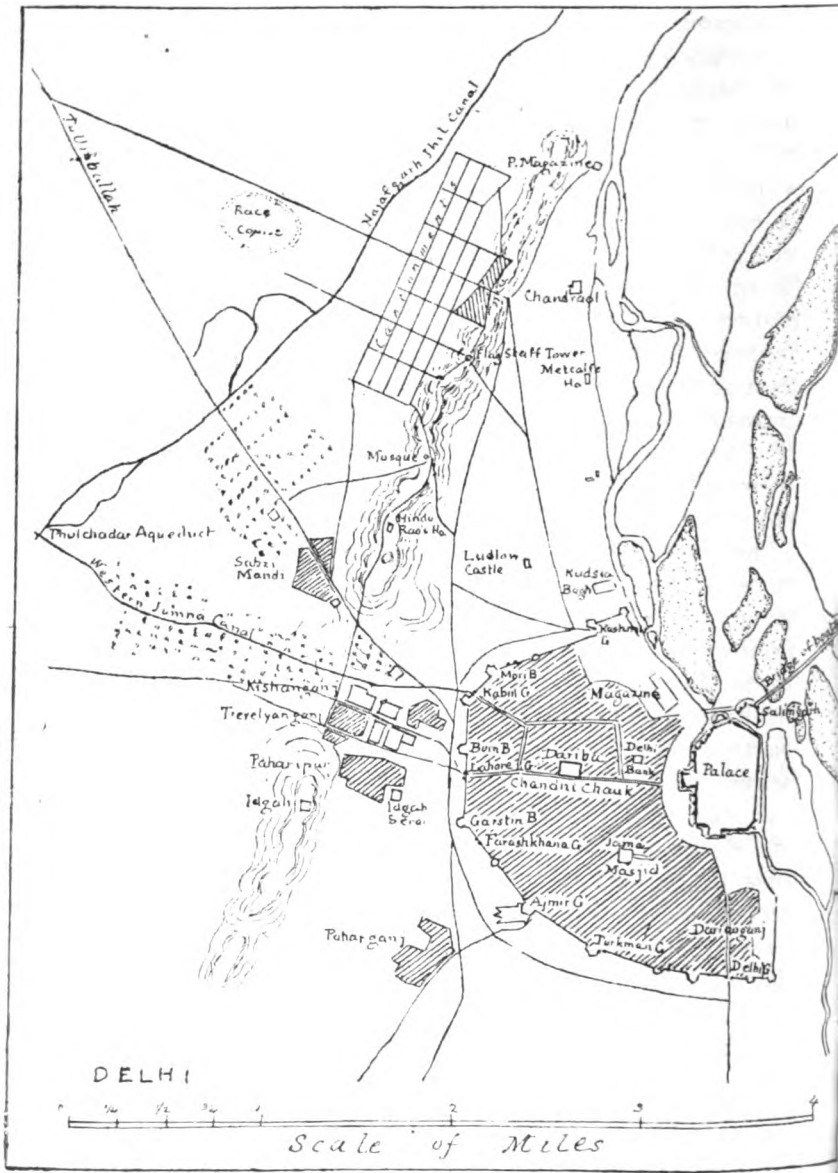

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tance, and the fire down the road was heavy. Major Kaye soon found out his range, and for some time kept up a stout reply, ably assisted by the field guns. Theirs, however, being well under cover, had greatly the advantage. Graves' regiments on the left had to make a long detour round a swamp before him, and the Cavalry beyond the canal were much delayed by the watercourses and state of the country. Sir Henry Barnard therefore determined to decide the matter by the bayonet. Brigadier Showers deployed into line and led on. The 75th, headed by Colonel Herbert and eagerly supported by the 1st European Fusiliers, charged the battery. The rebels fought with desperation, but the bayonet did its work. Brigadier Graves coming up on the left, and nearly at the same time the Cavalry and Horse Artillery, fell upon the enemy, whose retreat was converted into a rout, and all the guns were taken. 1857. June 8th.

The most important part of the day's work still remained to be accomplished. Ordering the camp to be brought on from Alipur, Sir H. Barnard pushed on to Delhi to secure a good position before it. This was offered by the ridge separating the cantonments from the River Jumna and the city, part of a sandstone and quartzite formation running in a direct line towards Rewári and Jaipur. About four miles from the city a road leading through the centre of cantonments branched off. By this Sir H. Barnard went with the 2nd Brigade, while Brigadier Wilson, with the 1st and heavy battery, went along the Trunk Road, through the Sabzi Mandi * towards a house lately the residence of the Gwalior chief Hindu Rao. The former lay through ground less enclosed, and was half a mile shorter. The rebels had got some guns in position on the ridge, but the General ascended it on their right flank, compelling them to abandon their artillery, and swept along the summit to Hindu Rao's house, where

* Literally "vegetable market," but an extensive suburb.

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1857. June 8th. he was joined by Brigadier Wilson, who had fought his way through the intervening gardens and buildings, capturing an 18-pounder gun.

The value of the position thus gained was very great. It proved an impregnable one. The cantonments in rear were the site of the British camp, and it effectually covered the communications with our base of operations, the Punjab. But it was too far from the walls for attack; too far to effectually silence fire.*

With such an object gained, the casualties were comparatively small—51 killed, 132 wounded. The death of Colonel Chester, Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army, was a serious loss at this juncture. Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain was ordered from the Punjab to take his place. In the Artillery there were:—

2-1 H.A.—One non-commissioned officer, two gunners wounded.

3rd Brigade H.A.—2nd-Lieutenant C. Hunter, Trumpet-Major Murray (died 10th of June), one gunner wounded.

3-3 F.A.—2nd-Lieutenant A. H. Davidson severely injured by the explosion of a limber, one gunner wounded.

4-6 F.A.—One non-commissioned officer, two gunners killed; 2nd-Lieutenant R. T. Hare, three non-commissioned officers, six gunners wounded.

Artillery Recruits.—One gunner killed; Lieutenant A. Light, two gunners wounded.

At Hindu Rao's house an 18-pounder gun was placed and opened, but it was exposed to so heavy a fire that it had to be withdrawn. During the night the Engineers

* Lieutenant Norman, in his narrative, gives the number of guns captured as 13; Sir H. Barnard's dispatch gives 26. The former apparently refers to the rebels' guns at Badli-ke-Serai, two 24-pounders, two 18-pounders, one 8-inch howitzer, eight light guns. He does not include an 18-pounder taken by Wilson on his way through the Sabzi Mandi, or the light guns secured by Sir H. Barnard on the right. The latter adds as a postscript to his dispatch, "I find the captured guns amount to 26." Norman's accuracy in matters of detail makes one unwilling to differ from him, but here he appears to have gone on a first report.

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1857.
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1857
June 8

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constructed a battery for two heavy pieces (18-pounder and 8-inch howitzer), which was afterwards known as the centre battery. Captain Fagan and Lieutenant Hare were the first told off to it. Major Reid, with the Sirmur Battalion, was stationed at Hindu Rao's house, which post he and his gallant regiment held throughout the siege with two companies of the 60th Rifles and other details, occasionally reinforced when necessary. 1857. June 8th.

The numerical strength of the army before Delhi was only 600 Cavalry, 2,400 Infantry, with 22 light and 30 siege pieces of ordnance.* It was proposed to attempt the capture of the city by a *coup de main*. Lieutenant W. W. H. Greathed, of the Engineers, was foremost in advocating this, and orders were actually issued for the assault on the night of the 11th, but an important part of the column was on picquet. Brigadier Graves,† on duty, would not let them leave without written orders, and the attempt had to be postponed. It is now known that the attempt could hardly have succeeded, for though the number of rebel Sepoys inside Delhi was as yet small, the whole male population capable of fighting were at least 30 to our one. Could we have seized the palace by a sudden attack, and held it and the magazine, though the hardihood of such an attempt would have discouraged the rebels, we could not have thrown up the works necessary, and demolished buildings sufficiently to enable us to maintain our position. The communications with the Punjab would then have been through Meerut, longer and not so safe. So the siege was begun, and never before did so small a force undertake so great a task. June 9th.

The camp was formed on the cantonment parade-ground. Picquets of two field guns were placed at the Flagstaff Tower, Mosque, and Observatory, near Hindu

* Besides seven captured May 30th and June 8th, we had no 24-pounder projectiles for three guns of that calibre, but we paid the rebels back (with interest) the shot they kindly sent us for them.

† Kaye thinks that he purposely detained the picquets ; but this is open to doubt.

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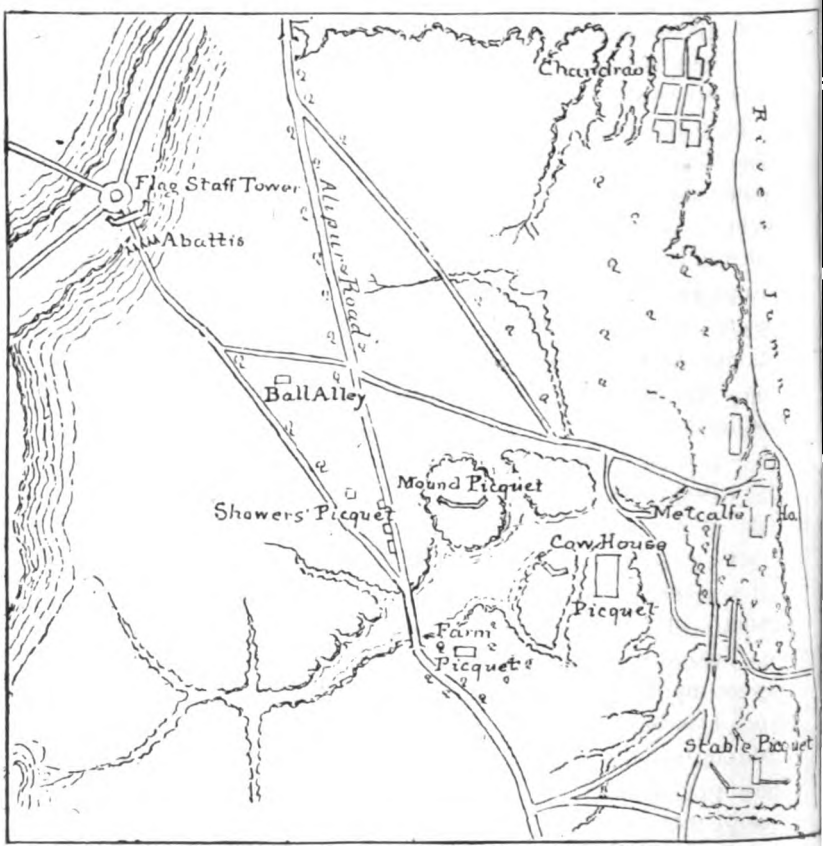
1857. June 9th. Rao's house. The Guide Corps, under Captain Daly three troops Cavalry, six companies Rifles joined to-day. It had marched from Hoti Mardan beyond Pesha-war, a distance of 580 miles, in 22 days at the hottest



PICQUETS COVERING LEFT ATTACK.

time of the year. An attack was made upon the main picquet (Hindu Rao's) in the afternoon. The Guides were turned out to support. The mutineers were repulsed with loss, but Lieutenant Quintin Battye, Commanding the Guides, was mortally wounded.

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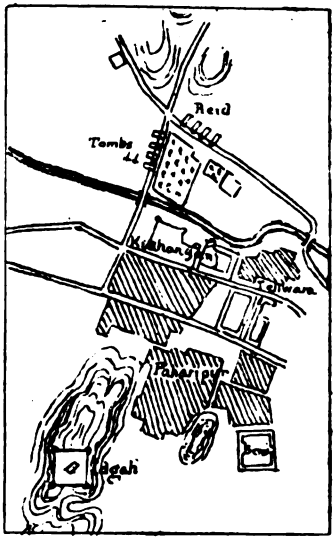
1857. June 10th. Another attack on Major Reid's post repulsed. Two gunners 2nd-1st H.A. killed.

June 12th. The mutineers attacked this morning from the ravines in Sir T. Metcalfe's grounds, and got as far as the picquet (a detachment of the 75th and Lieutenant Bishop with two guns) on the ridge near the Flagstaff Tower, which was hard pressed. Captain Knox, 75th, was killed. The attack was repulsed. It was necessary, therefore, to place a picquet near Metcalfe House, though the distance from the Flagstaff, one which had only 100 men and two H.A. guns, made it difficult to provide for communication and relief. The post was occupied and strengthened by the Engineers, and when complete consisted of three portions—a picquet of 150 men on a mound on the left of the main road leading into the city; one for 50 men in a cow-house 200 yards nearer the river; and one for 150 men in the stables close to the river, about 500 yards south of Metcalfe House.



Two attacks the same day were made on the right; one on Hindu Rao's, and one through the gardens on the camp. Both repulsed. A sergeant 4th-6th F.A. killed.

June 15th. A sharp attack on the Metcalfe picquet was repulsed with loss this day.

June 17th. The mutineers were constructing a battery on high ground near the Id-gáh,* which would enfilade our posi-

* There were many Id-gáhs (places of prayer). This one was south-west of Paháripur, opposite the curtain between the Lahore gate and Garstin bastion, enclosed in a fort.

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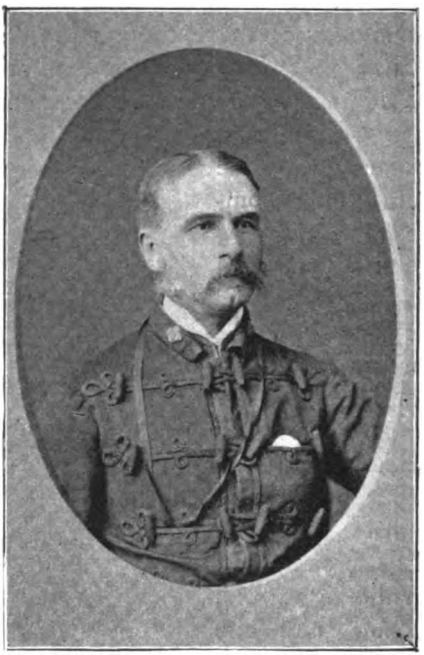
1857. June 17th. tion on the ridge, and two columns were ordered: Major Reid with four companies of the 60th and the Sirmur Battalion, and Major Tombs with his four guns,* two companies of the 60th, four 1st E.B.F., 20 Sappers, and 50 Guide Cavalry. Major Tombs, leaving camp at 4.30 p.m., and passing through the Sabzi Mandi, met the head of Major Reid's Column at the junction of the roads from Hindu



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY TOMBS, K.C.B.

Rao's and the city. He then took the south-south-west road till he reached the suburb of Paháripur, keeping down the hostile fire by parties of riflemen, and while the guns, with a company of the Fusiliers and Cavalry, went round, he forced his way through the village, driving the enemy before him. They were in considerable force

* Commanded by Lieutenant W. Wilson, late of the 3rd-7th, who was attached to this Troop until finally posted to it.

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before the Id-gáh. Covering his advance with two guns, he took the position with a rush, and captured a 9-pounder gun. 1857. June 17th.

Major Reid, taking the south-east road, forced his way into two serais and entered Kishanganj, which he found full of mutineers, drove them out, and burned two uncompleted batteries. Both columns returned, having suffered comparatively little loss. Successes like these were very cheering, and Sir H. Barnard that evening came into the Artillery mess-tent, and thanked Major Tombs for the gallantry he had displayed.

With the Nasirabad mutineers next day the 2nd Company 7th Battalion (Native) and No. 6 Field Battery entered Delhi. The fame it had won at Jalálabád was lost in the shame of its disloyalty.† June 18th.

On the afternoon of this day the rebels commenced streaming out of the gates and passing through the gardens on our right, beyond the Sabzi Mandi, appeared some distance in our rear. They seemed to threaten every part of the position. Brigadier Hope Grant, with two squadrons 9th Lancers, a Troop of the Carabiniers, and Guide Cavalry with 12 guns of Money's, Turner's, Tombs', and Scott's batteries, went out towards the Ochterlony gardens. They were followed by all the available troops in camp, and a severe action ensued. Finally the mutineers were beaten back, but in their attack they had nearly turned our flank in the dark, and some of our guns were in jeopardy. Colonel Yule, 9th Lancers, was killed. Next morning, Brigadier Grant went out again to drive back any of the enemy who might still be in the rear, but found only a strong picquet, which was driven in, and one of the Jalálabád guns with two wagons was brought in. June 19th.

After this, to protect the rear of the camp, a battery for two 18-pounder guns was constructed on the race-

† The native officers remained behind, but a Syce driver who had been made a Jemadar for his conduct at Jalálabád was with it. He was killed in the first action next day.

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1857. course, and breastworks thrown up to cover the picquets near.

June 23rd. F., R.H.A. T., R.H.A. There was a lull for two days, after which Major Olpherts, with four sub-divisions of the 1st Troop and two of the 5th Troop 1st Brigade under Lieutenant G. A. Renny, a wing 2nd Punjab Cavalry, with portions of other regiments in camp, and of the 4th Sikh Infantry, about 850 men, arrived in camp.

This was the centenary of Plassey. Some prophet had foretold that on this day, the English ráj would come to an end. But it did not, though the Pándy* regiments did their best. They streamed out of the Lahore gate more numerous than ever. Our Sappers had just demolished the bridges over the Najafgarh Cut, and so, being unable to get with their guns into our rear, they swarmed into the Kishanganj and Sabzi Mandi suburbs. For the whole day, on and about that extremity of the ridge, a fierce contest raged. From all the houses within range of the ridge, the Sepoys kept up a deadly fire, while the guns on the walls kept up a furious cannonade, well directed as it always was, and guns from every spot outside, where they could be brought to bear upon us, enfiladed the position. It is hardly to be wondered that at one time Major Reid thought it might have been carried. But the Rifles, Sirmur Battalion, and Guides resolutely and nobly held their own. Lieutenant Minto Elliot's guns on the ridge did specially good service.† Captain Fagan commanded

* This was a nickname given to the Sepoys, who were mostly Brahmins. Pánde is the designations of one of the highest subdivisions of the class. Mangal Pánde, who had attempted the life of his adjutant at Barrackpore in March, made the title notorious.

† Lieutenant Elliot had been on this picquet since the 10th, having volunteered to remain there under Major Reid. His gun and howitzer being in the open on the ridge, were so exposed that the service was one of great danger. On the 23rd they were under musketry fire from the Sabzi Mandi buildings on one side, and under shot and shrapnel fire from the city walls on the other. Early in the day the gun was disabled, right wheel smashed, and trail loop-eye shot off. The howitzer had a shot through the axle-tree bed, but was serviceable.

So Lieutenant Elliot placed his men and horses under cover of the

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the centre battery; Lieutenants Hare and Craster in the left battery, near the Observatory. Colonel Welchman, with a detachment of the 1st and 2nd Europeans, failed in a first attempt to drive them out of the Sabzi Mandi. He was dangerously wounded, and Lieutenant Jackson, 2nd Regiment, was killed. The great heat of the sun was fatal to many. The newly-arrived troops were sent up, and Brigadier Showers led a fresh attack from Hindu Rao's and the low ground in their rear, which was successful, and the mutineers, who lost heavily, were driven back into the city. Our loss was heavy, 39 killed, 121 wounded. Captain C. Jones, 60th Rifles, severely wounded. In the 4th-6th F.A., two N.C. officers, one gunner; of the recruits, one gunner wounded. 1857. June 23rd.

After this a strong post was established in Tota Mall's Sarái at the lower end of the Mandi, and a Hindu Temple on the other side of the Grand Trunk Road, for 180 men, and this was connected with the right battery through a picquet called the Crow's Nest. The Sarai was loopholed, and as the enemy were unable to pass up the Trunk Road,

rocks as well as he could, and with two others worked the piece for several hours. Sergeant Newson served the ammunition; Gunner D. McCarthy loaded; he laid and fired.

This accounts for the small number of casualties in men which occurred: one Syce killed, two drivers wounded; of horses, four killed, nine wounded, and one missing.

Major Reid wrote some of his reports in pencil, but these were, he says, not considered official, and so were not published. But he recommended Lieutenant Minto Elliot, No. 5134 Corporal Samuel Newson, and No. 6769 Gunner Dennis McCarthy, for the Victoria Cross, and it was the opinion of those who witnessed their conduct that it should have been conferred.

Lieutenant Elliot subsequently commanded a Mountain Train Battery in the Hazára campaign in 1868, and a Siege-Train in Egypt in 1882. Majors Tombs and E. B. Johnson, and Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief in India, brought forward his name, but to the present day neither he nor the two Artillerymen above-mentioned have been granted any recognition of their good service.

It is one object of this history to bring to notice, as far as possible, all Artillerymen who have rendered good service to the State, including those who have gone unrewarded, and I may here say, once for all, that in no cases have I taken statements by officers of their own doings, except as corroborating or explaining what has been derived from other sources.

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1857. June 23rd. our position was rendered much more secure. The demolition of buildings in the Sabzi Mandi capable of giving cover to an enemy was carried on as opportunity permitted. A line of breastworks running up the ridge connected the serai picquet with the right battery, which was armed with heavy ordnance. A small one for three 9-pounders was made on the road leading down from that battery to the Trunk Road.

June 27th. Attacks on the Metcalfe and Sabzi Mandi picquets and the ridge, repulsed. Gunner W. Hardinge, 3rd-3rd F.A., killed; two gunners of that company and an Artillery recruit wounded.

June 28th. F.,R.H.A. The headquarters 8th Regiment, and two remaining guns 1st-1st H.A., under Lieutenant G. B. Traill, with the 1st Punjab Rifles (Major John Coke) came in to-day.

July 1st. The headquarters and right wing 61st Regiment arrived.

July 2nd. The mutinous regiments from Rohilkhand marched into the city to-day: one of Cavalry, four of Infantry, the 6th Company 8th Battalion, and No. 15 Horse Battery, and the two post guns from Shahjahánpur. Subadar Muhamad Bakht Khán of the Artillery, who had been foremost at Bareilly in the murderous proceedings there, commanded them. Bold in character, and plausible in manner, he was appointed by the King to be a General,* and would have been an efficient leader, if he could have controlled the disorder within the city.† He at once tried to repress the plundering that daily took place, threaten-

* "Delhi Court Diary," July 2nd.

† The writer, who had been in that battery till appointed Adjutant of the Artillery Recruit Depôt at Meerut, in 1854, knew this scoundrel well. Mr. Cooper, "Crisis in the Punjab," quoting Captain Waddy (a brother sub.), says he was a very bad rider, which was not quite the case. Graceful in the saddle he was not; his figure forbade that; but our Captain, Sissmore, did not err on the side of leniency towards those who could not stick on somehow, and his native officers, after promotion to the saddle, generally applied to be invalided. Bakht Khán was killed after the siege in or on his way to Oudh, it is uncertain where or how. He knew he was a marked man, and naturally kept himself as much as possible in the background after Delhi fell.

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ing even the King's sons, who were foremost at that work.* But the Sepoys of the other brigades resented his high-handed proceedings, accusing him, probably with truth, of looking after his own interests and those of his brigade. Nevertheless, he infused considerable energy into the defence of Delhi. 1857. July 2nd.

On this day Lieut.-Colonel Murray Mackenzie was severely wounded. Captain Fagan had a narrow escape from the fragment of a shell, but was able to resume duty.

Now that all the reinforcements from the Punjab had joined, and our effective force amounted to nearly 6,600 men, the project of a *coup de main* assault was again revived. Four columns were proposed: one to blow in the iron grating of the canal near the Kabul gate; one to enter by the Kashmir gate after it should have been blown in; one to escalade the Kashmir bastion, and one to get round the River bastion. It was fortunately abandoned.† Lieut.-Colonel Richard Baird Smith,‡ of the Engineers, arrived this day to take Major Laughton's place. Nine days before, Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain had arrived to take over the duties of Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army. Each a host in himself.

* "Delhi Court Diary," July 2nd and 16th.

† Fortunately for the following reasons :—

I. The entering by a passage at the Kabul gate which, swept by Artillery, would be impassable.

II. Want of siege ordnance and ammunition.

III. The morale of the mutinous Sepoys after the arrival of the Rohilkhand Brigade was higher, and their numbers were greater than at any time of the whole siege.

IV. When the assault did take place we had the following circumstances in our favour, which we had not in July :—

1. A larger force.
2. The hopes of the Sepoys had been going down, and desertions were frequent.
3. Supply of ordnance and ammunition much larger.
4. The walls were breached.

And yet Delhi was taken, and for the first twenty-four hours held with difficulty.

‡ He was regimentally a Captain, with official rank of Lieut.-Colonel, as Superintendent of the Canal Department in the North-West Provinces.

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1857. July 4th. On the evening of the 3rd, large bodies of mutineers left the city. It was known next morning that they were in our rear about Alipur, and were returning. Major John Coke was sent with two guns, 5th-1st H.A., under Lieutenant Renny, four of 2nd-3rd H.A., Captain Money, Major Scott's Battery, a squadron of Carabiniers and one of the 9th Lancers, the Guide Cavalry, a wing of the 61st, and the 1st Punjab Infantry. He found them retiring by the Rohtak road, and crossed the canal by the Painbári bridge to attack. The country was under water, and progress much impeded in consequence. Only a few rounds were fired on our side. The enemy withdrew and carried off their guns. Captain Money and Major Scott each lost one gunner killed; two N.C. officers and 17 men of the Cavalry and Infantry wounded, completed the casualties.

July 5th. Major-General Sir H. Barnard died this day of cholera, and Major-General Reed assumed command. The health of the latter was feeble, but his advice was freely given as it was sought for. Sir H. Barnard was greatly regretted, and as Sir H. Norman, in his narrative says, he died of causes arising out of the Mutiny as truly as any soldier who fell in battle.

Lieut.-Colonel H. Garbett and Lieutenant Angelo, Adjutant 6th Battalion, arrived from Ferozepore.

To secure the rear it was determined to destroy all the bridges over the West Jumna Canal, retaining the Painbári one for our own use. The Phulchadar aqueduct, by which Cavalry could pass to the rear, was blown up. The Basái bridge over the Najafgarh jhil cut was destroyed by the Sappers on the 8th.

July 9th. On a mound on the right flank of the camp a battery for three 18-pounders had been placed with an Infantry picquet facing the Sabzi Mandi. There was also a picquet of H.A. guns with a troop of Cavalry below it to the right. Walled gardens beyond the Mandi and along the Trunk Road gave cover, of which the mutineers availed them-

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selves. A picquet of the 9th Irregular Cavalry was thrown forward close to the Trunk Road. 1857. July 9th.

This morning the enemy came outside in great force. The guns on the walls and field-pieces outside began and kept up an unceasing fire. The main picquet was reinforced. Lieutenant Hills had the two guns of his troop at the mound, and Lieutenant Stillman commanded a troop of the Carabiniers. Our vedettes saw some horsemen, dressed like themselves in white, hovering about, and did not take much notice. Suddenly the leading horsemen dashed forward towards the camp. Lieutenant Hills, to give his guns time to unlimber, boldly went at the leading files. But their object was to get into camp, and the main body passed on. Major Tombs came up just in time to shoot a man in the act of cutting at his subaltern, who had fallen. Some of the gunners had been wounded, and as the two officers were going to see after them a second attack was made on Lieutenant Hills, who was severely wounded by a sword-cut on the head, and was again saved by Major Tombs running the man through. Both these officers deservedly won the Victoria Cross.*

The sudden irruption of about 100 men into camp caused a great commotion. Its object was soon seen when they made towards the Native Troop (5th-1st), and called on them to join and follow. But these had never faltered in their fidelity, nor did they now. They called out to Major Olpherts' men, whose guns were unlimbered, to fire *through* them at "the Mufsid Sowars." Captain Fagan, rushing out of his tent, got together some Artillerymen, and with a company of the 1st Fusiliers drove those nearest out of camp with Lieutenant Renny's assistance, killing some fifteen. More were disposed of by the 9th Lancers, Hodson's Horse, and 2nd P.C. All this time a heavy cannonade was kept up from the city walls, gun and musketry fire from the gardens and buildings round the Mandi. The Right Bat-

* For a fuller detail, see Lieut.-Colonel Mackenzie's report of the occurrence, Note B in the Appendix.

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1857. July 9th. tery, commanded this day by Lieutenant Heath, got as usual a good share of it. Brigadier-General Chamberlain, therefore, left camp with about 700 men of the 8th, 61st, and 4th Sikh Infantry and Major Scott's Battery, joined by Lieut.-Colonel J. Jones and two companies 60th Rifles, and attacked the rebels. Major Reid co-operated with details from the main picquet. After an obstinate resistance they were driven into the city with very heavy loss. Ours was severe; very serious, considering how little we could spare: 40 killed; 172 wounded. Ensign Mountsteven (mortally) and eight other officers (Lieutenant Hills included) wounded. Of the Artillery, one N.C.O. of the Sikh Company and Gunner Kent, Recruit Depôt, were killed; wounded: 2nd-1st H.A., one officer, one N.C.O., six men; 3rd-3rd F.A., two N.C.O., nine men; Recruit Depôt, three men.

The behaviour of the Irregular Cavalry this day was so suspicious that the 9th and 17th and most of the 4th were sent back to the Punjab. That of the Native Horse Artillery could not have been better.*

July 14th. Early on this day the enemy came out in great force with a large body of Cavalry and several field guns, supported as usual by the ordnance on the walls. Our troops remained on the defensive till about three p.m., when Brigadier Showers went at them with a column, 1st Fusiliers, Coke's Rifles, with some Guide Cavalry, Hodson's and Kohat Horse, three guns of Captain Money's and three of Major Turner's Troops. Major Reid joined with his available men. After some severe fighting the rebels were driven into the city, pursued to within 600 yards of the walls. Casualties: 15 men killed, two missing; 16 officers and 177 men wounded. Of the Artillery Lieutenant F. S. Roberts,† Quartermaster-General's Department, and Lieu-

* Three days after, ten of the youngest gunners of this Troop deserted, so notwithstanding their loyalty at Jullundur and here, it was deemed advisable to take away their guns as a precautionary measure. They were restored on the fall of Delhi.

† 1st Troop 2nd Brigade H.A., now Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar.

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tenant P. Thompson, H.A. (severely), were wounded. Sergeant Crane and Bombardier Flower, 3rd-3rd H.A., were killed; five gunners of the two Troops, and three of the 4th Company 6th Battalion were wounded. Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain, who accompanied the column, had his left arm broken by a musket-ball. The enemy lost so many that for some hours carts were seen taking bodies into the city.* They could afford the loss; we could not. It was a heavy day for the batteries, where the gunners were at work from eight a.m till seven p.m. Lieutenant Heath commanded in the Right Battery, Sir W. Hamilton the 9-pounder one on the road. Lieutenant Carnegie, Engineers, was wounded in the former. 1857. July 14th.

Major-General Reed this day made over the command of the force before Delhi to Brigadier Archdale Wilson, and proceeded to Simla on sick leave. His health from the first had been most infirm. He had seen a good deal of Indian service, and had commanded one of the Ferozepore Brigades in the first Punjab War. For the conduct of the siege it was felt that an officer of one of the Ordnance Corps was required. Not being the senior, the rank of Brigadier-General was conferred upon him, and by the Governor-General he was made a Major-General for special service.† July 17th.

Another sharp attack by the rebels upon the ridge batteries and Sabzi Mandi picquet was repulsed this day by a column under Colonel J. Jones, consisting of details from the 8th, 61st, and 75th Regiments, 4th Sikh Infantry, Guide Cavalry, and four H.A. guns. Lieutenant W. Crozier, 75th Regiment, was killed, and Lieutenant W. H. W. Pattoun, 61st, severely wounded. The Artillery casualties were: 1st Brigade, two men missing; 3rd Brigade, two wounded; 1st Company 4th Battalion, one July 18th.

* The "Delhi Court Diary" records that on this day Bakht Khan divided the Sepoys into five Brigades of 3,000 men and three guns to attack the cantonment, tower, and ridge from five points, and the Sowars at the Kabul gate held their own the longest.

† Sec. Government Military Department, 29th of July.

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1857. July 18th. gunner killed; Recruit Depôt, 2nd-Lieutenant H. Chichester, wounded in the Right Battery; 2nd-Lieutenant E. Jones, Engineers, badly wounded by a round shot as he was coming up to the Sámi Battery, died on the 24th after amputation of the leg.

By this time the Engineers had cleared away most of the buildings in the Sabzi Mandi round our picquets for some distance, and had completed the breastworks connecting them with the works on the ridge, which were much stronger now, especially those about the lower slope of the Sámi House, which were exposed to fire from the Burn and Mori Bastions, especially the latter, so that our position here was much safer.

July 20th. In consequence of a report that the rebels were making a battery in the gardens beyond the canal, a column under Lieut.-Colonel T. Seaton, 35th N.I., with which were four H.A. guns, reconnoitred through them as far as the Phulchadar Aqueduct, but found nothing. Lieutenant T. E. Dickens was dangerously wounded in the head in the three-gun Battery, and died on the 27th. Captain Greensill, 24th Regiment, Assistant Field Engineer, was accidentally shot at night by a sentry at the Metcalfe picquet.*

July 23rd. On this day the mutineers came pouring out of the Kashmir gate. They had so often fruitlessly attacked our position on the right and rear that a change might bring better fortune, so they occupied the large house in the civil lines known as "Ludlow Castle" and its neighbourhood. Thence they kept up a fire from numerous field pieces at the Ridge and Mosque picquets, also, but less actively, against the Metcalfe picquets. By constantly moving the guns about behind cover they avoided our fire. The main road through cantonments crossed the ridge through a shallow gorge. By this Brigadier Showers led a column,

* The "Delhi Court Diary" of this date records a report that the Sepoys had driven the Europeans off the ridge to Alipur, and that in consequence 20,000 foot and Sowars, 2,000 Musalmans, and 4,000 Jahádis, armed with sticks, matchlocks, etc., turned out expecting much plunder, but that they were disappointed.

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details 8th, 61st, and 1st Fusiliers, Coke's Rifles, and some Guide Cavalry, with three of Captain Money's and three of Major Turner's guns, the latter officer commanding the arm. Lieut.-Colonel Drought, with 250 men from the Metcalfe House picquets, co-operated. The rebels were driven back into the city, but carried away all their guns. One officer, Captain Law, 10th N.I., was killed. Lieut.-Colonels T. Seaton and Drought were severely wounded. Of the Artillery, Captain Money and Lieutenant A. Bunny were wounded, the former severely. Lieutenant Renny made some good practice with the mortars at Hindu Rao's. 1857. July 23rd.

The first note of despondency in the "Delhi Court Diary" appears in the chronicle of the 22nd, in the King's reply to Bakht Khan when he defended himself and the troops from the insinuations made against them for their want of success. The reply is characteristic. The King resigns himself to the Will of God. He has no bad feelings towards the Europeans, but had been obliged to support the mutineers because they sought his protection. Bakht Khan had a difficult part to play. The King's sons were jealous of him, the Sepoys would not obey him. But he flouts the Princes in their father's presence, and requests the King to order that a battle was henceforward to be fought every day. That of the 23rd of July was the result. The Sepoys now felt that they were fighting for their lives. Bakht Khan knew it. None knew better than he did that the English soldier could and would fight against any odds; but he also knew that the little army on the ridge was wearing itself away in the almost daily encounters, and that another month at least would elapse before the regiments then certainly hastening out from England could set foot on Indian shores.

According to the intention expressed in Durbar, a large force * with 10 guns and three mortars left Delhi by the

* According to the "Court Diary" (July 31st—Aug. 1st) the Nimach mutineers formed this force. But there must have been more.

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1857. July 31st. Rohtak road, carrying materials for a bridge to be thrown over the Najafgarh jhil cut, near Basái, which would enable the rebels to get into our rear. They were watched, and a moveable column under Major J. Coke was held in readi-

August 1st. ness. It went out to Alipur to bring in the Kamáun Battalion coming in with ammunition and treasure, and conducted it safely in. The country after the heavy rain already fallen was flooded. That which was now falling caused a rush of water which swept away the rebels' bridge, so they broke up their camp and returned. Meeting a large body of Infantry sent out, they occupied Paháripur and Kishanganj about sunset, and commenced an attack upon and all round the right of our position, which lasted all night. Again and again they came swarming up to our breastworks and each battery. The Sámi House and Crow's Nest were the principal objects of attack. The admirable arrangements of Major Reid and the conduct of the men were worthy of all praise. They kept well under cover till the enemy were close up to them, so that under a perfect shower of bullets and shot our loss was trifling. "There was no noise whatever, no hurry or confusion," was Major Reid's report, and the latter part of the sentence, at least, was absolutely true. So was the first in the sense of calmness and steadiness. But the roar of artillery and musketry was incessant throughout the night. It was not

August 2nd. till ten a.m. that the rebels began to desist, and not till four p.m. did they withdraw their guns. Their loss was very heavy; ours 10 killed, 36 wounded,* Lieutenant Travers, 1st Punjab Infantry, among the former.

August 5th. An attempt was made to set fire to the bridge of boats, in which some Gurkhas were employed, but it failed.

Lieutenant E. Fraser was wounded in battery on the 7th; Lieutenant G. Baillie on the 10th.

* Gunners Moore, 1st, and Cotter, 3rd Company 4th Battalion, killed. Corporal Edbrook, 2nd Company 4th Battalion, died of his wound on the 3rd. Two gunners 4th Battalion and two in the Sikh Artillery wounded.

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1857. August 12th. The rebels had been annoying our left for some days with guns in front of the Kashmir gate and about Ludlow Castle. A column under Brigadier Showers* moved at 3.30 a.m. down the main road from cantonments. They went on in silence till challenged by a sentry, when a volley of musketry was rapidly succeeded by a bayonet charge. Two nines, one 6-pounder†, and one 24-pounder howitzer were captured. A detachment of the Kamáun Gurkhas swept through an orange garden on the left as far as the Kudsia Bagh. This success cost us 19 killed, 93 wounded. Brigadier Showers and Major Coke (the latter in the act of seizing a gun) were severely, Lieutenant Sheriff, 1st Fusiliers, mortally wounded; also Lieutenants Maunsell, Engineers, and Lindsay, Horse Artillery. Most of the casualties were in the 1st Fusiliers and Coke's Rifles.

August 14th. Brigadier-General J. Nicholson arrived from the Punjab this day with the 3rd Company 1st Battalion No. 17 Horse Field Battery (Captain G. Bourchier), the 52nd and the rest of the 61st Regiment, 2nd Punjab Infantry (Captain G. W. G Green), and 200 Multáni Horse. 53 Field Batt

Aug. 15-19th. Lieutenant Hodson scouted for four days towards Rohtak to intercept a party in that direction who were threatening our communications. He had two affairs with them, in one of which Lieutenant H. H. Gough was wounded.

August 25th. The rebels made another attempt on our communications. A siege-train was on its way from Ferozepore, so General Nicholson was sent out with a column. It consisted of 1st-1st Horse Artillery, Captain Remmington; 2nd-1st H.A. (four guns), Lieutenant W. Wilson; 2nd-3rd Horse Artillery, Captain Blunt; sixteen guns under Major Tombs, with Lieutenant Sankey as Staff Officer; a squadron of 9th Lancers, Lieutenant Sarel; Guide Cavalry, Captain San-

* A squadron of 9th Lancers, the Guide Cavalry, details of the 75th, 1st Fusiliers, Coke's Rifles, 8th Regiment, 2nd Fusiliers, Kamaun Battalion, and 4th Sikh Infantry. The 1st Troop 1st Brigade, under Captain Remmington (Major Olpherts being sick), accompanied the Column.

† Belonged to the mutinous 4th Troop 1st Brigade.

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1857. August 25th. ford, 120 men; 2nd Punjab Cavalry, Lieutenant Nicholson, 80 men; Multani* Horse, Lieutenant Lind, 200 men; 61st Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Rainey, 420 men; 1st Fusiliers, Major G. O. Jacob, 380 men; 1st Punjab Rifles, Lieutenant Lumsden, 400 men; 2nd Punjab Infantry, Captain G. W. G. Green, 400 men; Sappers, Lieutenant Geneste, 30 men.

The country was, as usual after the rains, greatly flooded, rendering it very difficult to traverse off the raised road. Nicholson, leaving camp at daybreak, got to Nanglui, nine miles on the road to Bahádurgarh, where he learned that the rebels would probably reach Najafgarh that afternoon. Wherefore, leaving the road, he moved direct on that place. Two miles short of it, about 5 p.m., he crossed a deep and broad nullah or part of the jhil flowing into the cut which drained it, near the village of Basraula. The rebel force had its left on the town of Najafgarh, and its right on a bridge over the canal; a serai near their centre being the key of the position. Forming line with four guns on the right and ten on the left, after a few rounds he charged and drove them out of it. Then changing front to the left, he rolled up their centre and right, driving them across the bridge, and capturing thirteen pieces of ordnance† with a large quantity of ammunition. Lieutenant Lumsden was sent to the right to clear out those who occupied Najafgarh, which was done in good style. On his way to rejoin the rest he was ordered to dislodge some of the rebels from the village of Nagli. They fought with desperation, and Lieutenant Lumsden was killed, and the 61st were sent to reinforce the attack. The enemy were strong in cavalry, and had ours been stronger a better account would have been given of this arm. But as it was, the victory was a very important one in its effects.‡ Our casualties were 25

*A Patán tribe beyond the Indus. Multán derived its name originally from them.

† Howitzers, one 24-pounder, two 12-pounders; guns, two 9-pounders, four 6-pounders; four native ones.

‡ As an instance of the character which Nicholson bore in the eyes

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killed, 70 wounded. Lieutenant Gabbett, 61st, was killed, and Lieutenant Elkington, same regiment, mortally wounded. The Horse Artillery had one gunner killed, and Assistant-Surgeon W. W. Ireland, of the 2nd-3rd Horse Artillery, very dangerously, it was at first thought mortally, wounded.* 1857. August 25th.

The troops bivouacked on the field, and next morning, after crossing the bridge, it was blown up by Lieutenant Geneste and the Sappers. General Nicholson, in his dispatch, mentions, with others, the names of Major Tombs, Captains Remmington and Blunt, Lieutenants Sankey and Wilson. August 26th.

Before the column returned an attack was made, the rebels turning out in great force, thinking we had only a few men left in camp. They opened fire on the mosque from Ludlow Castle with field guns, but the attack was not developed seriously, and was repulsed with severe loss to them.

As the siege-train which had been prepared at Ferozepore was now near at hand with the 2nd P.I., the last reinforcements the Punjab could supply, preparations for a final assault were actively pushed on. Some companies of Mazbi Sikhs had been raised for Sapper's work; coolies September.

of Sikhs, the writer may be permitted to say that having for his sins been condemned to remain at Meerut during the siege, and having charge of the picquets along the Artillery and Infantry sides of the station, he was on his daily visits usually asked for news by the Sikh soldiers on duty. On this occasion, when mention was made of a victory, they came round him to ask who commanded. "Nicholson Sahib," was the reply. The native officer significantly drew his finger across his throat, and motioned the others away. They retired, evidently thinking they had heard the main part of the story. "Now," said the old Sikh, "tell me all about it." "Well, Nicholson Sahib gave the Bághis a tremendous licking." "Of course he did," interrupted the other, "you need not tell me that, *and he took all their guns;* but how did he do it?"

* This was a singular case. One shrapnel killed a havildar and two gun lascars, disabled two horses, and wounded Assistant-Surgeon Ireland. A bullet striking his right eye came out at the left ear. I am very glad to learn that he is alive and able to devote himself to literary pursuits. Assistant-Surgeon D. B. Smith, of the Artillery, told me he saw him lying in a dooly, and to his astonishment was asked a question about the healing process of the wound.

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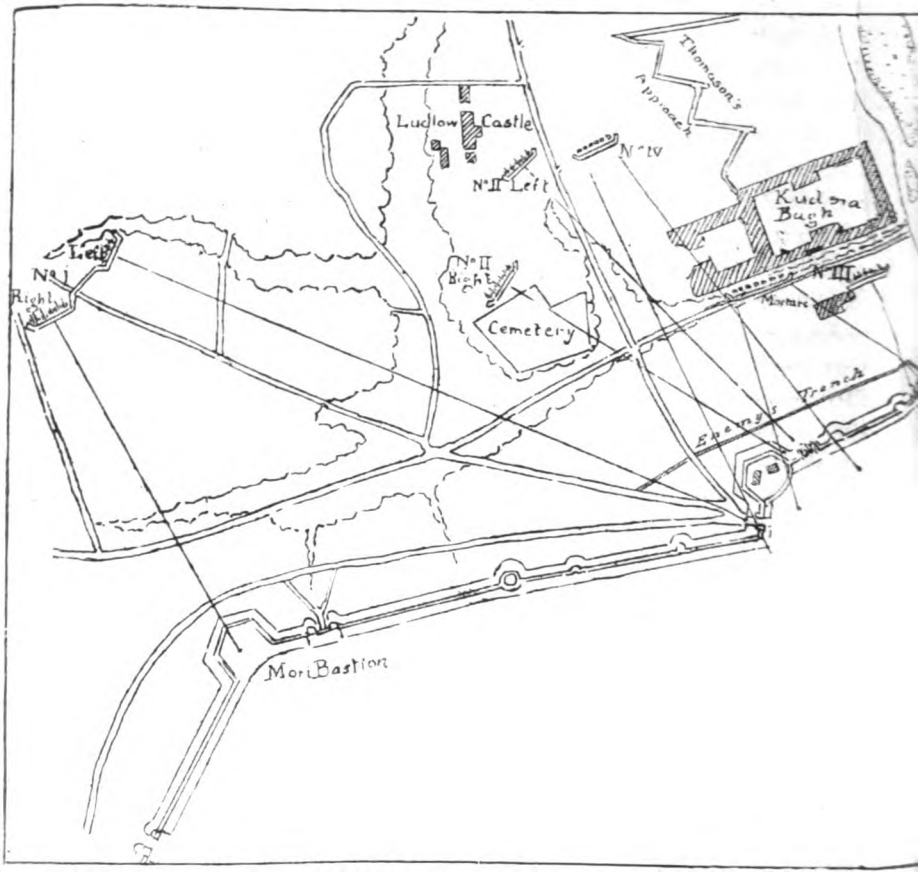
1857. September. filled up the number, and worked well. Lieutenant H. A. Brownlow, in charge of the park, was indefatigable in his preparations there. On the ground to the left of the Sámi House, a trench was formed ending in a battery



for four 9-pounders and two 24-pounder howitzers to command the Mori bastion, and prevent parties from coming round from the western gates to annoy the batteries about to be constructed. Lieutenant F. R. Maunsell was appointed Directing Engineer of the right attack; Lieutenant W. W. H. Greathed of the left.

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On the 3rd, Lieut.-Colonel F. Gaitskell joined ; also the siege-train under Lieutenant W. J. Gray. It consisted of six 24-pounders, eight 18-pounders, six* 8-inch howitzers, four 10-inch mortars from Ferozepore ; four 8-inch and six 5½-inch mortars brought by Lieutenant Dobbin from Phillour and given over to Lieutenant Gray at Ludhiána. The front to be attacked was that from the Water to the Mori bastion, and on to the Kabul gate. Bakht Khan told the King on the 5th of September that the siege-train had arrived, and that a battery would be made opposite the Kashmir gate. The bastions had regular faces, and flanks with properly cut embrasures for heavy guns, and were connected by long curtains, six of which were divided by the old circular burj of former days, with a cavalier for lighter ordnance. The rampart was about 12 feet thick and 16 feet high, with a three-foot parapet on it, eight feet high. Outside was a wide berm, a ditch 16 feet deep, with eight feet of the scarp revetted. A glacis covered about 10 feet of the wall. 1857. September.

On the 6th, Major J. H. Campbell, Lieutenants T. H. Salt, E. T. Hume, and T. Ryan, with 100 more of the Artillery recruits, arrived from Meerut. Lieutenant W. T. Somerville died in camp this day of fever.

No. I. battery was traced out to the right front of the Mori bastion. It was in two parts, one on each side of the road leading from the Pir Ghaib Mosque on the ridge, to the Kashmir gate. The right portion for five 18-pounder guns and one 8-inch howitzer to silence the Mori bastion, distant 600 yards. The left, for four 24-pounders to bear on the left flank of the Kashmir bastion commanding the gateway, and the gate itself, thus guarding against a sortie here ; distance, 1,100 yards. The trench connecting both portions and a deep ravine gave cover to the guard, doolies, Sept. 7th.

* General Gray says four. But not only was this number much less than the proportions laid down, there must have been at least twelve altogether. Several were disabled at different times, and eight were in the breaching batteries I. and II. See Note C, Appendix.

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1857. Sept. 7th. etc., and a good communication with the left batteries. Major James Brind commanded the right portion till the assault; under him it was sure to be effective. His subalterns were Lieutenants Bunny, Bishop, and Salwey, and it was manned by the 2nd and 3rd Troops 3rd Brigade H.A. Major Turner commanded the left with Lieutenants Gray, Salt, Hildebrand, Gillespie, Chichester, and Budd.

The other batteries which the Engineers proposed to establish were :—

No. II. intended to breach the curtain to the right of the Kashmir bastion; to destroy the defences of the bastion, and to break down the parapet on either side so as to deprive the defenders of cover. It was in two portions; the left for nine 24-pounder guns, placed under Major Campbell, was constructed to the right front of Ludlow Castle; and the right, about 120 yards from the former, on ground behind the cemetery, for two 18-pounder guns, and seven 8-inch howitzers, was placed under command of Major Kaye after No. I. left had been destroyed. Captain Johnson, Lieutenants Dirom, Roberts, and Craster were with Major Campbell.

No. III. for six* 18-pounders was intended to breach the curtain close to the Water bastion, and destroy the defences of the bastion itself. It was originally intended to be placed behind the Kudsia Bágh, about 330 yards from the wall, but the position not appearing good, Captain Taylor examined the ground about the Custom House in front of the garden, and reported on a site there only 160 yards distant. General Wilson consented to this very bold attempt, and on the night of the 10th it was commenced. An incessant shower of shot poured upon the working-party. The coolies, though unskilled at that business, worked beautifully. It is told of them that as one after another was killed, his comrades removed the body to one side and continued their work. Thirty-nine of them were

* Intended at first for eight guns. It was aided by 9-pounders.

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killed or wounded during the night. The records of sieges do not contain a better example of passive courage. To Major Scott was assigned this post of honour. His subalterns were Captain Fagan, Lieutenants Heath, Sir W. Hamilton, J. Evans (9th Lancers), Hare, and Ryan. It was manned by the 4th Company 6th Battalion and Hamilton's Sikh Artillerymen. 1857. Sept. 7th.

No. III. was aided by a battery for twelve 5½-inch mortars under Captain Blunt. It was placed in the road passing up between the Custom House and garden. He was assisted by Lieutenant Cadell, who was prostrated by fever, Cornet F. Trench, and a bugler. It was on the right and to the rear of the other, and was manned by some of the recruits just arrived from Meerut, none of whom had ever stood behind a mortar before.

No. IV. to the left front of No. II. had four 10- and six 8-inch mortars, and was to shell the whole of the ground between and to the rear of the Water and Kashmir bastions. It was constructed on the night of the 10th. Major Tombs commanded it with Lieutenants Renny and Sankey.

For the protection of the right, and covering the camp, the main picquet was supported by the light battery upon the plateau to the left front of the Sámi House (six 9-pounder guns, two 24-pounder howitzers); four 18-pounders, which were placed in the batteries on the ridge near Hindu Rao's house, and two more 9-pounders at the Crow's Nest. All these were placed under command of Captain Remmington. Lieutenants Evans, Fitzgerald, Elliot, and Aislabie were employed on the ridge.

No. I. opened fire on the morning of the 8th, from two guns in each portion; the remainder of the ordnance was got into position during the evening and night. All accounts testify to Major Brind's unceasing vigilance till the day of the assault. He seemed never to sleep. Major Turner was obliged from severe sickness to leave, and his place was taken by Major Kaye. The left battery caught fire on the afternoon of the 10th, and was destroyed. The guns were

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1857. September. removed to No. II., which was strengthened, armed, and unmasked during the night, and opened on the morning of the 11th. Lieutenant E. H. Hildebrand, who had done excellent service since he joined in the beginning of July, was killed by a round shot on the morning of the 8th in No. I. Battery, and Riding-Master S. Budd was wounded after removal of the officers and guns to No. II.

The facility with which the position at Ludlow Castle had been occupied was a surprise to us. It is probable that the construction of No. I., in front of the Mori corner, where it would be assisted by the batteries on the ridge, gave rise to the idea that the attack would be on that side, and made the Sepoys distrust the opinion of Bakht Khan before alluded to, that it would be on the Kashmir gate. Their counsels were divided, and though desertions were now frequent, their only chance was to trust to their greatly superior numbers and means of defence, and make the best fight they could.

As soon as light permitted on the morning of the 11th, Major Tombs' mortars in No. IV. opened, and kept up fire incessantly upon the front between the Kashmir and Water bastions, and the ground behind. The same evening Major Campbell, in the left No. II., was severely wounded by a grape shot, and was obliged to make over command of it to Captain E. B. Johnson.

At two o'clock No. III. opened. The duty of serving the guns was a most dangerous one, though the embrasures were supplied with wooden shutters. Very steadily did the gunners of the 4th Company 6th Battalion and the Sikhs under Hamilton perform it. The enemy had thrown up a breastwork before the Kashmir bastion, from which a hot fire was kept up at close range, and a heavy with some light guns in the open near the Mori gate enfiladed the advanced batteries. In No. III., a covering party of the 60th Rifles, under Captain Sir E. F. Campbell, Lieutenant McGill, and Ensign E. A. L. Phillips,* did their best to keep down the

* 11th N.I. doing duty with 60th.

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enemy's efforts. This battery had not been in action more than an hour when Captain Fagan was killed by a shot in the head. His "unceasing energy and conspicuous devotion to his profession had gained for him the respect of every branch of the force."* Captain Blunt, with his twelve mortars, had his hands full, for his only Artillery subaltern was down with fever; but, nevertheless, he did his work, and did it well. Lieutenant Cracklow came down on the 13th, with two guns of Captain Bourchier's Battery to aid No. III. in the demolition of the light parapets. 1857. September. Sept. 13th.

The accuracy with which the batteries had been laid down was soon seen by the effect of direct breaching, and of the silencing ordnance. In the evening of this day Captain Taylor came down to No. III. Lieutenants Greathed and Home examined the Water bastion; Lieutenants Medley and Lang the Kashmir and Curtain. Both breaches were reported in excellent condition, and the assault was ordered for the next morning. Sept. 14th.

The columns for assault were told off as follows:—

1st, Brigadier-General J. Nicholson.

Engineer Officers to conduct, Lieutenants J. G. Medley, A. M. Lang, and H. Bingham.

75th Regiment, 300 men; 1st Bengal Fusiliers, 200; 2nd Punjab Infantry, 450; to storm the right breach, and escalade Kashmir bastion.

2nd, Brigadier W. Jones, C.B., 61st.

Engineer Officers to conduct, Lieutenants W. W. H. Greathed, J. St. J. Hovenden, and R. C. B. Pemberton.

8th Regiment, 250 men; 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, 250; 4th Sikh Infantry, 350; to storm the left breach.

3rd, Colonel G. Campbell, 52nd.

Engineer Officers, Lieutenants D. C. Home and P. Salkeld, explosion party; Lieutenant F. L. Tandy to conduct.

* Major Gaitskell's dispatch, No. 20, dated 19th September, 1857.

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1857. Sept. 14th. 52nd Regiment, 200 men; Kamáun Battalion, 250; 1st Punjab Infantry, 500; to assault the Kashmir gate.

4th, Major C. Reid.

Engineer Officers to conduct, Lieutenants F. R. Maunsell and J. F. Tennant.

Details of British regiments on the main picquet: Sirmur Battalion; Kashmir Auxiliaries; about 1,000 men in all. To attack Kishangunj and Paháripur suburbs.

Reserve Column, Brigadier J. Longfield, 8th.

Engineer Officers to conduct, Lieutenants D. Ward and E. T. Thackeray.

61st Regiment, 250 men; 4th Punjab Rifles, 450; Beluch Battalion, 300; Jhind Auxiliaries, 300; 60th Rifles, 200.

At four a.m. the Columns fell in and marched down, the heads of Nos. 1, 2, and 3, being kept concealed till the signal for advance should be given by General Nicholson. On this being done, 200 of the 60th Rifles, under Colonel Jones, dashed forward with a cheer, extending out to skirmishing order, to cover Nos. 1 and 2 as they emerged from the Kudsia Bagh, and No. 3 as it moved down the road. The fire of the batteries kept down the enemy's guns, but as the Columns moved on the hail of musketry fire was tremendous. The mutinous Sepoys felt their end coming, and fought desperately. In front of the 3rd Column went on a small party bearing the powder bags for the Kashmir gate; Lieutenants Duncan C. Home, and Salkeld, Sergeants Smith and Carmichael, and Corporal Burgess, of the Sappers and Miners; Bugler Hawthorne, 52nd, 14 Regular and 10 Punjab Sappers. They passed along at a double through the skirmishers, and crossing the ditch by the shattered timbers of the bridge, laid the bags at the gate. The wicket was open, through this and from the adjoining parapet a hot fire was kept up on the party. In laying the train Sergeant Carmichael was killed, a Havildar wounded. Lieutenant Salkeld, while endeavouring to fire the charge, was shot both in the thigh and arm. Handing the slow match to Corporal Burgess, he was taken down

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into the ditch where the rest of the party were, and Bugler Hawthorne tied up the wounds. Corporal Burgess succeeded in firing the charge, but was mortally wounded. The explosion rent the timbers of the gate; Lieutenant Home ordered the bugler to sound, and his regimental call, thrice repeated, was answered by the rush forward of the Column up to and inside the gate. The breaches had just been crowned by the other Columns; some planting the ladders clambered over wherever they could. The Water bastion was seized and the guns there turned on the palace. The guns in the Kashmir had been already rendered unserviceable. Here, in the enclosed space of the Main Guard, General Nicholson formed his men as they came up. Colonel Campbell, after clearing out the Water bastion, went past the church (captured by a part of the 2nd Column) and the *Delhi Gazette* premises by the Kashmir Darwáza Bazar, to the principal street, the Chandni Chauk. Here the large building, called the Dariba, which would have been a valuable position, was blocked up with masonry, and there were no Engineers left; no means of blowing open the gate. The Jama Masjid,* to which his orders extended, could not be reached, so Colonel Campbell was obliged to fall back upon the Begam Bágh (Delhi Bank), and finally upon the church. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, son of the late Resident, accompanied this Column, and was most useful in pointing out the localities. Lieutenants Fitzgerald and Elliot, with two divisions of No. 14 F.B., accompanied this Column, and rendered valuable assistance. The latter was severely wounded at the college garden. Lieutenant Aislabie with the third division accompanied General Nicholson's Column. 1857. Sept. 13th.

No. 1 Column had secured the walls and adjacent build-

* It should not have been included in the orders. The canal running from the Kabul gate to Salimgarh, with the Dariba as a central stronghold, would have been quite sufficient for one day's work, and as much as could then have been held. Part of the Column, Kaye says, got to Lahore gate. Had this been held, communication with the 1st Column would have been secured.

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1857. Sept. 14th.

ings as far as the Kabul gate. It was supported by No. 2. From thence the space between the houses and wall became a narrow lane. In this, at an interval, were two field guns well placed, one, if not both, having bullet-proof screens. Beyond, and distant only 360 yards, was the Burn bastion, armed with heavy and light guns, some bearing on us. On either side the enemy plied the advancing soldiers with a destructive fire. The Fusiliers captured the first gun; the second, after two attempts, was spiked, but could not be held. Major Jacob, of that regiment, was mortally wounded. The officers one by one fell and the men wavered. General Nicholson coming up, waved his sword and called on the men to renew their charge, when a shot struck him in the body. He was carried to the rear, and Captain W. Brookes, of the 75th, next senior, withdrew the remnant of both Columns to the Kabul gate. This should not have been passed till communication with the 4th Column had been established.

Major Reid was to have been accompanied by the left-half of the 1st Troop 1st Brigade, but as most of the men were on duty in the batteries under Captain Remmington, and could not be relieved in time, he had to move without them. A portion of the Jammu Troops, sent to occupy Idgáh, near the Sabzi Mandi, found itself engaged with the mutineers, who were in great force in and around the Teliwára and Kishanganj suburbs, sooner than had been expected. Unable to cope with greatly superior numbers, they had to retire, leaving their guns, the horses having been taken away by the grass-cutters. So that when Major Reid with the remainder of the Column, not waiting longer for his guns, moved down to support the other attack, he was met by a heavy fire from the mutineers lining the loopholed Serai and other buildings in Kishanganj. Major Reid was wounded in the head and was carried away. Sending for Major R. C. Lawrence, he made over command and directed him to carry out the plan of attack. But the Jammu contingent had retired; large bodies of horse and foot were in front

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and on both flanks, and it was necessary to retire to avoid being cut off. The fire of the guns at the Crow's Nest with shrapnel, admirably delivered, under Lieutenant H. J. Evans, enabled them to do this with comparatively little loss. 1857. Sept. 14th.

Brigadier Hope Grant, with 200 of the 9th Lancers (Captain Drysdale), 410 Guide Cavalry (Captain Sanford), 1st (Lieutenant Watson), 2nd (Lieutenant Probyn), and 3rd Punjab Cavalry (Lieutenant Younghusband), with the right half 1st-1st H.A. (Lieutenant Lindsay), 2nd-1st H.A. (Lieutenant Wilson), Major Tombs commanding all the guns, were held in readiness at daybreak. As soon as the attack commenced, he moved down on the Mori bastion, and then on to the Kabul gate, where they came under a very heavy fire. The guns of the Burn bastion and in the Teliwára suburb were served with grape, and every building there was filled with rebels, who kept up a destructive fire of musketry. The number must have been very great, and there was very possibly some intention of an attempt upon the camp during the progress of the assault. Major Tombs with his guns drove the rebels from one battery in Teliwára, and Lieutenant Traill, H.A., spiked an 18- and a 12-pounder. A party of the Guide Infantry and of the Biluch Battalion joined them, and subsequently Captain Bourchier's Battery, so that Grant was enabled to hold his position as long as was necessary. The loss was severe, but not more than might have been expected; Major Tombs and Lieutenant Lindsay were both wounded, and in the 1st Troop, one European, one Native and four horses killed, nine horses wounded; 2nd Troop, one European one Native, and 13 horses killed, 17 Europeans, 13 Natives and 10 horses (one a charger) wounded.

So that on this day the position gained within the city was limited to the space from the Water to the Mori bastions, and round the church as far as the college. The casualties in the return appended to General Wilson's dispatch of the 22nd of September, on this day's fighting, are recorded

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1857. Sept. 14th. as 282 killed, 878 wounded, 10 missing.* Unfortunately, at the further end of the open space round the church where the street leading to the Begam Samru's house (Delhi Bank) began, there was one of the large general shops capable of supplying unlimited stores to a mess, a canteen, or an impecunious subaltern. It was quickly discovered, and the British soldier, after fighting for hours without anything to allay hunger, too readily welcomes something to quench his thirst. Before the place could be destroyed, many fell victims to the sun and the enemy who might well have retained their number in mess. Major-General Wilson established his headquarters temporarily in Mr. Skinner's house facing the church. No. 14 Field Battery was on picquet duty, two guns at headquarters; two in the street next the college garden, and two at the Kabul gate.

Sept. 15th. Next day, a mortar fire was kept up upon Salimgarh, from which the rebels were cannonading us, and Lieutenant Salt at the Water bastion had the guns there laid for the same direction. The magazine defences were breached, and skirmishing went on at all the advanced posts.

Sept. 16th. The magazine was taken early this day by the 61st part of the 4th Punjab Infantry, and Biluch Battalion. Under cover of the palace and Selimgarh guns, the mutineers attacked our outposts and the magazine. They set fire to some thatched buildings touching the magazine walls. Lieutenant Renny here won the Victoria Cross. He got on the wall, and throwing down 5½-inch shells as hand-grenades among the Sepoys below, who could not be otherwise reached, dislodged them; Lieutenant Hare, of the Artillery, and Vicars, 61st, assisting. Kishanganj was evacuated this day.

September. During the next two days our line extended from the Kabul gate direct to the magazine. Lieutenants D. Thomson, McLeod, Manderson, Gully, Hare, and Ryan were serving with mortars. The Burn bastion was cap-

* This return is incomplete as to the Artillery.

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tured on the 19th, the Lahore gate and Garstin bastion on the 20th. The palace gates were blown in, and General Wilson's headquarters were established in the Diwán Khás. On the 21st the old King was captured by Lieutenant Hodson a few miles from the city. He was afterwards tried here by a military commission, of which Lieut.-Colonel M. Dawes, of the Artillery, was president, found guilty of rebellion and complicity in the murder of British subjects, and ended his days a State prisoner at Rangoon. A day or two after two of his sons and a grandson were captured by the same energetic officer, who shot them, and their bodies were exposed in front of the Kotwáli in the Chándni Chauk. 1857. September.

The siege of Delhi, lasting for 106 days during the hottest season of the year, brought out in striking colours the best qualities of the British soldier. It brought out the martial qualities of the Gurkhas and the Sikhs; and it brought out in gallant relief the loyalty of the few native soldiers recruited from the provinces, who remained staunch. These were nearly all comprised in the 5th Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery and the remnant of the Sappers.

Throughout the whole of these 106 days the odds against us were such as no General would willingly have faced. The weight of responsibility brought Sir Henry Barnard to his grave. Major-General Sir Archdale Wilson was fully alive to his difficulties, but his mind was cast in a less sensitive mould, yet he contemplated the possibility of a retirement.* We sat down before Delhi in June a force of 600 Cavalry and 2,400 Infantry.† Its defences had been improved by our Engineers at considerable expense, and though on the lines of the original tracing, were too strong to be assailed but by a powerful Artillery. Our heavy ordnance numbered at first but 24 pieces, and when the regular siege commenced, 56; or taking those captured into account, 65.

* P.P. Further Papers No. 4, Inclosure 29 in No. 2, p. 63.

† Lieutenant Norman's "Narrative," P.P. Further Papers No. 6, Inclosure 23 in No. 5, p. 200.

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1857. September. The reserve Artillery were the shadows of five companies * and three newly-raised Sikh ones, which joined in the end of June; besides 200 recruits from the depôt at Meerut, who having arrived from England only a month before the outbreak, knew nothing of the special duties of their arm. The Field Artillery, at first 22, increased to 38. When the last of the reinforcements arrived, our whole force, of all arms, numbered 8,791 effective, besides 2,364 wounded and sick.† Cholera, that foe we have so often to face in India, hovered over the ridge and daily claimed its many victims.

1857 With this small force we had for more than three months held the ridge against the constant attacks of overwhelming numbers. The city, within an enciente of 5¾ miles, contained an enormous population now hostile to our rule, the male portion of which were not much less formidable behind walls than the Sepoys. Of these a return prepared by the Mir Munshi to the Commander-in-Chief August 28th, 1857, gives the numbers as: Cavalry, three regiments and 3,590 men of others; Infantry, 24 regiments and 4,420 men; or not less than 4,000 of the first and 30,000 of the last.‡ There never was any want of Artillerymen, not so much from the Golandáz§ as from the magazine and gun lascars, who, as Sir John Horsford fifty years before had pointed out, were all skilled in the management and laying of guns. They failed in one important point—the correct

* The 4th Company 6th Battalion had lost in the last half of September, 1856, a third of its strength by cholera at Ferozepore; the 4th Battalion nearly as many at Mian Mir, and they had not replaced the loss.

† P.P. Further Papers No. 4, Inclosure 9 in No. 5, p. 258.

‡ P.P. Further Papers No. 4, Inclosure 7 in No. 5, p. 255

§ The Artillery which reached Delhi seems to have been :—

	Guns
From Delhi, May 11th, 3rd Co. 7th Batt. No. 5 Field Battery ...	6
From Nasirabad, June 19th, 2nd Co. 7th Batt. No. 6 Field Battery	6
From Bareilly, July 2nd, 6th Co. 8th Batt. No. 15 Field Battery, two post guns and one station gun...	9
From Nowgong, July 2nd, 4th Co. 9th Batt. No 18 Bullock Battery	3
From Neemuch) July 31st, 4th Troop 1st Bde. H.A. and Kotah and Deoli) Contingent	9
Total	33

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fuzing of the shells. Of ordnance and stores there was an ample supply. Mounted on the bastions and curtains were 60 pieces; in the streets and suburbs, 16; in the palace and Selimgarh, 20; in the magazine, 148; besides a few others of native manufacture, 46 captured in fight; a total of 296 guns, howitzers, mortars, and carronades. 1857.

Such were the forces arrayed against one another at Delhi in 1857. The constant attacks (not less than twenty-six) made on Major Reid's picquets at Hindu Rao's house showed how alive the rebels were to the importance of that post. Its defence is a splendid record, and worthily has its commander won his spurs. Major Reid never once left his post but to attack the enemy until he was carried away wounded on the day of the assault. Ever associated with that defence will be remembered the 60th Royal Rifles, whose casualties were 389 out of nearly 640 men; the Sirmur Battalion, which had 327 out of 490; and the Guide Corps, 303 out of about 550.

Of the work done by the Engineers, the foregoing very brief record tells little. From the time that Colonel Baird Smith joined the force there was a steady pressing forward to the capture of the rebel city. Difficulties, which to the eye of the Artillery General seemed almost insurmountable, were swept away by his resolute action. His right hand was Alexander Taylor, whose readiness of resource and indefatigable energy carried out all the proposals of his chief and initiated many others. Of Lieutenant H. A. Brownlow, in charge of the park, it is recorded that his "activity and intelligence contributed not a little to the eventual success of our operations." Four officers were killed or died; 14 were wounded; and of those who were officiating one was killed, two wounded.

In the Artillery, from the time the troops left Meerut and Umballa to the final capture of the city, 10 officers were killed and died of wounds or disease incidental to the service; 22 regimental officers, one assistant-surgeon, and a riding-master were wounded. Neither officers nor men had

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1857. much relaxation from their manifold duties. The Horse Artillerymen, assisted by volunteers from the 9th Lancers and Carabiniers, worked in the breaching batteries till they ceased firing, and then mounted for fresh work. The behaviour of all in getting the heavy ordnance into battery and serving the pieces under a close and murderous fire, and the manner in which the walls crumbled to pieces before their steady discharges, has been commented upon by all who have written the story of this siege. The duties in park, though less visible, were of the utmost importance to the effective working of the Artillery, and Major Hogge, Captain Young, and Lieutenant Griffith fulfilled them well.

Kaye, in his "History of the Sepoy War," * has commented upon the omission by Major-General Wilson of the names of some Artillery officers from his dispatches who were deserving of recognition. The General may have wished to avoid the charge of favouring his own regiment, but he should at least have made some mention of the noble conduct of the Native Troop, which under Renny had rendered such faithful service.

The events of 1857-58 are now matters of ancient history, but there are many still surviving who wear the clasp given in recognition of their services before the hardest won fortress of modern times.

* Vol. III., p. 579.

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APPENDIX.

A. Officers of Engineers who served at the Siege of Delhi.

B. Report from Colonel M. Mackenzie on the conduct of Major Tombs and Lieutenant Hills.

C. Ordnance employed at the Siege of Delhi.

D. Return of killed, wounded, and missing.

E. Officers of the Bengal Artillery killed or died

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Officers of Engineers who served at the Siege of Delhi.

Major John Laughton.
Captain (Official Lieut.-Colonel) Richard B. Smith, wounded 12th August.
Captain (Official Lieut.-Colonel) Alexander Taylor.
Lieutenant W. W. H. Greathed, wounded very severely 14th September.
Lieutenant J. T. Walker (Bombay), wounded very severely 14th July.
Lieutenant H. W. Gulliver.
Lieutenant C. T. Stewart.
Lieutenant F. R. Maunsell, wounded very severely 12th August and 14th September.
Lieutenant D. C. Home.
Lieutenant J. F. Tennant.
Lieutenant J. G. Medley, wounded very severely 14th September.
Lieutenant P. Salkeld, died of wound 14th September.
Lieutenant E. Walker, died of cholera 18th July.
Lieutenant G. T. Chesney (Brigade-Major), wounded very severely 14th September.
Lieutenant W. E. Warrand, wounded very severely 30th August.
Lieutenant H. A. Brownlow, wounded dangerously 14th September.
Lieutenant M. H. Geneste, wounded dangerously 14th July.
Lieutenant J. St. J. Hovenden, wounded very severely 14th September.
Lieutenant Æ. Perkins, wounded very severely 17th June.
Lieutenant A. M. Lang.
Lieutenant E. W. Humphry.
2nd-Lieutenant C. S. Thomason.
2nd-Lieutenant L. U. Champain, wounded.
2nd-Lieutenant R. C. B. Pemberton, wounded 14th Sept.
2nd-Lieutenant P. Murray, wounded.
2nd-Lieutenant A. McNeill.
2nd-Lieutenant F. L. Tandy, killed 14th September.
2nd-Lieutenant D. Ward.
2nd-Lieutenant W. F. Fulford.
2nd-Lieutenant E. Jones, died 24th of wound 18th July.
2nd-Lieutenant H. A. L. Carnegie, wounded 14th July.
2nd-Lieutenant E. T. Thackeray.
2nd-Lieutenant J. G. Forbes.
Captain T. M. Greensill, H.M. 24th Regiment, Assistant Field Engineer, accidentally shot while on duty at the Metcalfe Picquet 20th July, and died next day.
Ensign Louis Gustavinsky, Punjab Sappers, wounded very severely 14th September.
Lieutenant H. Bingham, Vet. Est., commanding Pioneers.
Mr. Harry Martin (Canal Dept.).
Mr. C. Anderson, Punjab Sappers, wounded 1st Sept.

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NOTE B.

No. 83. Camp near Delhi, 10th July, 1857.

SIR,—It is with great pleasure I submit, for the information of the Brigadier-Commandant, the following account of the very gallant conduct of 2nd-Lieutenant James Hills, of the 2nd Troop 1st Brigade H.A., and the noble behaviour of his Commanding Officer, Major H. Tombs, in twice coming to his subaltern's rescue, and on each occasion killing his man.

Yesterday, the 9th instant, 2nd-Lieutenant J. Hills was on picquet duty with two guns at the mound to the right of Camp. About 11 a.m. there was a rumour that the enemy's Cavalry were coming down on this post. Lieutenant Hills proceeded to take up the position assigned in case of alarm; but before he reached the spot, he saw the enemy close upon his guns before they had time to form up. To enable them to do this, Lieutenant Hills boldly charged single-handed the head of the enemy's column, cut down the first man, struck the second, and was then ridden down, horse and all. On getting up, and searching for his sword, three more men came at him (two mounted); the first man he wounded with his pistol; he caught the lance of the second in his left hand, and wounded him with his sword; the first man then came on again, and was cut down; the third man then, on foot, came up and wrenched the sword from the hand of Lieutenant Hills, who fell in the struggle, and the enemy was about to cut him down when Major Tombs (who had gone up to visit his two guns) saw what was going on, rushed in, and shot the man and saved Lieutenant Hills.

By this time the enemy's Cavalry had passed by, and Major Tombs and Lieutenant Hills went to look after the wounded men, when Lieutenant Hills observed one of the enemy passing with his (Lieutenant Hills') pistol. They walked towards him, and the man began flourishing his sword, and dancing about. He first cut at Lieutenant Hills, who parried the blow, and he then turned on Major Tombs, who received the blow in the same manner. His second attack on Lieutenant Hills was, I regret to say, more successful, as he was cut down with a bad sword-cut on the head, and would have been no doubt killed had not Major Tombs rushed in, and put his sword through the man. I feel

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convinced that such gallant conduct on the part of these two officers has only to be brought properly forward to meet with an appropriate reward.

Major Tombs was saved from a severe sword-cut on the head by the wadded head-dress he wore.

I have to apologise for the writing of this letter, as it is written from a sick-bed.

I have, &c.,
MURRAY MACKENZIE, Captain
and Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel
Commanding 1st Brigade H.A.

To Lieutenant E. B. JOHNSON,
Assistant Adjutant-General Artillery.

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NOTE C.

Ordnance Employed at the Siege of Delhi in 1857.

	Field Ordnance.							Siege Ordnance.			Captured from end of May to end of August.						Total.	‡‡	§§
	2-1 H.A.	2-3 H.A.	3-3 H.A.	3-3 No. 14.	1-1 H.A.	5-1 H.A.	3-1 No. 17.	Meerut.	1st Siege-Train.	2nd Siege-Train.	30-31 May.	8 June.	17 June.	20 June.	12 Aug.	25 Aug.			
9-pr. Guns ...	...	...	5	5	...	‡	5	...	...	...	...	?¶	1	1	2	2	21?	} 7‖	...
6-pr. Guns ...	3*	5	...	...	5	3†	...	...	...	...	...	?¶	...	...	1	4	21?		...
24-pr. Howitzers.	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	?‖	?‖	1	?¶	...	...	1	1	6?		...
12-pr. Howitzers.	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	?¶	...	...	...	2	6?		...
24-pr. Guns ...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	6	1	2	...	...	...	...	9	9	9
**18-pr. Guns ...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	2§	8	8	1	3	...	...	...	...	22	18	13
10-in. Howitzers.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
††8-in. Howitzers	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	6	1	1	...	...	...	...	12	12	8
10-in. Mortars ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4
8-in. Mortars ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	4	6
5½-in. Mortars ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	6	12
Total ...	4	6	6	6	6	4	6	2	22?	34?									

* A division left at Meerut under Lieut. T. P. Smith.
† A division left at Jullundur under Lieut. Maynard.
‡ Guns taken away in July; restored at capture.
§ From Meerut Depôt of Instruction.
‖ 24-pounder field howitzers formed part of every siege-train; the seven "brass guns" in Examiner's return must have been howitzers.
¶ The number of field pieces captured 8th of June have not been recorded.
** Some in position on the ridge.
†† Several disabled during the siege.
‡‡ This column is from a return furnished by the Examiner Ordnance Accounts in Adjt.-Gen. letter No. 1161, Calcutta, 6th December, 1865.
§§ This column gives the number of pieces employed in breaching batteries in September.
Owing to the discrepancy between different accounts, it has been difficult to arrive at a correct statement of some of the above items.

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NOTE D.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing of the Artillery during the operations at and about Delhi May 30th, to September 20th, 1857.

	Killed.			Wounded.				Missing.	Total.
	Officers.	N.C. Officers.	Rank and File.	Officers.	N.C. Officers.	Trumpeters, etc.	Rank and File.		
European	4	4	39	23	13	4	199	...	286
Native	1	1	25	1	2	...	47	2	79
Total...	5	5	64	24	15	4	246	2	365

Strength of all ranks inclusive of Sikh Artillery, Drivers, Lascars, 1,350.

This is from a return signed by Lieutenant H. W. Norman, Assistant-Adjutant-General of the army ("Narrative"), and must be considered accurate as far as casualties to that date were reported. Appended is another of deaths only, prepared from casualty returns to about the middle of October. To show the difficulty of arriving at perfect accuracy, I may mention that I went over to Delhi, November 2nd, to ascertain how many of the Artillery Recruits had died or were killed, and adjust their estates. There were more than 60 out of the 200. Many of them had been posted to troops and companies there during the siege. These are included with them below, but I cannot now account for all:—

	Killed, Died of Sunstroke in Action, Died of Wounds.							Died in Hospital.					Total.
	Staff-Sergeants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Bombardiers.	Rough-Riders.	Half-Pay Buglers.	Gunners.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Bombardiers.	Trumpeters.	Gunners.	
1st-1st Brigade	...	1	...	1	...	...	3	...	1	...	...	3	9
2nd-1st Brigade	...	...	...	1	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	3	13
Staff 3rd Brigade	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
2nd-3rd Brigade...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	1	...	...	1	2	12
3rd-3rd Brigade	...	3	...	3	...	...	3	1	...	1	...	3	14
3rd-1st Batt. No. 17 F.B. ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	4	7
3rd-3rd Batt. No. 14 F.B. ...	1	...	2	...	...	...	8	1	1	...	...	4	17
1st-4th Batt.*	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	3	8
2nd-4th Batt*.	...	...	1	...	...	...	4	...	...	1	...	6	12
3rd-4th Batt.	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	4
4th-4th Batt.	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	4
4th-6th Batt.	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	5	9
Recruit Depôt*	...	...	...	...	1	...	8	1	...	...	...	21	31
2nd-2nd Batt.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
Total....	2	5	3	7	1	1	54	5	3	2	1	59	143

* One Missing (killed).

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NOTE E.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who were killed or died of their wounds or disease received or contracted at the siege of Delhi, and who were wounded during it :—

Killed in Battery or Action.

Lieutenant H. G. Perkins, Hindan, May 31st.
Lieutenant E. H. Hildebrand, Battery, September 8th.
Captain R. C. H. B. Fagan, Battery, September 12th.

Died of Wounds.

Colonel H. Garbett, August 8th, died Simla, January 14th.
Colonel M. Mackenzie, July 2nd, died Simla, October 5th.
Lieutenant T. E. Dickens, July 20th, died Camp, July 27th.

Died of Disease.

Colonel J. L. Mowatt, Camp Pipli, May 30th.
Lieutenant E. Salwey, Simla, October 29th.
Lieutenant W. T. Somerville, Camp Delhi, September 5th.
Lieutenant J. H. Shuldham, Agra, February 13th.

Wounded.

Major J. H. Campbell, September 11th, severely.
Major E. K. Money, July 23rd, severely.
Captain J. Young, June 18th.
Major Tombs, June 17th and September 14th.
Major E. B. Johnson, May 31st.
Captain T. E. Kennion, August 6th, severely.
Captain A. Light, June 8th.
Lieutenant A. Bunny, July 23rd.
Lieutenant H. P. Bishop, June 19th.
Lieutenant G. Baillie, August 10th, severely.
Lieutenant A. Gillespie, September 11th.
Lieutenant E. L. Earle, September 11th.
Lieutenant A. H. Lindsay, September 12th.
Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, July 14th.
Lieutenant C. Hunter, June 8th.
Lieutenant J. Hills,* July 9th, severely.
Lieutenant M. Elliot, September 15th, severely.
Lieutenant P. Thompson, July 14th, severely.
Lieutenant A. H. Davidson, June 8th, severely.
Lieutenant E. Fraser, August 7th.
Lieutenant R. T. Hare, June 8th.
Lieutenant H. Chichester, July 18th.
Assist.-Surgeon W. W. Ireland, August 25th, dangerously.
Riding-Master S. Budd, September 8th.

* Now General Sir J. Hills-Johnes, G.C.B., V.C.

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CHAPTER X.

THE PUNJAB.

SEPOY WAR—PUNJAB.—Events at Peshawur—Outbreak at Jullundur—Disarming of Sepoys at Multán—Moveable Column—Action with Sepoys at Jhelum—Outbreak at Sialkot—Brigadier Brind Killed—Nicholson intercepts Rebels at Trimu Ghat—He goes on to Delhi.

DELHI.—Showers' Column—Gerard's Column—Action at Narnaul—Seaton Marches with Convoy to join the Commander-in-Chief—Actions at Gangeri and Patiáli.

AGRA.—Its Position with Reference to Surrounding Stations and States—Mutinies in the Doab and Gwalior State—Battle near Agra—Mismanagement—Deaths of D'Oyly and Lamb—March of Greathed's Column to Agra—Action at Bulandshahar—Battle at Agra—Column proceeds to Cawnpore.

CAWNPORE.—Description of Station—Of the Magazine—As the best Defensive Position—Arrival of Troops—Some sent on to Lucknow—Sepoys Mutiny—Entrenched position taken up—Splendid Defence—But Impossibility of Holding it—Treaty with the Nana—Massacre at the Boats.

FATEHGARH.—Party sent down to Cawnpore—Sepoys Mutiny—Defence of Fort—Its Evacuation—A few Escape into Oudh—Fate of those who reached Cawnpore.

1857. May. ON the receipt at Peshawur, 12th of May, of the news that the native regiments at Meerut had mutinied, a Council of War was held. Sydney Cotton, Brigadier Commanding the station, Neville Chamberlain, Brigadier-Commandant of the Punjab Irregular Force, Herbert Edwardes, Commissioner, and John Nicholson, Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur, met on the 13th at the house of Major-General Reed, Commanding the Division. It was decided to form a moveable column of British and Irregular Troops to be used as occasion should require. A telegram from General Anson gave the command of it to Brigadier-General Chamberlain.

K., R.H.A. L., R.H.A. The troops at Peshawur consisted of the 1st Troop 2nd and 1st Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.; 1st Company 1st Bat-

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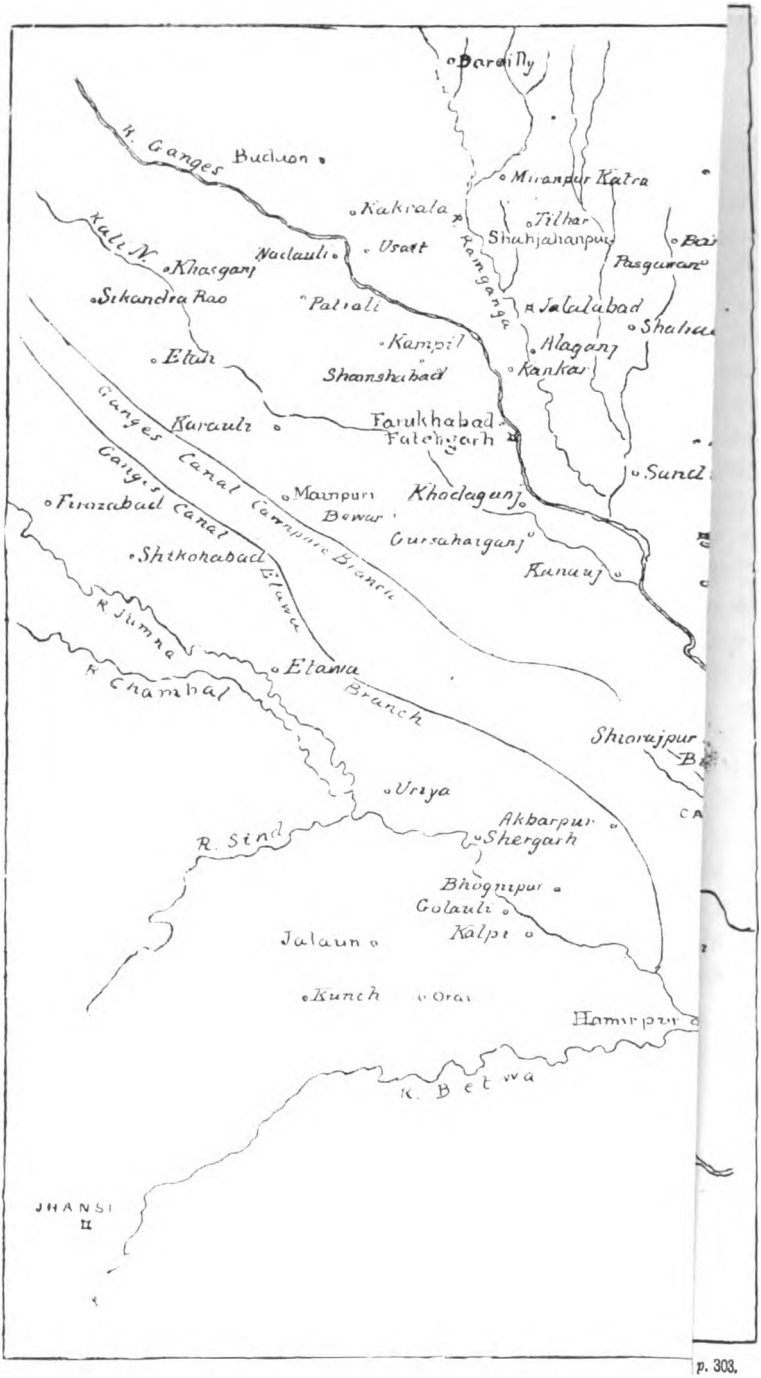

p. 303.

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talion with No. 7; 1st Company 2nd Battalion with No. 10 Horse Field Batteries; 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Companies 2nd Battalion F.A.; the 70th and 87th Regiments; three regiments of Native Cavalry and five of Native Infantry. The 55th N.I., of which a part was at Naoshera with a detachment at Attock, having broken out into mutiny, marching to Hoti Mardán, where the rest of the regiment was stationed, it was determined that four out of the five regiments of Native Infanty should be disarmed, which was carried out on the 22nd. The 21st N.I. not having shown any active signs of disaffection was exempted. The 55th at Hoti Mardán were followed up by a force from Peshawur as they fled. Many killed; 150 taken prisoners, of whom 40 were blown away from guns on a parade of all the regiments at Peshawur. The miserable remnant were captured and sent in from across the border, hunted down by the tribes bordering on Kashmir, perished or were sold into slavery.

21 Field Batt.
34 Field Batt.
9 Mt. Batt.
13 Co. S Div.
35 Field Batt.

It would have been well if the same energetic course had been pursued elsewhere in the Punjab. Recruits were now pouring into Peshawur, eager to enrol themselves under our colours and share in the prospects of plundering Delhi. But at Jullundur, where the 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A. and the 8th Regiment confronted the 6th Light Cavalry and the 36th and 61st N.I., Brigadier Johnstone showed a lamentable want of decision. He refused to disarm. He had a good officer in Colonel Longfield, Commanding the 8th Regiment, good officers in Majors Brind and H. A. Olpherts of the Artillery, ready to carry out any duty. So on the night of the 7th the inevitable outbreak came. The Native Troop of Horse Artillery, 5th of the 1st Brigade, had just arrived in cantonments. As at Umballa and Meerut, under cover of blazing bungalows, the evil spirit broke out into violence and murder. Lieutenant Bagshaw, Adjutant of the 36th N.I., was shot by a trooper of the 6th Cavalry, which led the mutiny. Lieutenant C. E. Bates of the same regiment, riding up to his Quarter

F., R.H.A.

June.
T., R.H.A.

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1857. June. Guard, was fired at and had his arm broken. Major Olpherts had his guns out and begged to be allowed to open upon the rebels; the request was refused. Lieutenants Renny, Evans, and Maynard, each with a division of the Native Troop, were placed to guard separate points. The Native Cavalry came down to them shouting their fanatical cry of Din-Din to excite them into mutiny. No leave was asked, but a discharge of grape was the reply. Lieutenant Maynard counted 11 bodies in front of his guns. But the mutineers did not intend to wait within reach of British Infantry backed up by guns. They went to Phillour, and, joined there by the 3rd N.I., marched on to Delhi. Not till they had got out of reach was any attempt made to follow them, though Lieutenant Sankey, the Adjutant of Artillery, had, with much difficulty, got permission to ascertain whither they had gone. It was not the Brigadier's fault that they did not sack the Phillour cantonments and more thoroughly plunder Ludhiána.

The composition of the moveable column varied according to the exigiencies of the time, and the urgent necessity there was for sending down every regiment that could be spared to Delhi. It had moved to a more central position at Rawal Pindi, where the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab had established his headquarters. The events at Jullundur called it downwards. And the appointment of General Neville Chamberlain to succeed Colonel Chester as Adjutant-General, brought down Brigadier Nicholson to succeed him in command of the column.

But before that the native regiments at Multán had been disarmed. That station with its magazine, and as the key of communication with Sind and Bombay, was of vital consequence. Its associations of 1848-49 gave it additional importance in the eyes of natives. But the European element in the garrison was the reserve company of Artillery (4th-3rd), under Lieutenant F. E. Smallpage. There were also the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A. (a native one), under Lieutenant F. R. De Bude, 1st

36 Field Batt. K.-C. Red. 1879.

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Irregular Cavalry, the 62nd and 69th N.I. Captain T. Spencer, an old and meritorious officer of the veteran establishment, who had risen in the 1st European Fusiliers, was in charge of the magazine in the fort, the defences of which he improved as far as possible, mounting ordnance on the works, preparing two light guns for field service, and storing away a six months' supply of provisions, collected by the Commissioner, Major Hamilton. 1857. June.

The officiating Brigadier of the station was not one to whom the disarmament of the Native Infantry at Multán could safely be given. Sir John Lawrence intrusted the task to Major Crawford Chamberlain, commanding the 1st Irregulars. The 69th N.I. were known to be very disaffected; so much so that Captain W. T. Hughes, commanding at Asni, marched with his regiment, the 1st Punjab Cavalry and a wing of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, to Multán, arriving there 9th of June. The Chief Commissioner's orders came on the 10th, and next morning the whole of the troops were paraded.

The proclamation of the 1st of June was read, and Major Chamberlain gave the order for surrender. The 62nd obeyed at once. The 69th would have refused, but the Cavalry in front had unmasked the guns, loaded, and with port-fires alight, eight of the European gunners, with carbines, stood in rear of each. There was no more hesitation; the arms were taken. The success which almost invariably attends prompt decision and firmness is an old story; those who have not such qualities can only expect to fail.

On the 24th the moveable column arrived at Phillour, and the following day Nicholson disarmed the 33rd and 35th N.I., which formed part of it, a measure which drew down upon him the wrath of Major-General G. E. Gowan, commanding the Lahore division. On the 5th of July the column reached Amritsar. It then consisted of the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade H.A., commanded by Lieut.-Colonel M. Dawes; half of the 3rd Company 1st Battalion, and July. 58 Field Batt.

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1857. 53 Field Batt. No. 17 Horse Field Battery, commanded by Captain G. Bourchier; the 52nd Light Infantry, detachments 3rd and 6th Punjab Infantry, a company and two newly-raised Risalas of Police. Colonel Dawes had seen and performed much good service in the Afghan War. At Chiliánwála, in command of a field battery, he had been an ἔρκος πολέμοιο to the right wing. Though mentioned with praise in dispatches oftener than many a knight, he was still without any recognition of his services beyond a brevet. It was of Lieutenant Dawes that Captain Colin Mackenzie remarked that he was the only man he ever saw, except Broadfoot, wear a natural smile in battle. And Broadfoot wrote thus from Sale's camp, on the 4th of November, 1841: "All our Artillery officers are above the average: two, Backhouse and Dawes, greatly so." *

At Jhelum the native Artillery (4-7, No. 1 H.F.B.) had been sent away with the moveable column. The Native Infantry, especially the 14th, were ripe for revolt, and Colonel C. H. Ellis, with 250 of the 24th, a party of Multáni Horse under Lieutenant J. B. Lind, and half the 1st Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., with Lieutenants C. H. Cookes and C. E. Lewes, were sent from Peshawur to disarm them. Unfortunately, proper precautions were not taken, and the July 7th. Sepoys on parade, seeing a body of European soldiers moving down upon them, fired on their own officers and rushed back into their huts and the main guard, a substantial building. Lieutenant Cookes took his guns forward at a gallop and unlimbered, but could make little impression on the latter. It was carried by the Infantry. The rebels retreated to a village, where they were again attacked, the guns unlimbering at 100 yards; but at this distance the loss was necessarily very heavy, and several men were wounded. The pole horses of the howitzer and a wagon were killed as they limbered up under orders to retire. Sergeant Smith, of No. 3 Subdivision, and five

* "Career of Major George Broadfoot, C.B," pp. 34, 39.

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men rode back, brought up and traced in fresh horses; but these too were shot down, and the piece was for the time abandoned. Our loss was very heavy. Colonel Ellis was very severely wounded, Captain F. Spring killed. In the Horse Artillery Gunner J. T. Northover was killed; Gunner G. Campbell died of his wounds on the 19th; Gunner W. Connolly was thrice badly wounded, but continued to serve his gun till he fainted. For this he received the Victoria Cross. 1857. July 7th.

The station of Sialkot had been deprived of its Europeans by the dispatch with the moveable column of Dawes' Troop, Bourchier's Field Battery, and the 52nd Regiment. It had also lost the 35th N.I., but there remained the 46th N.I. and a wing of the 9th Light Cavalry. The Brigadier, Colonel Frederick Brind, C.B., of the Artillery, remonstrated, and begged for 250 to be left, which was refused.* Even if Brigadier Brind's faith in the loyalty of the Sepoy had been as great as it is said to have been, it is impossible to acquit Sir John Lawrence of having neglected an ordinary precaution which should have been taken.

On the morning of the 9th, the officers discovered when they went out that picquets had been placed to prevent anyone escaping. It was a day filled up with several murders and many hairbreadth escapes. Fortunately, most of the intended victims found their way to the fort, though under fire. Among other fatalities, Brigadier Brind mounted his horse and rode forth, but was shot in the back by his orderly; he died the next day. J. Graham, M.D., the Superintending Surgeon; J. C. Graham, M.D., the Medical Store-Keeper; Captain W. L. M. Bishop, Officiating Brigade-Major, and the Rev. Mr. Hunter, a missionary, were killed. The Sowars and Sepoys, however, did not stay, for they dreaded retribution. Gathering up what plunder they July 9th.

* This is on the authority of Mr. Cooper ("Crisis," p. 79), who says that in reply he was requested to disarm. But it is difficult to suppose that he would have been given such an order without any means of carrying it out.

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1857. July 9th. could, and the station gun, they took the road towards Delhi. But Nemesis lay in wait for them.

July 10th. Brigadier-General Nicholson with his column was at Amritsar. Early on the morning of the next day, he received the telegram from Lahore, which told him the news. Half an hour later, a young musician, McDouglas,* rode in with a hasty note from Mr. MacMahon, the Assistant Commissioner, dated 6.30 a.m., telling of the outbreak, and urging his advance. The lad had left the 46th parade ground on a pony, and borrowing or seizing others as he went along, had covered the eighty miles in twenty-four hours. The first step taken was to disarm the wing of the 9th Cavalry; the next to move to Gurdaspur, forty-one miles distant, which, with the aid of ponies and 200 ekkas (one-horse light two-wheeled conveyances), was accomplished in twenty hours. He had learned that they were taking that

July 12th. line. Next morning they commenced crossing the Rávi at the Trimu ferry, and Nicholson moved against them with his small force. The three guns of No. 17 in the centre a half troop 100 yards on either side, and 300 of the 52nd, extended between and on the flanks of their guns. The latter he masked with the newly-raised police, but these, on being threatened with a charge, ran away. The guns and Enfield rifles came into action at 300 yards, and notwithstanding a resolute resistance, the mutineers were driven back, leaving about 120 bodies behind. Some divested themselves of arms and accoutrements, and about 300 took refuge with their 12-pounder gun on an island. His want of Cavalry prevented Nicholson from following them up. Leaving two detachments to watch them, he returned to Gurdaspur. On the 16th he attacked the remnant on the island. Brigadier Brind's Khansámah (table attendant) was Master Gunner. They fought for their lives, but while our loss this day was but six men wounded, those of the

* The 46th N.I. had a very good band, of which they were proud. It contained a larger infusion than usual of European blood.

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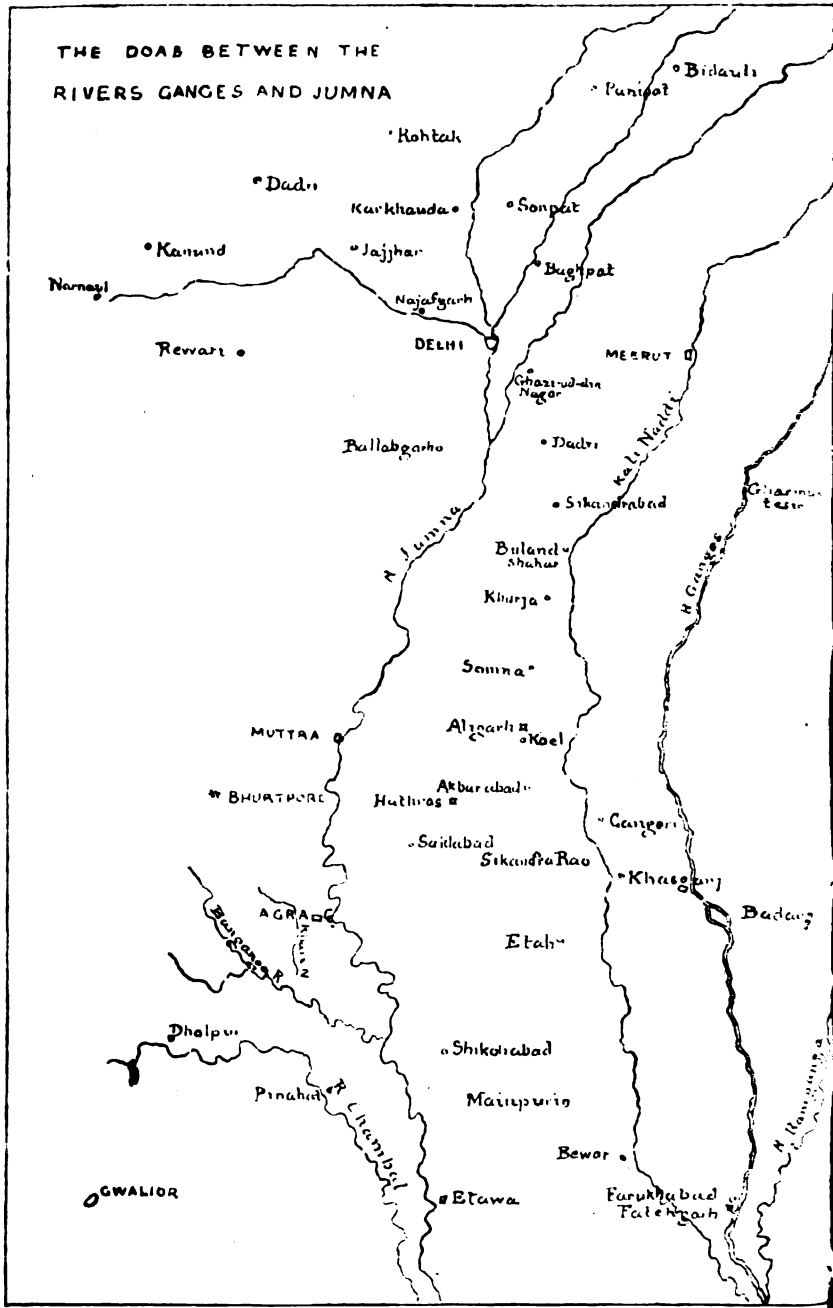

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rebels who escaped the bayonet or the river were mostly captured and given up by the villagers. The 3rd Troop on the 12th had Corporal E. Covenay, Gunners A. Corrigan and J. Clarke killed; Gunner J. Brabson was severely wounded on the head by a Sowar who rode up to him saying, "Salám Brabson Sahib." He died at Amritsar on the 22nd. The 3rd Company on the 12th lost Sergeant J. Cleary. Cooper says that one H.A. gunner with his spongestaff swept out of their saddles, one after the other, three Sowars who had the presumption to come into his battery uninvited. 1857. July 12th.

Within a few days after, General Nicholson received orders to proceed to Delhi with the 52nd, 200 Multáni Horse, and the whole of Captain Bourchier's Battery. Colonel Dawes' Troop for the present was kept in the Punjab.

Operations about Delhi.

There was a good deal of work to do after the capture of Delhi, before the country all round could be reduced to anything like order. A column was placed under command of Brigadier St. G. D. Showers to operate to the south-west. It was formed of the 2nd Europeans, 2nd Gurkhas, and a regiment of Sikh Infantry; a detachment of the Carabiniers, Hodson's Horse and Guide Cavalry; Major Scott's Field Battery* (3-3 and No. 14), and Sir W. Hamilton's Sikh Company, with two 18-pounder guns and one 8-inch howitzer.

It left Delhi on the 2nd of October, first for the suburbs about Humáyun's tomb and the Kutb, where a number of insurgents had collected. Thence it occupied Dádri, where six guns were captured, and proceeding on to Kanund, inflicted punishment on some Mewati freebooters. Kanund was the chief fortress of the small state of Jajjhar, whose Nawab was in rebellion. It surrendered, five lacs of treasure

* Lieutenants M. M. Fitzgerald and R. Aislabie, subalterns. Lieutenant T. H. Salt, Adjutant.

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1857. July 12th. and some 14 guns were secured; after which, Brigadier Showers returned to Delhi.

Another column left Delhi on the 10th of November, in the direction of Gurgaon and Rewári, to intercept the mutinous Joudpore legion which had advanced through the Shekawate country, and were at the town of Narnaul reinforced by the rebel chief of Rewári and followers of the Nawab of Jajjhar, a force numbering altogether between 4,000 and 5,000 men, with eight guns.

November. This column was composed of the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade H.A., under Lieutenant C. Cookworthy,* a company of Sikh Artillery, with three heavy guns under Lieutenant Gillespie, two companies Punjab Sappers, a squadron of the Carabiniers, the Guide Cavalry, 1st Fusiliers, and a wing of the 7th Punjab Infantry. The command of this column was given to Lieut.-Colonel J. G. Gerrard, lately transferred from the 14th N.I. to the Fusiliers, and his old regiment gladly served under one they had long known and respected. He was joined by part of General Van Cortlandt's Hariána field force under Captain W. J. Stafford, consisting of 250 Cavalry, 23rd Punjab Infantry, the Raja of Patiála's Infantry, and four 6-pounders horsed, the last commanded by Lieutenant E. Y. Walcott, 57th N.I.† Lieutenant G. G. Pearse, Madras Artillery, commanded the Cavalry. An Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab, he had been employed under Van Cortlandt in organising the force which, under that officer, had been engaged in keeping down the country from the Punjab to Hariána.

Nov. 16th The force left Kanaund about one in the morning of the 16th, but owing to the sandy nature of the ground the heavy guns made slow progress, and not till 11 did they reach their ground. After passing the village Nasírpur and getting close to Narnaul, the enemy were seen advancing to meet

* Lieut.-Colonel Dawes, commanding this Troop, was President of the Commission at Delhi, convened for the trial of the King.

† The gunners were of the old Khalsa who had fought against us at Chiliánwála and Gujarát.

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1857. Nov. 16th.

them. They opened fire and the Infantry deployed; the heavy guns replied, and the Horse Artillery went forward into action. A few minutes after, Captain Wardlaw, of the Carabiniers, made a brilliant charge with his men and the Guides along the front and through the guns. These, not having been spiked, opened again, and the 1st Fusiliers in their front charged and took two of them. The Multáni Horse on the left captured another. The rebels fought well, disputing the ground. Lieutenant Cookworthy plied them with shrapnel and grape, which they could not stand. He and Captain Wardlaw were singled out for special praise in the dispatch.

But close to the edge of a nullah before the town, Lieut.-Colonel Gerrard was mortally wounded by some one in the brushwood lining its bank. The next senior officer, Captain J. P. Caulfeild, 3rd N.I., doing duty with the Fusiliers, took command. At this time Lieutenant Pearse was severely wounded. The nullah was crossed, and the insurgents were driven from a fort and a serai outside the town, and fled, leaving their guns in our hands.* On return to Delhi, Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Seaton, C.B., was appointed to the command of the 1st European Regiment and the Brigade.

December.

Early the following month Brigadier Seaton marched with a column escorting a large convoy of hackeries (or carts), 3,288 in number (250 more engaged at Aligarh), 1,419 camels, and 60 spare elephants, conveying provisions and stores for the Commander-in-Chief's camp. He had with him the 1st Fusiliers, 376 men; 7th Punjab Infantry, 540; and Sappers, 120; Carabiniers and Lancers, 140; and Hodson's Horse, 550 men. The Artillery, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Kinleside, consisted of the 3rd-3rd H.A., under Lieutenant H. P. Bishop; the 5th-1st H.A., under Lieutenant Renny; and the Sikh company of

* The casualties in the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade were one sergeant, one corporal, one trumpeter, and one gunner wounded, the last mortally.

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1857. December. Artillery, under Lieutenants A. Gillespie and T. Ryan, with two 18-pounders, one 8-inch howitzer, and two 5½-inch mortars, and two 6-pounders under Lieutenant E. C. Griffin. Captain A. Light, Artillery, acted as the Brigadier's Orderly Officer.

On reaching Aligarh, he lodged the convoy under the guns of the fort, and proceeded into the district to attack the insurgents collected at Khásganj, Gangeri, and Patiáli. They did not wait for him at the first place, but at Gangeri, on the 14th, he defeated them, capturing three guns with the loss of 48 killed and wounded. Captain Wardlaw and Lieutenant Howard Vyse of the Carabiniers were among the killed. The former was an excellent Cavalry officer. Both were much regretted, out of as well as in their regiment. On the 17th Brigadier Seaton again routed the rebels at Patiáli, capturing 12 guns, nine of our own. Thence he went to Etah on the 24th, and had his Christmas dinner at Maláon. On the 26th he was at Karauli, whence he proceeded to attack, at Mainpuri, Tej Singh, the rebel Raja of that place. They had thrown up a field work outside cantonments, but Seaton, crossing a nullah, took them in flank. On their opening fire, he sent forward Lieutenant Bishop, supported by Cavalry, while he brought up the Infantry and heavy guns. Before the latter could engage, the Horse Artillery had done all that was required; the insurgents were in flight, pursued by the Cavalry, which cut up some 250 of them. Nine guns were captured, an 8-inch howitzer and iron 4-pounder of our make, the rest native.*

Brigadier Seaton was directed to remain at Mainpuri, and the Commander-in-Chief, moving up to Fatehgarh, was a few days after in direct communication with him.

* Of the last, three brass and one iron 4-pounders, one double-barrelled iron and two small guns. Some of the native guns taken during the Mutiny were great curiosities. They had still a large number of ours, which every action diminished.

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Operations about Agra.

Next to Delhi, the most important place in the North-West Provinces was Agra, the seat of the Civil Government. The Hon. J. R. Colvin was Lieutenant-Governor. The Brigadier commanding the station, Colonel Polwhele, had seen much service, was individually brave, but was much wanting in judgment. Colonel Hugh Fraser, Chief Engineer, besides courage and ability, had that which the Brigadier lacked, but his advice was generally set aside. Agra was garrisoned by the 3rd Europeans, two regiments N.I., and the 2nd Company 5th Battalion, with No. 21 Horse Field Battery, commanded by Captain E. A. C. D'Oyly. Few officers held a higher place in the esteem and affection of those who knew him than Captain D'Oyly, son of a man whose tragic fate was remembered by the older part of that generation.* He had served in the 2nd Troop 3rd Brigade in the first and second Sikh Wars. He had officiated as Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery the year previous, before Captain E. B. Johnson took it over. His only subaltern was Lieutenant Edward C. Griffin,† to whom was added by the mutiny of the Gwalior contingent, Lieutenant Alfred Pearson and Lieutenant John H. Lamb, extra-Assistant-Commissioner in the Ságar and Narbada territories. 1857. 4 Co. S. Div

At Aligarh fort, close to the town of Koel, nearly half way towards Meerut, the 9th N.I. were stationed. Detachments were at the Civil Stations of Mainpuri and Etawa. Beyond Mainpuri, on the Ganges, was the station of Fatehgarh, garrisoned by the 10th N.I. Here, in a weak fort, were the plant and machinery of the Gun-Carriage Agency, and the 1st Division of the Army Clothing Agency. On the River Jumna, two marches higher up

* Captain Thomas D'Oyly, Artillery, returning from leave to Australia, in 1834, with his family, had been wrecked on Darnley Island in Torres Straits, where all who escaped to land were murdered by the natives, except two children, one a son of his.

† Lieutenant Dundas W. Gordon of this Company was doing duty with the 1st, Major V. Eyre's Company.

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1857. than Agra, was the station of Muttra, with detachments of N.I. from the former place. The Rája of the famous fort of Bhurtpore, west of Muttra, maintained a force of the Ját class in his own pay. South-south-west from Agra, and not far off, was Gwalior, the capital of Maharája Sindiah, whose territories stretched away to, and a little beyond, the River Narbada; alongside, and on the west, were those of Maharája Holkar, whose capital was Indore. The Gwalior contingent, well drilled, and of good material, consisted of four horse batteries* and one reserve company of Artillery, two regiments of Cavalry, and seven of Infantry. Sindiah, himself loyal, could not control the mutinous disposition of this force. At the British station of Nimach, west of Holkar's State, and on the borders of Rajputána, was stationed the 4th Troop 1st Battalion H.A. (native), commanded by Lieut.-Colonel M. Mackenzie, who had been on leave to Meerut and was at Delhi. Some distance north of this, at Nasirábád, close to Ajmir, was the Company of Jalálabád renown, the 2nd Company 7th Battalion, and No. 6 Horse Field Battery. Both these stations were included in the ex-

* Captain A. W. Hawkins, Commanding No. 1 at Sipri; Lieutenant W. Stewart, No. 2 at Gwalior; Lieutenant C. S. Lemarchand, No. 3 at Agra; Lieutenant A. Pearson, No. 4 at Gwalior; Captain T. B. Ryley (Veteran Establishment), Assistant Commissary of Ordnance. There were no subalterns, and the Reserve Company was attached to the magazine. Captain Pearson with his Battery, Captain W. Alexander 1st, and Captain F. M. H. Burlton 2nd Cavalry of the Contingent had been, at Mr. Colvin's request, sent out nominally to keep the road open towards Delhi. He wrote to those officers to express a hope that "a mistaken sense of honour" might not lead them to remain too long with their men. Alexander had gone on towards Aligarh; Pearson was seven miles beyond Háthrás. Several small affairs with villagers had taken place. But Alexander's regiment mutinied, and one of his brought a letter to the battery calling on them to join. Pearson, however, moved to Háthrás, and there found both regiments drawn up, but without their officers. He had no choice, but made over the battery to the senior native officer, and with his staff-sergeant rode on slowly, passing along the front of the Cavalry. For the past month they had expected death. When clear of the mutineers they put spurs to their horses, found the Cavalry officers waiting for them, and got safely into Agra in the end of June.

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tensive district commanded by Brigadier Sage at Ságar, and which contained besides Mhow Jabalpur and Nagod. Such were the stations whose behaviour seriously affected Agra. The troops at Nasirábád mutinied May 28th; those at Nimach June 3rd. No lives of Artillery Officers were sacrificed at either place. 1857.

The fort at Agra, once the palace of the Imperial Akbar Sháh, overlooked the low ground where the waters of the Jumna wound their sinuous course. It contained the Diwán where once Akbar received the reports of his great minister, Abul Fazl, or conversed with his wise, though somewhat heretical, brother Faizi. It contained a magazine well supplied with ordnance stores. A company of the 3rd Europeans had replaced Sepoys, and such supplies were laid in as might perchance be required.

Between the 19th and 30th of May, the Sepoys at Etawah, Aligarh, Mainpuri, and Muttra had mutinied, plundered the treasuries, and gone to Delhi. On the 31st the two regiments at Agra were disarmed. The non-military residents were formed into Militia Cavalry and Infantry. Among the former were Infantry officers, members of the Civil Service, clerks, pensioners, and a troupe of French circus-riders who had lately come to Agra under M. Jourdan. May.

On Sunday evening, the 14th of June, the troops at Gwalior broke out. The usual murderous work commenced. The officers going among them to try and quiet them were killed. Captain Hawkins's career of good service, begun in Afghanistan, was ended. Lieutenant Stewart, wounded, was tended by his men during the night, but in the morning was taken out and shot. Those who escaped, chiefly wives or widows with their children, made their way to Sindiah's palace, whence they were sent to Agra. Lieutenant Lemarchand with his family got safely to Hoshangabad. June

The mutineers from Nimach were on the 30th of June reported to be on the road from Jaipur to Agra, and not

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1857. June. far off, numbering, perhaps, something more than 2,000 Infantry, 1,000 Cavalry, and the guns of Colonel Mackenzie's Native Troop.* These numbers were not large, but they probably expected to be joined by the swarms of "badmáshes" to be found everywhere.

July 5th. They were at the village of Sháhganj on the morning of the 5th. Colonel Fraser had urged him to take the initiative, but when at 9 a.m. on that day he did move out, the rebels had occupied a position at Sassia which gave them the advantage of good cover. Our force was 568 of the 3rd Europeans, and about 100 mounted men, volunteer Cavalry, with D'Oyly's guns. After they moved out, three guns were placed on either flank; those on the left under Lieutenant Pearson. On coming under fire, Brigadier Polwhele ordered the Infantry to lie down while he sent the guns forward. Our force was sufficient, had they been properly handled, to have taught the rebels a lesson, and the men were eager to get at them. But the cover was too good for our light guns to have much effect. Captain D'Oyly had his horse shot under him. In fact he did all he could, and was ably supported by Pearson and the other officers. An ammunition wagon and a limber were blown up. The fight was too unequal. Captain D'Oyly, while endeavouring to extricate one of his guns from a bad bit of ground, was dangerously wounded by a grape shot in the side, but ordering his men to place him on a limber, he continued to direct his fire. "Put a stone upon my grave," he said to one of them, "and write upon it that I died fighting my guns."†

Lieutenant Pearson had a gun-carriage disabled. He sent more than once to request that the Infantry might be sent up to support. Lieutenant J. H. Lamb was dangerously wounded by a grape-shot in the right thigh. At last

* Colonel Malleson puts down the number at 4,000 Infantry, 1,500 Cavalry and 11 guns (Vol. I., p. 270).

† This was said on the field, Captain E. B. Johnson told the writer so, as he was carrying out the dying injunctions of his friend.

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Captain D'Oyly reported his ammunition expended. It was nearly four o'clock. The Brigadier, who had, to do him justice, been exposing himself to the fire, then ordered an advance. Major Thomas with one wing, Colonel Fraser and Captain Weller of the Engineers with the other, led the attack. The village was carried, but not without heavy loss. Had the Artillery been able to renew their fire, and with more Cavalry, the enemy would have been driven off the field. The volunteers did what they could gallantly. Fraser's party spiked the disabled gun, but could not bring it off. The force, therefore, leaving it on the field, made an orderly retreat back to the fort, Lieutenant Pearson being the last to retire. Next day a party of volunteers went out, buried the dead, and brought the gun back. 1857.

But that evening and during the night cantonments and civil lines were filled with Sepoys and the scum of the city and villages around. Every house except those nearest the fort was burned, and any Christians who had not left their homes were murdered. Of the Artillery, Bombardier John Finlay, gunners A. Hodges and G. V. Brown were killed.* Captain D'Oyly died on the 7th, Gunner R. Lockhart lingered till the 24th of August, when he died. The same day terminated the sufferings of Lieutenant Lamb, which had been intense. Mr. (now Sir Richard) Oldfield, C.S., one of the volunteer Cavalry, was carried dangerously wounded past his brother, Lieutenant H. T. Oldfield, 9th N.I., who was covering the retreat with a party of Militia. It was a disastrous day, which some sense and judgment would have saved us. The Governor-General superseded the Brigadier, and Lieut.-Colonel H. Cotton, 67th N.I., was placed in command.

The rebels did not wait in the vicinity of Agra. The fort was placed in a good state of defence, and our position was rendered secure. But the disastrous news which almost

* There having been no report of the casualties published, the number of wounded has not been given.

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1857. daily came in was pressing sorely on Mr. Colvin, whose health was failing. He died on the 9th of September, a fortnight before the intelligence reached Agra that Delhi had been captured.

GREATHED'S COLUMN.

September. As soon as the capture of Delhi was completed, a column was formed to clear the country south-east lying between the Ganges and Jumna, and open an unimpeded communication with the Commander-in-Chief at Cawnpore. Colonel E. H. Greathed, of the 8th Regiment, was placed in command. It consisted of 930 Europeans and 1,860 natives. The 8th and 75th Regiments together amounted to only 450 men; the 9th Lancers, under Major Ouvry, to 300. Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, of the Horse Artillery, was Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General. Major F. Turner commanded the Artillery, with Lieutenant A. Bunny as his Staff Officer, and the following batteries:—

F., R.H.A. 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A., Captain F. F. Remmington.

57 Field Batt. 2nd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., Captain C. H. Blunt.

53 Field Batt. 3rd Company 1st Battalion and No. 17 L.F.B., Captain G. Bourchier.*

The two troops had only five guns each for want of men to manage them.

This force left Delhi on the 24th of September, and reached Bulandshahar on the 28th. Walidád Khán had held this place for the King of Delhi since May, and the rebels intended to dispute the way. They held the houses and gardens of the Civil station, and had a battery of guns

Sept. 28th. placed at the point of intersection of two roads leading into the town. On these roads the Field Battery on the right, Captain Remmington on the left, were placed, supported by Cavalry and Infantry. Their cross-fire was effective, and Lieutenant Roberts brought an order for their advance.

* The subalterns were: 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A., H. Murray, A. H. Lindsay, and G. R. Manderson; 2nd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., F. H. McLeod, G. Cracklow, and C. Hunter; 3rd Co. 1st Batt. F.A., H. E. Harrington, J. Sconce, and R. T. Hare.

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While they went forward the rest of the Cavalry, with two guns of the 2nd-3rd H.A., under Lieutenant Cracklow, penetrated into the town on the left. The guns were exposed to a very heavy fire from the houses, and one of them had all but two of their number killed or wounded. These two, Sergeant B. Diamond and Gunner R. Fitzgerald, continued to work it alone, and were recommended for the Victoria Cross, conferred on them by W.O. Warrant of the 24th of April, 1858. Major Ouvry cleared the town, but with some loss. It does not appear that Infantry were sent in along with the Cavalry. Major Turner, commanding the reserve, repelled an attack on the baggage. 1857. Sept. 28th.

The column remained here for four days. Walidád Khán had evacuated the fort of Malaghur close by, and this it was necessary to dismantle, by blowing up part of its defences. In superintending this Lieutenant D. C. Home, of the Engineers, who had headed the powder party at the Kashmir Gate a little more than a fortnight before, was very unfortunately killed by a premature explosion, the cause of which was not exactly known. The event, as Colonel Bourchier says, cast a gloom over the whole camp; we who knew him since his Addiscombe days can say that the sorrow extended far beyond it.

On the 3rd of October the column marched to Khurja; on the 5th was at Aligarh, where a number of rebellious Gujars were disposed of, and next day at Akbarabad, where it made a halt. But urgent requisition came from Agra. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery started at twelve on the night of the 8th, the Infantry and Field Battery four hours after, after a short halt at Hathrás; and on the morning of the 10th the rear division crossed the Jumna and encamped on the N.I. parade ground. October.

The mutineers from the Jodhpur and other contingents were known to be not far off, but the good people at Agra might have employed their time in finding out where they were. They had not done so, and the newly-arrived column

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1857. October. were resting after their long march of forty-four miles; horses had only just been watered and fed, when first one round shot, soon followed by many more, came bowling into our camp. Notwithstanding the unexpected nature of the attack and its severity, the men were in their places very soon; gunners in their shirt-sleeves were replying as the horses were being traced in; the 9th Lancers were mounted and supporting. The line was ordered to advance to closer quarters. Remmington with some Infantry and the Punjab Cavalry on the right; Blunt and three guns of No. 17 Battery, with the 9th Lancers and part of the 75th Regiment and 2nd Punjab Infantry, on the left. The former were afterwards reinforced by the 3rd European Regiment with Pearson's Battery. The rebels were dislodged from the gardens which they had occupied previously. A gallant charge of the Punjab Cavalry, under Captains D. M. Probyn, J. Watson, and G. A. P. Younghusband, captured three guns. A large body of the rebel Cavalry attempted a charge on the left into camp, but were met by Blunt and a squadron of the 9th Lancers. The latter, in a splendid charge, drove the Cavalry back, but Captain L. J. French was killed, and Lieutenant A. S. Jones dangerously wounded. Reported mortally, and with no less than twenty-three wounds, he yet survived for many years, wearing the Victoria Cross.

The enemy were followed up across the Khári Naddi, leaving thirteen pieces of ordnance in our hands. This action, fought successfully after so long a march, demonstrated the staying powers of our troops when well and carefully led. Colonel Bourchier gives the distance covered, by the time they returned into camp at seven o'clock that evening, as sixty-six miles in thirty-nine hours.

The column halted at Agra till the 14th, on which day it recommenced its march towards Cawnpore. The 5½-inch mortars they had brought from Delhi were exchanged for 8-inch ones. On the 16th of October General Hope

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Grant arrived in camp at Firozabád and took command. His seniority in rank was considered of importance. On the 26th the column marched into Cawnpore. 1857. October.

CAWNPORE.

The story of Cawnpore in 1857 is too well known to need repetition in detail. Its name was burnt as with letters of fire into the memories of our soldiers in the mutiny campaigns. Even now the recollection haunts me of the face of one whose nearest relatives were there when as yet only rumours of some terrible disaster had reached Meerut. Major-General Sir Hugh M. Wheeler, K.C.B., commanding the division, was an officer in whose courage and judgment the fullest confidence was placed. He had first seen service under Lord Lake in 1805; had served in Afghanistan, had commanded with distinction a brigade in the first, a field force in the second Sikh War. He had full experience of the character of natives, had selected a wife from among them, but like many others, he saw only the best side of it.

The troops at Cawnpore were one European and two Native reserve companies of Artillery, one regiment of Native Cavalry three of Native Infantry. At the town of Bithur, some nine miles higher up the river, was the residence of Dhúndú Pant, commonly called the Nána Sáhib, the adopted son of the Peshwa whom we had dethroned and pensioned in 1819. The pension allotted to him was smaller than that which Baji Rao had received. This was a grievance for which he presently took cruel vengeance.

The station extended for six miles along the Ganges, on which its rear rested. In front, nearly in the centre, were the city and suburbs of Cawnpore, close to the northern side of which were the Native Infantry lines. The old and disused lines of British Infantry were near the river behind the city, but new ones were built south-east of the city half-way between which and the river were the old Cavalry

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1857. October. and Horse Artillery lines. Altogether a very straggling station, built up piecemeal at different periods. The Civil lines were at the north-west end of it.

Here, and close to the river, was the fort containing the magazine, a fairly defensible place occupying some three acres in extent, with buildings sufficient to accommodate, besides the ordnance stores, a garrison of 300 men. Beyond the magazine, along the river for about half a mile, was the village of old Cawnpore, south-west of which was that called Nawabganj. The former was separated from the magazine by a short interval of less than 400 yards, the latter by about a mile; the Session House, Jail, and Treasury from half to about a mile west of it. The latter was, next to the magazine, the most important to retain.

There is no doubt now that the magazine, apart from the value of what it contained, was the only defensible position, and one which at all risks should have been secured. But it is right to consider the difficulties that lay in the way.

18 Co. S. Div. Till the 22nd of May the 1st Company 6th Battalion, 60 men, were the only Europeans in garrison besides the officers. With all his confidence in the Sepoys, Sir H. Wheeler knew well that very little was required to precipitate impending mutiny. This should have compelled him to make the attempt, or arrange to blow up the magazine, as was done at Allahabad. The bridge of boats, the only communication with Lucknow, could not have been left where it was. But I am much mistaken if Captain Whiting and Lieutenant Swynfen Jervis would not have devised the means of removing it and overcoming the local difficulties of bridging the river in the new position. Again, Sir H. Wheeler could not overlook the fact that his expected reinforcements were coming up from Allahabad in small parties by bullock train, and that by placing himself on the further side of a cantonment and a city full of enemies he would expose them to very great danger. But a prolonged defence would have enabled the authorities below to complete their arrangements, and guard against

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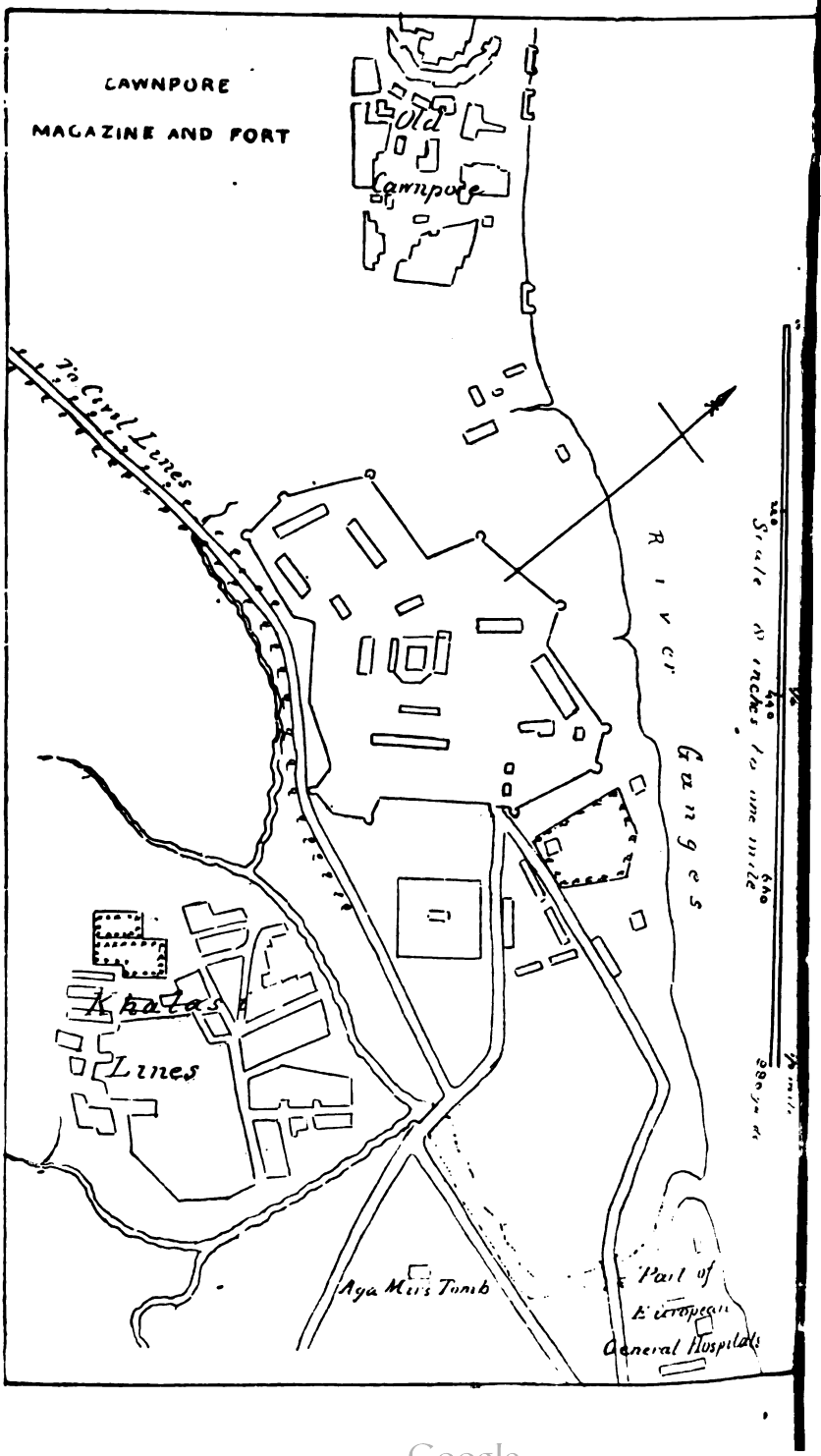

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this. It cannot be questioned that the possession of the magazine would have enabled Wheeler to hold out for weeks longer. The Fatehgarh fugitives would have been saved. We who are wise after the event are apt to overlook what may have had great weight at the time in the minds of those we criticise, but nevertheless the arguments in favour of the magazine seem stronger by far. 1857. October.

A watercourse which runs close along the southern face of the fort, and, skirting the lines of the magazine Khalásis, falls into the river about 500 yards from the eastern face, would have formed a serviceable ditch along which a parapet could have been thrown up. The Khalási lines must have been levelled. A dozen elephants would have made short work of all mud buildings, and the material would have supplied what was required for the earthworks. A short parapet connecting the south bastion with the stream, and another connecting the northern face with the river would have enclosed sufficient space for everyone belonging to the garrison and its neighbourhood. A consideration of the plan given will supply all details.

On the east side of the long range of barracks south of where the Dragoon and Horse Artillery barracks had formerly stood were two hospital buildings, one with a thatched roof. As far as a foot or two made any difference, they were on the highest part of a nearly level surface. These two were surrounded by an entrenchment, if works that could not afford shelter deserved the name. The hard and friable nature of the earth made the parapets very weak. But on the 26th of May Sir H. Wheeler reported that he had entrenched his position and could hold it against large odds.* Such stores of provisions and necessaries as could be collected were laid in.

On the 22nd a detachment of 50 men of the 32nd Regiment, with two officers,† sent by Sir H. Lawrence, arrived in

* P.P. Inclosures in Nos. 7-19, p. 323.

† *Ib.*, page 310, mentions 55 "Europeans." The number is in other accounts (Kaye, Vol. II., p. 296) made 84.

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1857. October. Cawnpore; along with them came some Oudh Irregular Cavalry and Lieutenant St. G. Ashe with two guns of his Battery. This officer, a son of the Colonel of the same name who had in Colonel Monson's disastrous retreat before Holkar in 1804 kept his regiment together and marched at the head of it into Agra,* remained to take a distinguished part in the melancholy struggle which followed. Three young Artillery officers, Martin, Sotheby, and Burney, just arrived from England, who had not been able to make their way on to Meerut, had also joined the ill-fated garrison. Lieutenant Ashburner, on his way from Burmah to join the 2nd Battalion, of which he had just been appointed Adjutant, was also detained here.

May. The same day came in from Bithur two guns and 300 men. Sir Hugh Wheeler had, through the Collector, written for them. They took post at the village of Nawabganj, where they could watch both the Civil treasury and the magazine. Wheeler thought the Mahrátas would not coalesce with the Sepoys, nor did they. But they were not the less our enemies. Both united to strike at us.

June. Up to the 3rd of June Sir H. Wheeler was in daily communication with Calcutta. On that day he reported that out of 90 men of the 84th Regiment which had arrived the day before with 15 of the Madras Fusiliers, he had sent on 50 men with two officers to Lucknow to Sir H. Lawrence. It was a magnanimous act.

Major Larkins was the senior Artillery officer. He never took any leading part in counsel. His health was always indifferent. His Adjutant, Dempster, son of a senior surgeon who had served for very many years with gunners, was indefatigable in the discharge of his duties.

But on the evening of the 4th the inevitable outbreak took place, led by the 2nd Cavalry. The treasury was plundered, the prisoners in the gaol released, and the

* Vol I., p. 235 of this History.

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magazine seized. The Assistant-Commissary, Nicholas Reilly, had orders to blow up the last, but alone had not the power to do so. His fate is not known. 1857. June.

From Friday, the 5th, until Saturday, the 27th of June, the entrenchment was held. The miserable four-foot parapet was never carried, though assailed by thousands. Two of the barracks south of the entrenchment* were held, one by Captain Jenkins of the Cavalry, one by Lieutenant G. J. Glanville, afterwards by Lieutenant Mowbray Thomson of the 53rd N.I. Ashe's 9-pounders from first to last did splendid service. Major Vibart of the Cavalry, Captain Whiting of the Engineers, Lieutenant Delafosse, 53rd N.I., Mr. Mackillop, Civil Service, Mr. Heberden, Railway Engineer, all rendered conspicuous service. No one, perhaps, exceeded Captain John Moore of the 32nd, the acknowledged leader of the defence, in gallantry. Foremost in leading sorties, encouraging and animating all, he was ever to be seen where danger was. But in truth there never was a struggle in which the courage of English men and English women was so remarkably displayed.

But on the 13th the thatched barrack was destroyed by fire, with all the hospital stores and instruments. There was now no cover from the fierce sun for numbers of the women and children; water could only be got at the expense of life. There was little food left. Ammunition was nearly expended. So when a message came from the Nána offering a safe passage for the survivors on condition of surrender, it was accepted. Had there been no women and children, the idea would not have been entertained; but for them it was the only chance, poor as it was.

On Saturday morning, the 27th of June, the remnant of the garrison, a sad procession, moved down to the Satti Chaura Ghat, where boats had been provided. Cavalry troopers, Sepoys, Mahrátas, surrounded the place of embarkation, and lined the banks. Our own guns were there.

* They were not quite completed.

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1857. June. As soon as the greater part had got into the boats, a bugle gave the signal, and grape-shot and musketry poured upon them. The men were not able to push the boats into deep water. The thatched coverings of some caught fire, and many sick and wounded perished thus. Troopers riding into the water sabred them; others were shot in the boats or the water. When the butchers got weary of their work, the survivors, nearly all women and children, perhaps 120 in number, many sorely wounded, were carried back to cantonments. One boat got away. It was hotly pursued all that day and the next, and getting for a short time on to a bank off Najafgarh, several were killed or wounded. That night in the dark it drifted into a side channel, and in the morning was again attacked by their relentless enemies. Fourteen till then unwounded, landed and charged through their enemies and back; but then the boat was gone. A small Hindu temple for a time gave them shelter. Driven from this by powder-bags, seven reached the river and plunged in. Two were shot through the head, one getting too near the bank was murdered, and four, Lieutenants Mowbray Thompson and Henry George Delafosse, Private Murphy, and Gunner Sullivan, alone survived to tell the story of Cawnpore.

But those who had been carried back were not the only victims in the hands of Dhúndú Pant. The station of Fatehgarh, higher up the Ganges, was garrisoned by the 10th N.I. The Gun Carriage Agency, under Major A. Robertson, and the Army Clothing Agency for the 1st or Upper Division of the army, were there. The fort was in bad order. The Europeans here consisted of the officers and warrant officers, with some missionaries, merchants, and others, not more than 50 in number. On the news of the mutinies in Rohilkhand, preparations were made to send off the ladies and children to Cawnpore. Some boats started on the 4th of June, but they divided; Mr. W. G. Probyn with his family, and Mr. W. Edwards, both of the

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Civil Service, went to Dharmpur, the Raja of which place, Hardeo Baksh, offered and gave them protection; some forty returned to Fatehgarh, and the rest, 126 in number, went on to Cawnpore, where they were seized by the Nána. 1857. June.

On the 18th the 10th N.I. broke out; some efforts had been made to prepare the fort for defence. The weakness of its walls was not the main difficulty. There were six field pieces, and a sufficiency of old muskets, but very little ammunition. There were only 33 adult males in the fort, but these held it for 16 days against the assaults of the rebels, led by the 41st N.I., from Sitapur. These mined the fort in different places, but were repulsed. July. Colonel Tucker, Mr. Jones (a merchant), and Conductor Ahern* were killed. The impossibility of maintaining the defence was evident, and on the night of the 3rd they spiked the guns and got into three boats and pushed down the river. Colonel Goldie's boat being too heavy, those in it were transferred to Colonel Smith's; but this caused delay, and both it and Major Robertson's boat were overtaken opposite Singhi Rampur. The latter was the first attacked, and all in it were killed, except Major Robertson, Mr. D. Churcher, an indigo planter, and Mr. G. S. Jones, merchant. The last of these joined Colonel Smith's boat, but left it and got to a village in Oudh, where he remained in safety, and at last, with Mr. Probyn, joined Havelock at Cawnpore. In another village, Major Robertson, badly wounded, lay in a native's hut, carefully attended by Mr. Churcher. His hurt, sorrow for a young wife and little child killed in the river, and the thought that a post which he would willingly have laid down his life to defend, had that been possible, was in rebel hands, prevailed over

* Conductor John Ahern served first in the 3rd Company 1st Battalion (53rd Field Battery), then in the 1st Troop 2nd Brigade H.A. (K., R.H.A); appointed in 1844 Staff-Sergeant to No. 5 Field Battery, and in 1846 to the Clothing Agency. Mr. Gavin Jones ("Narrative," P.P. No. 4, p. 235) says he was their best gunner. He was shot through the head while laying a gun.

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1857. July. a naturally robust constitution. He died about the 17th of September, and was buried by the friend who had so nobly remained beside him.

Colonel Smith's boat reached the fort at Cawnpore only to share the fate of the other fugitives from the same station. The men were put to death near the Savada Koti, by order of the miscreant Nána; the women and children who survived were taken to the house near the Assembly Rooms, where the other hapless victims were confined.

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AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THIS CHAPTER.

General and Artillery Regimental Orders.
Muster Rolls and Army Lists.
Papers laid before Parliament (P.P.).
Kaye's "Sepoy War."
Malleson's "History of the Mutiny."
Letters from various officers.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Names of officers, etc., of the Bengal Artillery who fell in action or were murdered in cold blood at Cawnpore and Fatehgarh.

CAWNPORE.

Major G. Larkins, Commanding 7th Battalion, wife and children.

Lieutenant C. Dempster, Adjutant 7th Battalion, wife and children.

Lieutenant Burnett Ashburner.

Lieutenant St. G. Ashe, 3rd Oudh Battery.

Lieutenant J. A. H. Eckford, Quarter-Master 7th Battalion.

2nd-Lieutenant J. N. Martin.

2nd-Lieutenant G. M. W. Sotheby.

2nd-Lieutenant F. W. Burney.

Assistant-Commissary N. Reilly, Ord. Commt.

Sub.-Conductor G. H. Manvill, Ord. Commt.

Sergt.-Major John Bestall, 7th Battalion.

Quarter-Master-Sergeant B. Cawcutt, 7th Battalion.

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NOTE A—*continued.*

1ST COMPANY 6TH BATTALION.

SERGEANTS.

3233 Edwin Darwin.
3422 Thomas S. Beattie.
4840 John Owen.
5551 Patrick Tallon.

CORPORALS.

5584 John Smith.
6089 Anthony Ryan.
6094 Patrick Ryan.
6997 Joseph Glenny.
6998 John Glenny.
7024 Charles Lynch.

BOMBARDIERS.

5552 Patrick Norris.
7018 Thomas Kenny.
7177 Francis Connolly.
6525 Michael Burk.

BUGLERS.

1083 Charles North.
3408 George Worrall.

GUNNERS.

3431 William Beezley.
7382 Patrick Burke.
7379 Alexander Black.
1045 Francis Bienman.
5642 William Brazington.
6700 William Carruthers.
8034 John Clegg.
7719 William Corkell.
7961 Richard Cullen.
5899 Thomas Donoghue.
8289 James Dogherty.
7291 Robert Dunseath.
8639 John Edmundson.
4331 Charles Farrell.
6546 John Gough.
6552 George E. Hutchinson.
7011 Thomas Jackson.
7441 James Keane.
6158 John Kelly.
8613 David Kennedy.
7444 Denis Laverty.
8235 Daniel Leine.
5807 Thomas McGill.
1337 William Mackinlay.
3568 Thomas McConnell.
8207 Patrick Maguire.
5527 Daniel Malony.
3358 Richard Mangan.
5550 William Mitchell.
6760 Timothy Morrisey.
4837 James Norton.
19 Charles O'Dwyer.
3897 John Pearce.
6897 John Porter.
6095 Patrick Reilly.
4473 Thomas Rogers.
8612 James N. Scott.
5583 William Service.
7490 James Sullivan.
5573 Timothy Sullivan.
8699 William Thompson.
7100 Patrick Ward.
8702 Rawson Webster.
7712 John Whelan.

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NOTE A—*continued.*

FATEHGARH.

Major Alexander Robertson, Superintendent Gun Carriage Factory, wife and child.

Assistant Commy. Moses Sheels, Gun Carriage Factory.

Conductor Matthew Jons, Gun Carriage Factory, wife, four children, brother-in-law.

Sub-Conductor Patrick Hammond, Gun Carriage Factory. wife and children.

Sub-Conductor John Ahern, Army Clothing Agency, wife.

Sub-Conductor Edward Finlay, Army Clothing Agency, wife and children.

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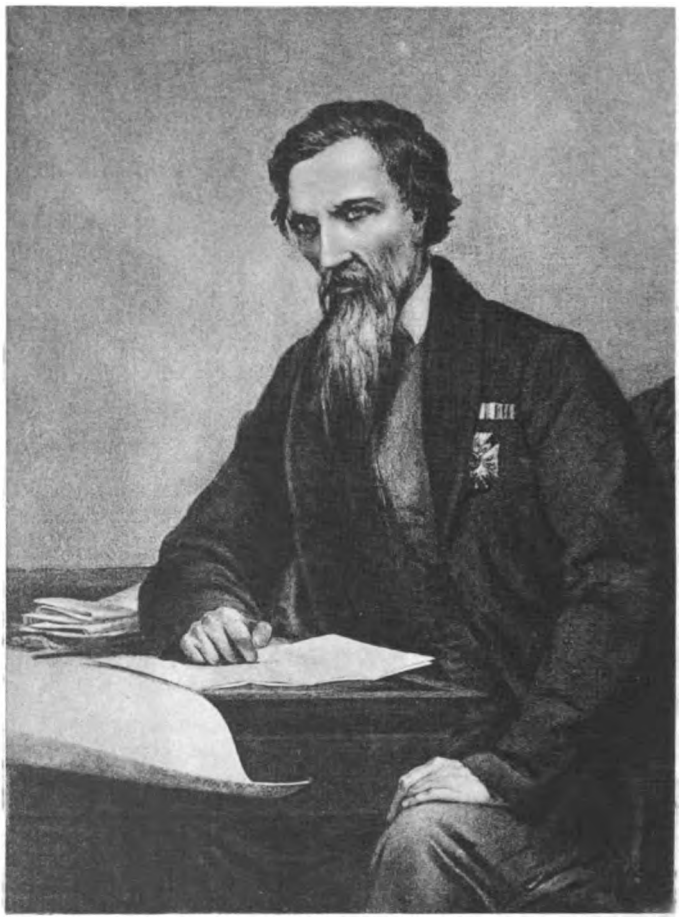

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CHAPTER XI.

SEPOY WAR—OUDH.

ARTILLERY FORCE.—Sir H. Lawrence given full Military Powers—Outbreak at Lucknow—At Out Stations—Faizabád—Lieutenant Bonham at Sikrora—Defensive Preparations—Battle of Chinhat—Close Investment of Residency—Death of Sir H. Lawrence—Residency Defences—Attack 20th July—Mines—Attack 10th August—Lieutenant Bonham's "Ship"—Counter Mines—Casualties in the Artillery during first part of Siege—Relief at Hand—Ungud—Outram and Havelock force their way in.

HAVELOCK'S ADVANCE ON CAWNPORE—Arrival of Troops at Calcutta—Maude's Company first—Disarmament of Sepoys at Benares—Havelock leaves Allahabad—Action at Fatehpur—Aong—Pandu Naddi—Cawnpore—Massacre of the Women and Children—Havelock Crosses the Ganges—Defeats Rebels Three Times—Is obliged to return to Cawnpore.

MAJOR EYRE'S OPERATIONS ABOUT ARRAH—Captain Dunbar's Defeat—Eyre Routs the Rebels at Bibiganj and Relieves Arrah—Defeats Koer Singh twice again and moves on to Allahabad.

ADVANCE ON LUCKNOW—Outram and Havelock leave Cawnpore—Rebels Defeated at Basiratganj—Attack on Charbagh Batteries—Maude and Olpherts V.C.—Fighting at Moti Manzil—Colonel Bazely Killed—Lieutenant Crump Killed in saving a Gun—Private Duffy V.C.—Brigadier Cooper Killed—Lieutenant J. McK. Fraser Wounded—Heavy Guns Extricated—Lieutenant D. C. Alexander Killed—Extension of Residency Position—Sir Colin Campbell at Cawnpore—Reaches Lucknow—Residency Relieved.

ON the annexation of Oudh in 1856, an Irregular Force for the service of that province was raised (G.O.C.C., March 5th). It consisted of three Horse Field Batteries and one Reserve Company of Artillery, three regiments of Cavalry and ten of Infantry, besides a body of Military Police. The following officers were appointed to the Artillery portion :—

No. 1 Battery.—Lieutenant J. S. Tulloh* in command, 2nd-Lieutenant J. Bonham doing duty.

No. 2 Battery.—Lieutenant D. C. Alexander in command, 2nd-Lieutenant D. MacFarlan doing duty.

* On leave in May, 1857.

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No. 3 Battery.—Lieutenant St. G. Ashe in command, 2nd-Lieutenant J. H. Bryce doing duty.

Reserve Company and Charge of Ordnance Stores, Lieutenant R. Murray * in command, Lieutenant L. F. C. Thomas, Madras Artillery, doing duty.

1857. May. In May, 1857, the Chief Commissioner in Oudh was Colonel Sir Henry M. Lawrence, K.C.B. The troops at Lucknow were :—

22nd F. Batt. EUROPEAN.—4th Company 1st Battalion, No. 9 H.F.B.; † 32nd Regiment of Foot.

Red. in 1862. NATIVE.—2nd Company 8th Battalion, No. 2 Bullock F.B.; ‡ 7th Light Cavalry, 13th, 48th, and 71st N.I.

OUDH IRREGULARS—Nos. 2 and 3 Field Batteries, Reserve Company, 2nd Cavalry, 4th and 7th Infantry.

The 1st Field Battery with a Regiment of Cavalry and one of Infantry was at Sikrora. The rest of the Irregular Cavalry and Infantry was disposed at the stations of Sultánpur, Dariabád, Faizabád, Gonda, Malaon, Parshadipur, and Partabgarh.

Red. in 1862. At Faizabad were also the 5th Company 7th Battalion, and No. 13 H.F.B. and 22nd N.I.

The odds against us at Lucknow were greater than anywhere else. One Company of Artillery (under strength) with its guns, and a weak Regiment of Infantry, against three Batteries, two Regiments of Cavalry, and five of Infantry, surrounded by nine hostile garrisons, one of the most populous cities in India, and an extensive province which supplied the Native Army with more than half its recruits. The Native Infantry and Artillery were in the cantonment of Mariao (Mandiaon), three miles north of the city, the Cavalry on the north-west side, and the 32nd Regiment in and about the Chaupera Istabal, a cruciform

* On leave.

† Major E. Kaye, commanding this battery, was on leave at Simla, whence he accompanied the force to Delhi. His subalterns were : 2nd-Lieutenants E. P. Lewin (in command), J. Alexander, and Foster J. Cunliffe.

‡ Commanded by Captain A. P. Simons.

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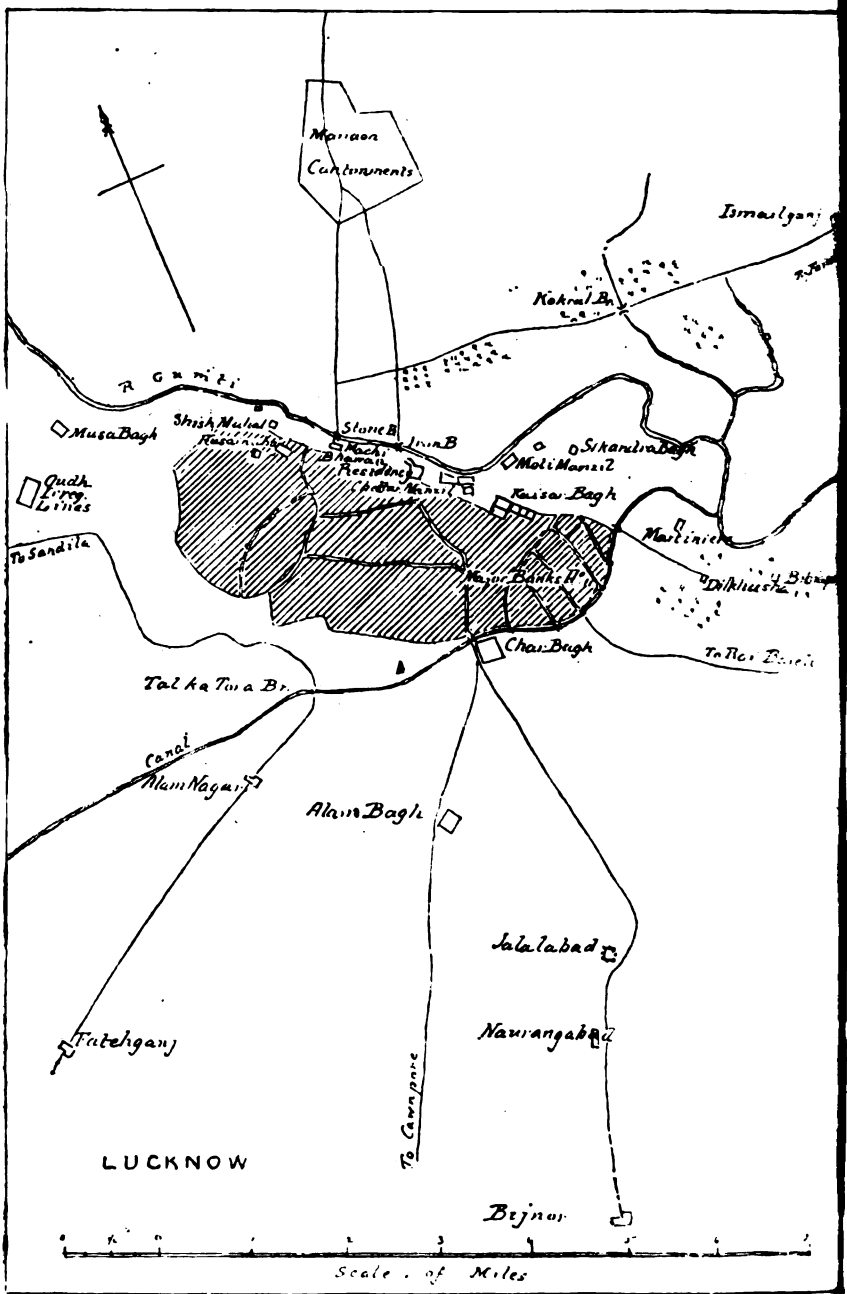

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building between the east end of the city and the river. 1857
Two bridges spanned the Gumti, one, of masonry, near the Machi Bháwan, a square of substantial buildings; the other, of iron, a mile lower down, led to the ground of the Residency and its outlying buildings.

The mutiny of the 7th Oudh Infantry, on the 7th of May, though quelled, caused Sir Henry Lawrence to apply to Government for full military powers. As Chief-Commissioner, he was always supreme, but if there were an end to the regular administration of Civil Authority, he felt that in military matters there must be one head. Brigadier Handscomb may have felt the supersession when Lord Canning appointed Sir Henry Brigadier-General, with full military powers, but he saw its necessity.

Sir Henry Lawrence, in concurrence with the Brigadier, moved the 32nd to Mariao, as a check on the native regiments. A detachment, with some guns, was placed at the Residency on the 17th, and the women and sick removed there. It was to be his central post. The same day Lieutenant J. Macleod Innes, under the direction of Sir Henry Lawrence, commenced to put the Machi Bháwan into a state of defence. Lieutenant James, Commissariat Officer, collected food supplies, and heads of villages sent in large stores of grain. A large bath beneath the Residency was cleared and filled. The Residency and neighbouring houses were prepared for occupation, and defensive measures commenced on. Lieutenant Thomas Madras Artillery, was placed in charge of the ordnance and stores.

On the night of the 30th, the regiments in Mariao broke May 30th.
out. The 71st N.I. foremost, the 48th less, and 13th least active. A few of the first, some of the second, and 300 of the last-named, with their colours and the regimental treasure-chest, gallantly saved by Lieutenant Loughnan, took post by the 32nd. Lieutenant B. R. Chambers, trying to save the regimental magazine of the 13th, was severely

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1857. May 30th. wounded. Brigadier Handscomb was shot riding down with his Staff. Sir H. Lawrence was in cantonments. He at once took a company of the 32nd and two guns, under Lieutenant MacFarlan, to keep the road leading to the city. But most of the mutineers had cleared out towards Sitapur. Had there been any good Cavalry they would have been followed up, but there were only some May 31st. Volunteers, and a few of the Irregulars. Some next day were attacked on the race-course and dispersed with loss. Lieutenant G. R. Hardinge with his handful of mounted men did good service.

June. In the next ten days all the other stations in Oudh went. At Faizabád, on the 8th, neither the Artillery officers nor even the Golandáz were allowed to approach the guns. The officers and European N.C. officers were sent down the river in four boats. Some of the women and children had been sent to Man Singh, Talukdar of Shahganj. Mrs. Mill preferred to take her own course, and after wandering from village to village, undergoing terrible privation, and losing one child, finally reached Gorakhpur, and escaped. Some Sepoys of the 17th, from Azimgarh, fired on the boats as they came down the Gogra. Lieutenant R. Currie, in No. 1 boat, was drowned, Rough-Rider Sergeant Edwards was killed, Captain Mill in No. 2 was drowned, or, as Colonel Thurburn states, was caught by an alligator. Bugler Williamson escaped. The third boat fortunately escaped. Lieutenant J. Percival reached Dinapore with the rest on the 19th, and was attached to the 4th Company 5th Battalion. The fugitives were treated kindly in many villages. Assistant-Farrier-Sergeant R. Busher, in No. 1 boat, owed his life to his bodily activity. He got to Ghazipur, and was attached to the Buxar stud. His account * of their escapes is well written.

At Sikora, when the officers of the 1st Cavalry and 2nd Infantry finding they had lost control of their men, left for

* P.P. Further Papers, No. 4, p. 48.

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Balrampur, Lieutenant J. Bonham, commanding No. 1 Battery (Lieutenant Tulloh being on leave), remained to keep his men together as long as he could. His influence prevailed so far that even the Infantry said they would obey him, and he prepared to march them towards Lucknow. But it was mere profession. The Sepoys became insolent; the gunners would not fire upon them. Alone Bonham would have served a gun, but carbines pointed at him obliged him to desist. Even then his men besought him to go, and brought him his horse; a havildar put a bag with 100 rupees into his hands, telling him he would want it. So with his Farrier and Assistant-Farrier, Sergeants James Bewsey and James Miller, and Sergeant-Major Court, 3rd Infantry, he made his way to Lucknow, which he reached on the morning of the 11th. 1857. June.

The state of the Cawnpore garrison occupied much of Sir H. Lawrence's thoughts. He could not spare Europeans, but he had, on the 26th of May, sent Major Gall with a detachment of Oudh Cavalry and Infantry and Lieutenant Ashe with two guns to Wheeler, who kept the guns but returned the rest. Another small force sent towards Fatehgarh was not so fortunate. All the officers were killed except Lieutenant A. J. Boulton, who got to Cawnpore and met a soldier's death there.

Preparations for defence of the Residency were pushed on. Bhusa and grain were stored in the racquet-court and church. Powder-barrels and most of the treasure were buried. The Farha Baksh * gateway commanding the interior was destroyed. But many buildings still remained, which afterwards gave trouble. Two hundred guns found in May in the gardens of the Shish Mahal were brought to the Residency. One was an 8-inch howitzer: it was mounted in the Redan battery, and was the only heavy howitzer they had.

* Variously spelled "Furreed" "Furhut" "Furrad," etc. But "Farha Bakhsh," "pleasure giving," is correct.

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1857. Towards the end of June, a large force of mutineers was reported from the direction of Faizabád and Sultánpur.

June 29th. On the 29th it was ascertained that the rebels were at Chinhat, nine miles off; reported not very numerous, Sir H. Lawrence thought it might be advisable to attack them before reaching the city. He had examined the ground himself and did not mean to advance beyond the Kokrál bridge farther than was absolutely necessary.

June 30th. The force taken out consisted of 150 men of the 32nd, 220 N.I., 80 Sikh and 36 Volunteer Cavalry, and the following Artillery under Captain A. P. Simons: four guns 4th Company 1st Battalion (Lieutenant Cunliffe); two of No. 2 Battery (Lieutenant D. MacFarlan); two of No. 3 Battery (Lieutenant Bryce), and the only 8-inch howitzer (Lieutenant Bonham).

The advance guard went about a mile beyond the Kokrál bridge, where the Brigadier-General intended to halt the main body, but no enemy being seen, the force advanced. They occupied the mango topes between Chinhat and Ismailganj. On approaching the latter village their shot came into our column, which deployed, while Lieutenant Bonham, supported by the field guns, replied. The rebels disappeared from the front, but soon large numbers appeared on both flanks, threatening to envelope the small force; and now treachery showed itself. The Sikh Cavalry would not charge—they were half or more Hindustanis—the native drivers of the guns acted with reluctance. An attempt was made to capture the Ismailganj, but, unsupported properly, it failed. Colonel Case, badly wounded would not allow a party to be sent back to his rescue, and a retreat was ordered. Again the natives proved untrue. The Native Infantry generally did not misbehave, but the Artillery drivers behaved shamefully. Lieutenant MacFarlan's wagons went over to the rebels; both limbers would have followed had he not stopped one, revolver in hand, and, mounting the centre horse, brought it and the gun in. The elephant with the 8-inch howitzer limber was in rear, and

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Lieutenant Bonham, mounting the wheel-horse of one of the field limbers, brought it up; but as soon as he dismounted to assist in limbering up the howitzer, the drivers went off. Bryce's were covering the retreat of the main body. Lieutenant Hardinge brought up the limber, but the elephant would not stand, and the native gunners would not manage the trail. Lieutenant Bonham was severely wounded by a bullet. Sergeant Settle, of the 4th Company, remained with him and brought him back. Captain Simons received two wounds. The howitzer, three guns, and several wagons lost. The killed, wounded, and missing amounted to 200. Captain Radcliffe, with his small body of Volunteer Cavalry, rendered the most important service in covering the retreat. He charged some 200 of the enemy's and they fled before his thirty. 1857. June 30th.

This unfortunate business brought out all the hostile feeling there was. The natives who remained were truly loyal. The Irregular Infantry at the Daulat Khána broke out at once, but the officers made their way to the Machi Bháwan.

From this evening the siege commenced, and our position was closely invested; all the houses about were filled with enemies, and the 8-inch howitzer from across the river sent several shells into the Residency position.

An attack was repulsed this morning; communication with the Machi Bháwan was quite cut off, but a telegraph-post had been set up on the roof of the Residency. Under a very heavy fire and a hot sun, a message was sent from the Residency to Colonel Palmer to spike the guns, blow up the fort, and retire at midnight. After the losses we had suffered this was necessary. Lieutenant Thomas made all the arrangements for blowing up, and the retirement was most successfully carried out. All came in without molestation, the batteries having opened fire to distract the enemy's attention, and immediately afterwards a tremendous explosion told the rebels that something had happened. They did not discover the truth till next day. July 1st.

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1857. July 2nd. Sir Henry Lawrence, after superintending the arrangements for the Machi Bháwan force, had returned to the Residency about 8 a.m. and lain down for some much-needed rest. His room was an upper one on the east side of the building. He had been recommended to change it, as a shell had found its way into it. Shortly after, another 8-inch shell passed in at the window and exploded. A fragment struck the General on the upper part of the right thigh, inflicting a terrible wound. Captain T. F. Wilson, A.A.G., was standing by the bed and was wounded, but fortunately only slightly. A native servant in the room lost one of his feet. The fourth there, Mr. G. H. Lawrence, escaped unhurt. Sir H. Lawrence was removed at once to Dr. Fayrer's house, but the wound was a mortal one. It is impossible to describe the sorrow and gloom which this event caused to everyone in the garrison. Major Banks, who had been nominated Provisional Chief Commissioner, was appointed to succeed him, the command of the troops being made over to Colonel J. E. W. Inglis, 32nd Regiment.

July 3rd. All that and the next day a perfect hail of missiles of all kinds fell upon the Residency, causing many casualties.

July 4th. At 8 a.m. on the 4th Sir H. Lawrence, after intense suffering, died. Few men ever were able to secure the love as well as the confidence of those who served under him as he had done. Throughout the Punjab "Henry Lawrence Sahib" was a familiar name to every Sikh, Musalman, or Hindu; the men whom he had selected for the highest offices there partook largely of his spirit—*Fais ton devoir, advienne que pourra*—and so enabled his brother John to maintain unshaken British authority. Short as had been the tenure of his rule in Oudh, all ranks and degrees of Englishmen there regarded him with no common affection; and it was under the impulse of this feeling that one of the soldiers told off to convey the body from the room where he had died, reverently raised the sheet that covered the lifeless form and kissed the forehead of

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REFERENCES TO PLAN OF RESIDENCY ENTRENCHMENT.

a Lieutenant Cunliffe's guns.
b Lieutenant MacFarlan's guns.
c Captain Evans' guns.
d Lieutenant J. Alexander's guns.
e Lieutenant Bryce's guns.
f Lieutenant Bonham's guns and mortars.
g Lieutenant Thomas' guns.
1 Innes' post.
2 Redan battery.
3 Water-gate.
4 Banqueting hall.
5 Dr. Fayrer's house.
6 Baillie guard and treasury.
7 Baillie guard-gate, Aitken's post.
8 Financial garrison.
9 Mrs. Sago's house.
10 Judicial garrison.
11 Post-office.
12 Anderson's post.
13 Cawnpore battery.
14 Hospital.
15 Martiniére barrack.
16 Brigade mess.
17 1st, 2nd and 3rd squares.
18 Sikh squares.
19 Ommanney's garrison.
20 Gubbins' garrison.
21 Slaughter-house.
22 Sheep-pen.
23 Church.
24 Clock-tower.
25 Sher-gate, where Neill fell.
26 Steam-engine house.
27 King's stables.
28 Workshops.
29 Overseer's house.

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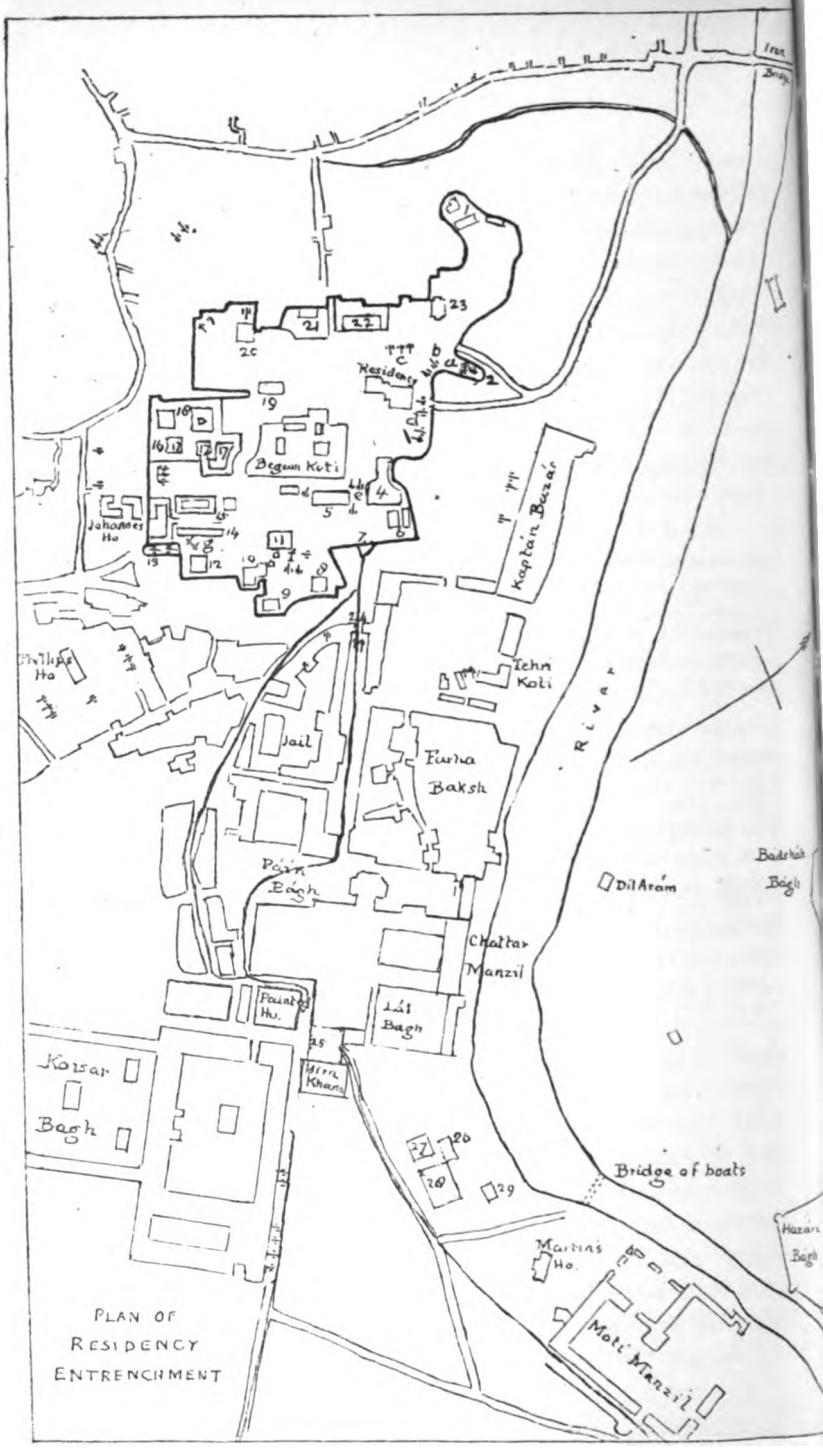

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his dead chief. All had seen what they had most of them heard before: that the worn and attenuated frame contained a heart tender as a woman's and a spirit strong as a lion's, and so amid the roar of cannon and storm from every side of shot and bullets, the few who could be spared from the defence of their posts by night laid the bodies of Lawrence and four others in a soldier's grave. 1857. July 4th.

The Residency entrenchment has been so often described that any lengthened detail of it is unnecessary. Its height above the river gave a very slight command of it and the ground beyond. A bazar, called of old time "the Captain's" lay in this low ground along the river about the north-west corner, which was prolonged into an irregular salient; many houses had been demolished, but on the east, the Tehri Kothi and extensive buildings of the Farha Baksh and Chattar Manzil Palaces, and houses of the city on all other sides gave the rebels plenty of cover. July.

At the extremity of the salient to the north-west, a house, till then the residence of Lieutenant J. McLeod Innes, Engineer, with its offices, was included on account of its importance in command and flanking defence. A Muhammedan cemetery beyond it was slightly higher, but could not safely be taken in. This post was commanded by Lieutenant A. R. Loughnan, 13th N.I.; afterwards by Lieutenant J. Graydon, 7th O.I.

The redan, constructed by Lieutenant Fulton, under the orders of Major Anderson, a narrow salient mounting two 18-pounder and one 9-pounder guns, was a most valuable flanking defence for the north-east face of the entrenchment. It was commanded by Lieutenant S. H. Lawrence, 32nd Regiment, and the guns by Lieutenant Cunliffe. To its rear on the road near the church an 18-pounder and two 9-pounder guns were placed, under Lieutenant H. L. Evans, 17th Bombay N.I. Lieutenant MacFarlan, and next to him, Lieutenant J. Alexander, commanded the guns between the redan and banqueting hall.

Facing the street which led along the rear of the Farha

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1857. July

Baksh Palace, a large and lofty archway led into the Residency grounds. This has been called the Baillie guard-gate, owing to its vicinity to the Residency guard-house, so named by the natives after Major John Baillie, 4th N.I., and Resident at Lucknow 1807-14. Opposite to it another archway, the Latkan Darwáza, but by us called the Clock Tower, stood over the road at a distance of 130 yards. The Baillie guard-post, extending from the north-east corner to the re-entering angle, was a very hot one, and Lieutenant R. H. M. Aitken, 13th N.I., who commanded it, won the Victoria Cross for his gallant conduct throughout.

The Financial Commissioner's office was the next post, commanded by Captain J. W. Sanders, 41st N.I. The post-office in its rear, commanded by Captain B. McCabe, 32nd Regiment, by its higher elevation, assisted the defensive powers of the former. Lieutenant Bonham had the guns here.

Next stood Mrs. Sago's house, of which Lieutenant J. Clery, 32nd, had the command, with the Judicial Commissioner's office, under Captain R. C. Germon, 13th N.I., mutually flanking one another. Then came Captain R. P. Anderson's at the southern corner, and close by it, looking down a main street, was the Cawnpore battery, mounting one 18- and two 9-pounder guns. This was the only post not permanently commanded. It had a daily relief of Captains, and from its position was the post of greatest danger. Lieutenant Thomas commanded the guns in its rear. The cover afforded by the houses in the city for guns and muskets enabled the rebels to inflict more loss on the besieged from these than from the northern sides.

Along the south-west face the buildings occupied by the Martiniére School, some of the families, the Brigade Mess for officers of the N.I. Regiments, and the Sikh soldiers were placed. A narrow lane separated the last of these from the house and compound of Mr. Martin Gubbins. This post, an important one, was commanded successively

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by Captain H. Forbes, 1st O.C.; Captain W. H. Hawes, 1st O.I.; and Major C. Apthorp, 41st N.I. 1857. July.

Next to this was an enclosure containing bullock-sheds, slaughter-house, and stores of fodder. A little further on, another enclosure, called the Sheep-pen, was near the church belonging to Innes' garrison. Both these enclosures were commanded by Captain G. W. Boileau, 2nd O.I.

The other buildings had their garrisons, and the banqueting hall was the hospital; but the lower story only could be used. Even that was not safe from the enemy's shot.

Such was the entrenchment which, for eighty-seven days was held against overwhelming numbers. The twenty-seven regiments of Cavalry and Infantry which mutinied in the province of Oudh, with Sepoys from other places, were backed up by a hostile city in arms, and the whole province. Our defences were ordinary compound walls of brick and mud, and ordinary houses connected together by hastily thrown-up works, and could nowhere have kept out a determined assault. The fatigue of incessant watchfulness and exertion night and day; the want of sufficient or wholesome food; the impossibility of getting rid of dead animals, putrid animal or vegetable matter; the ravages of cholera and disease consequent on such causes, and the noxious influences of the rainy season, all borne uncomplainingly—for the exceptions were very few,—make the successful defence of the Residency entrenchment one of the brightest pages in the history of our army.

Throughout the month of July the defenders of the entrenchment were subjected to harassing attacks, and both musketry and gun-fire, lasting for nearly the whole of the night as well as day. The attacks for the most part were not formidable until the 20th, when the rebels brought all their force to bear on our position. The casualties which each day were reported, serious as they were to our small force, were few considering the incessant fire of musketry from every point around which could bear upon

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1857 July. the interior and on the tops of the houses where we were obliged to maintain guards or sentries, and the number of shell that fell and of shot which made their way through the thin walls of the houses.

July 20th. The attack on the 20th began by the springing of a mine inside the Water-gate and near the redan battery, which the rebels evidently intended to destroy. This was followed by a terrific fire from every gun they had and a perfect storm of musketry fire all round. Every man was already at his post. Great masses of the enemy assailed the redan and Innes' post, advancing to within twenty-five yards, but Lieutenants Cunliffe's and MacFarlan's guns, supported by musketry-fire, all working coolly and steadily, drove them back as fast as they came on. Again and again the attempt was repeated. Ensign Loughnan, at Innes' post, distinguished himself greatly. Lieutenant Bonham was, as usual, at the post-office. The Cawnpore battery was assaulted about the same time. One of the enemy, holding aloft a green standard, advanced to the edge of the ditch, where he was shot, and the rest retired. The attacks were renewed on Lieutenant Anderson's and Captain Germon's posts; scaling-ladders were brought up. Everywhere shouts of "Chalo bahádur—Maro Faringián—Sirhi le-ao" were heard. But the fire of the Feringi was not to their mind, and they lost more in these futile attacks than would have fallen in a determined rush. The attacks at last subsided into a heavy fire all round. It was not till our garrison had all been under arms for twelve hours that they were able to take some much-needed rest. The behaviour of all was admirable; the uncovenanted men and Sepoys all did their best. Our casualties were very few: four men killed and some twelve wounded, while the rebels lost several hundred. They were allowed to carry off their wounded and slain. Bombardier T. Maxwell, Gunners J. Brennan and S. Shehy, of the 4th Company 1st Battalion, were killed; * Lieutenant MacFarlan severely wounded.

* Casualty Rolls.

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After the attack of the 20th the enemy carried on their operations chiefly by mining, although the fire both of musketry and artillery was kept up as continuously as ever. This entailed the necessity of counter-mining and severe labour on the already overtasked garrison. The Sikhs did good service with the spade, and all ranks took their share of this, as they had done of all other work. In this the genius of Captain Fulton, of the Engineers, was most conspicuous. The enemy's galleries were generally well-constructed, though not always in a proper direction. The Pási class common in Oudh furnished them with labourers habituated to this sort of work. 1857 July.

Our first gallery was begun July 26th from a house next to the Cawnpore battery. Next day another was commenced from an eight-foot shaft in the Sikh lines, where the enemy were heard to be at work. On the 28th it was pushed on as fast as could be done, while they on their part were heard very close. At last, about five in the afternoon, a crowbar broke through from our side and the rebels speedily fled, on which we took possession of their gallery, while they filled in their shaft, and with a charge of 100 pounds we blew all up, bringing down several houses. The Cawnpore sap was carried on and next day charged with 200 pounds. July 28th. July 29th.

Another countermine was commenced close to the corner of the Brigade Mess, and carried on thirty-eight feet by the evening of the 1st of August.

On the 10th a second general attack was made by the enemy in great force. Numbers of Sepoys came up through the city across the Cawnpore street to the west of it. They were seen also coming from cantonments towards the bridge of boats. A mine opposite to Johannes' house was fired and blew in a great part of the Martiniére House, destroying about 60 feet of our defences. Another mine was fired at Sago's house. At both these places, as well as at Innes', Anderson's, and Gubbins' post, the most determined attacks were made, large scaling-ladders being brought up ; but our steady fire repelled every attempt, and August 10th.

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1857. August 10th. the rebels lost very heavily. Our men were all under arms the entire day, an excessively hot one, and were much exhausted, but our casualties were only three Europeans and two Sepoys killed, about ten wounded. No Artillerymen appear among the former.

August 13th. The mine near Sago's house had been carried on, and on the 13th fired. A brick building from which the rebels had driven their gallery was entirely destroyed and the workmen buried alive. For some days after this post was left alone.

August 18th. A mine which had not been detected owing, it was said, to the stamping of the horses of the Sikh Cavalry there, was exploded on the morning of the 18th, by which seven musicians and drummers, N.I., and one Sepoy, lost their lives. A corner house of the square was blown down, and a breach of 30 feet made in the defences. A native officer of Irregular Cavalry rushed up the breach waving his sword, and calling on the others to follow him. He fell by a bullet. Another went forward, but shared the same fate, and the rest were intimidated. They, however, got possession of part of the wall, but were dislodged. We not only recovered the ground, but took possession of and destroyed many of the houses between the Sikh square and Mr. Gubbins' post, from which we had before been much annoyed, expending 400 lbs. of powder in their demolition. Brigadier Inglis commanded in person throughout.

August 21st. We got rid, on the 21st, of another building from which the rebels had been able to inflict much loss. A gallery from the Martiniére, begun on the 17th and carried towards Johannes' House, was exploded. Two parties under Captain McCabe and Lieutenant Browne, 32nd Regiment, drove the rebels out of the house, spiked the two guns, and held it while the Engineers arranged for blowing it up. This was successfully accomplished, and the house destroyed. The casualties were an Artillery sergeant* and one of the

* "Diary by a Staff Officer," p. 121. Not one of the 4th Company 1st Battalion, but must have been a man formerly in the Artillery belong-

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84th killed; a sergeant of the 84th and two men of the 32nd wounded; the first mortally. 1857. August.

The enemy were heard working underground towards the Brigade Mess, and our gallery to the right of this building broke into theirs about ten a.m. on the 29th, enabling the Engineer's party to blow it up. Another, towards Sago's house, fell in, owing to the heavy rains.

The want of a heavy howitzer was severely felt. It was impossible with mortars to reply efficiently to the rebel batteries, or send shells clear of intervening walls and buildings, into houses beyond. Lieutenant Bonham contrived to meet this want in some way by fastening a dismounted 8-inch mortar to a strong platform mounted on wheels, taken from a fire-engine, giving the elevation by a wedge below the muzzle. This weapon, not being included in any official list of ordnance, required a name. It was called by some profane individual, "The Ship." Nevertheless, the Ship, in Bonham's hands, performed wonders. It lobbed shells over houses, and sent them into batteries, bursting where Pandy did not want them to take effect. And it moved about to any required spot. Hence, perhaps, the name. Unfortunately, this young officer, who had done so much from the commencement of the outbreak, seemed to come in for more mishaps than anyone else. He was severely wounded at Chinhat, but was at work again before long. Then he got small-pox, a mild form of which was prevalent, on the 30th of July. On the 12th of August, a gun in the Cawnpore battery being disabled, he got off his bed to assist in removing it. Was wounded slightly on the 15th, and a third time, on the 30th of August, very severely, by a bullet which badly fractured the collar-bone, and sent him home the following January. His period of active service may not even yet be over, for though retired, he lives in Ireland, an efficient magistrate and landlord, and does not subscribe to Home Rule.*

ing to the Oudh Irregular force, or one of the departments. If his name had been given, this could have been ascertained.

* It is well known that among the honours conferred for services

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1857. September. The enemy's efforts continued unabated; one of their mines, towards Captain Saunders' post, was discovered and blown in on the 2nd. All round the entrenchment they were working, and the efforts of the Engineers were unremitting. Some Cornish soldiers of the 32nd Regiment were Sept. 9th. of the greatest use. On the 9th, our countermine at the Cawnpore battery, charged with 200 lbs. on the 29th of July, was fired. All the houses opposite were destroyed, as well as their mine there. The rebels were taken aback; and opened a heavy but harmless cannonade from all their batteries on that side.

On the 11th our countermine from the Sikh square was exploded, destroying the enemy's mine, and burying their people. Lieutenant Fulton made a sortie, and captured a mine on the north-west side towards the church, completely destroying it. A shaft was sunk in the Brigade Mess, and Sept. 14th. the other saps carried on. But on the 14th a round shot killed Lieutenant Fulton at Mr. Gubbins' post. It is not too much to say that his was the most valuable life lost since Sir H. Lawrence had been killed. All accounts concur in this.

September. The last mines exploded by the enemy were on the 5th of September, and did no harm. Their last general attack the same day was directed on Mr. Gubbins' post and along the south face. Our casualties were only three natives killed, and one 32nd man wounded; while theirs were extremely heavy, as they had exposed themselves, especially opposite the Brigade Mess and Sikh squares.

Sept. 8th. On the 8th, Captain A. P. Simons, who had been long laid up from the effect of the wounds received at Chinhat, died. He was a good and strictly conscientious officer. The only unwounded Artillery officer was Lieutenant

during 1857, comparatively few were awarded to the defenders of the Residency. Lieutenants MacFarlan and Bonham, both most conspicuous for their merits, were entirely passed over. The former attained Brevet rank and the Companionship of the Bath for subsequent services. The latter received a Brevet majority four years afterwards.

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Thomas, whose wife had died of small-pox on the 16th of July. There were only two now fit for duty, the two Alexanders. Lieutenant D. C. Alexander had been severely burnt on the 17th of July by the premature explosion of a mortar charge; Lieutenant E. P. Lewin had been killed on the 15th of July in the Cawnpore battery while reconnoitring*; Lieutenant J. H. Bryce, wounded on the 16th of July, died of cholera on the 18th of August; Lieutenant J. Alexander had been shot through the arm while laying an 18-pounder in the Hospital battery; Lieutenant D. MacFarlan as before mentioned, on the 20th of July; Lieutenant F. J. Cunliffe had been wounded in the knee by a musket-ball; it was not at first serious, but fever supervened, and he died on the 22nd of September. 1857. September.

The 4th Company 1st Battalion had lost a great number of men; four non-commissioned officers, eleven gunners, and a half-pay bugler in July; three non-commissioned officers and four gunners in August; and two non-commissioned officers and two gunners the first week in September; after which no more deaths are reported till October. In all twenty-seven. It is not possible to ascertain the number of natives belonging to the Artillery who took part in the siege, or of the casualties which occurred. But after the final relief and evacuation of the Residency, a General Order intimated that every native commissioned, non-commissioned officer and soldier who formed part of the garrison of Lucknow should receive the order of merit and count three years of additional service; and in the Rolls dated Camp Alám Bágh, the 19th of February, there appeared to be then surviving five of the Gun Lascar detail attached to the 4th Company 1st Battalion and five Syce drivers of No. 9 Field Battery. Of the 2nd Company 8th Battalion there were on the same roll a

* His wife survived; one child, "their only little girl, one of the prettiest children I have ever seen," Lady Inglis says, died of cholera early in the siege.

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1857. September. Subadar Major, a Subadar, 4 Havildars, 5 Naicks, and 13 privates, with 3 Sirdars and 12 of the ordnance drivers of No. 2 Bullock Field Battery. And there were other warrant or non-commissioned officers from the Artillery in the Oudh Irregular Force, Commissariat or Public Works Department, whose names have not been ascertained with certainty.

On the 21st of June Major Banks was killed while reconnoitring on an outhouse in Mr. Gubbins' post. Dr. Brydon, 71st N.I., the same who, as sole survivor of the Kabul force in January, 1842, had brought the sad news of that disaster to Jalálabád, was severely wounded the same day. Major Anderson, the Chief Engineer, died on the 11th of August. He had been ill from the beginning of the siege, but it is not true that he never left his bed. As far as nature allowed, he fulfilled his duties and was cognisant of all that went on. Captain Fulton was then the chief, and to his science and indefatigable exertions it was due that the rebels were defeated at every point where they had been mining, except at the Sikh square on the 18th of August.

Although cut off from outside communication, some information reached the garrison. A pensioned Sepoy named Angad, who had been sent out by Mr. Gubbins, came in on the 22nd and again on the 25th of July. He brought verbal news of Havelock's successes and intended advance on Lucknow. This was confirmed by Aodhán Singh, a Sepoy of the 1st Oudh Infantry, on the 6th of August. Angad arrived again on the 15th with a letter of the 4th from Lieut.-Colonel Fraser Tytler, D.A.Q.M.G., telling Mr. Gubbins that they were about to advance to Lucknow, but that the garrison were to cut their way out to meet them if necessary. Angad in the meantime had been stopped by the rebels and heard that Havelock had recrossed the Ganges. This news was disheartening; more than that, the retrograde movement had sent wavering rájas and tálukdárs over to the rebels, and moral being to

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physical force as three to one, the position of the garrison was in greater danger than ever. 1857. September.

On the 29th of August Angad again returned, and this time Havelock said, "Do not negotiate." The gallant soldier who wrote these words did not know how little they were needed. He also said that the reinforcements which Sir Colin Campbell was sending would not arrive for perhaps twenty-five days. But the garrison were not disheartened, and had their food not been so scanty they would have been more than contented; while the rebels, overwhelmingly superior in number, were beginning to find out that to capture the "Baillie guard" was not so easy.

Again Angad came into the Residency late on the 22nd with a letter from Sir James Outram saying he had crossed the Ganges on the 19th and was to move forward on the 21st. Eagerly the officers on look-out duty in the Residency tower and on the post-office watched and listened. The sound of guns was heard in the direction of Cawnpore on the 23rd, and on the following night, when the flashes could be seen. On the 25th, after a very unquiet night, great excitement prevailed in the city, numbers of natives with bundles on their heads, Sepoys and Cavalry, were crossing the river and going towards cantonments about one o'clock. Later in the afternoon some of our troops were seen about the Moti Mahal. The rattle of musketry-fire came nearer; it was evident a fierce contest was raging. At a few minutes past five the 78th Highlanders were coming up the street leading to the Baillie guard gate; Sir James Outram, wounded, and General Havelock had entered the entrenchment by the embrasure of Aitken's battery. The shattered walls and roofless houses were resounding to the cheers of the garrison, the joyful shouts of the women and children. And so the Residency was saved.

HAVELOCK'S ADVANCE ON CAWNPORE.

The first portion of the Royal Artillery to reach India in 1857 was the 3rd Company 8th Battalion under 2nd 1857. June. Red. 1871.

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1857. June. Captain F. C. Maude. It left Ceylon June 7th, reaching Calcutta in six days, only 53 strong. It was sent up to Allahabad, where it took over a battery (two 6- two 9-pounder guns, two 12-pounder howitzers) with bullock draft and 31 men of the 64th Regiment to assist in manning the guns.

Other reinforcements of troops had arrived, the 84th sent from Burmah first of all. The 1st Madras Fusiliers on the 23rd of May, a wing of the 37th from Ceylon on the 12th of June, then the 64th and 78th Regiments with A Company 3rd Battalion Madras Artillery No. 2 Field Battery under Major Cotter, early in June; the 35th Regiment on the 30th of June. The 84th had been pushed up in detachments by bullock train—the only available means of transport beyond Raniganj, the end of the finished portion of railway.

46 Fd. Batt.

June. Colonel Neill with the Madras Fusiliers had gone to Benares. There, on the 4th of June, a parade was held to disarm the 37th N.I. Seventy of Neill's regiment, 120 of the 10th, and three guns of the 2nd Company 3rd Battalion No. 12 F.B., under Captain W. Olpherts, were there. The 37th, told to pile arms, replied by a volley, and the guns let drive. The Regiment of Ludhiána was brought on the parade, but without any intention of disarming them. They were half Hindustani and infected, and showed themselves openly hostile, so Olpherts promptly turned his guns on them* and dispersed them also. The next day, at Jaunpore, the other wing of the regiment, hearing what had happened, broke out and murdered their second in command, Lieutenant Patrick Mara, who, thirty years before, had enlisted as a gunner and had been promoted for good service in 1846. (See note † next page.)

Colonel Neill, Madras Fusiliers, was summoned to Allahabad by the mutiny there, on the 6th of June, of the 6th N.I. The magazine was safe; Lieutenant W. C. Russell had made all arrangements for blowing it up

* Sir W. Olpherts tells me they fired on his guns before he did so.

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should it come to that. From the 11th Colonel Neill was engaged there in collecting the detachments as they arrived. Major Renaud left for Fatehpur, five marches towards Cawnpore, on the 30th with 820 men and two guns, under Lieutenant T. N. Harward, served by 22 of the Artillery Invalids who had been sent up from Chunar.* There he halted. Brigadier General H. Havelock reached Allahabad on the 1st July. Lieutenant W. Tod Brown was ordered to prepare a light siege-train. A report from Sir H. Lawrence mentioned it as probable that Cawnpore had fallen. 1857. June. July.

On the 7th, Havelock left Allahabad and joined Renaud on the 10th. His force then consisted of Captain Maude's and Lieutenant Harward's guns, 1,285 of the 78th Highlanders, Madras Fusiliers, 64th and 84th Regiments, the Regiment of Ferozepur under Captain J. Brasyer,† 448; 20 Volunteer and some Irregular Cavalry under Lieutenant C. H. Palliser. Lieutenant W. C. Russell was Commissary of Ordnance. As Lieutenant Eardley Maitland was the only subaltern with Captain Maude, Lieutenant C. W. Crump, of the Madras Artillery, was appointed to do duty with the 3rd Company 8th Battalion R.A.

Cawnpore had fallen, and a force of about 3,500 insurgents, with 12 guns, was close to Renaud. Havelock, therefore, after a twenty-four-mile march to Fatehpur, on the 12th attacked and defeated them there, capturing nine guns, a howitzer, and two mortars with the loss only of six killed, four wounded, and four missing. The last were the Irregulars, who, being disloyal, had to be dismounted. In his despatch, General Havelock mentions Captain Maude with high praise. July 12th.

* The garrison of Chunar consisted of a battalion of Infantry and three Companies of Artillery: invalids considered fit for garrison duty—long-service men who did not desire to be sent home. Lieut.-Colonel G. Blake, invalided from the Artillery, commanded them.

† For the services of these officers, see "List of Officers who have served in the Bengal Artillery," Bath, 1892, pp. 54, 56.

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1857. July 14th. The rebels were attacked again and defeated at Aong. Captain Maude had one N.C. officer killed, one wounded, and a gunner missing (killed). Lieutenant Harward had one of his gunners killed. Major Renaud was mortally wounded. A 24-pounder howitzer captured from the rebels at Fatehpur was used in this action. The same day, after a short halt, the force moved on to the bridge

July 15th. over the Pandu Naddi, which was carried, and next day Havelock advanced to Maharajpur. After a short halt the rebels were found strongly posted at Ahirwa, close to Cawnpore, with their guns behind earthworks. Turning their left flank, they soon became engaged; the rebels were driven out, and six guns, four of heavy calibre, were captured. Great numbers of men died from sunstroke this day. In all these actions the guns bore a foremost part, and Lieutenant Maitland was specially mentional for cool intrepidity.

July 16th. On entering Cawnpore next day the terrible truth became known that the Nána had, on hearing of Havelock's successes the day before, massacred all the surviving women and children in his hands. Their bodies, yet warm, filled up the well now enclosed as sacred ground and covered with Baron Marochetti's beautiful palm-bearing statue. It is no matter of astonishment that men who saw the walls and floors of that house covered with the freshly-shed blood should have recorded vows of vengeance against every Sepoy who fell into their hands. Even now it is hard to forget it.

When Havelock was coming to Allahabad Colonel Neill had prepared, as a diversion, to send one of the river steamers commanded by Captain Dickson with a party of the Madras Fusiliers, under Captain J. B. Spurgin, and two 9-pounder guns, with 20 invalid gunners up the Ganges. It was a service of considerable danger, and Captain Spurgin carried out his orders with great skill and courage, meeting Havelock on his arrival at Cawnpore.

July 19th. From thence General Havelock went to Bithur. The

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Nána fled ; thirteen guns were taken, and his palace was burnt. Altogether 44 guns had been captured. 1857. July 19th.

By the 23rd, half the force had been encamped near Mangalwár, beyond the Ganges. Letters had come to Havelock urging his advance up the Trunk Road, but his duty was to reach Lucknow first. Brevet-Major G. L. Cooper, of the 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A. at Mian Mir, who had been sent down some time before on special duty, came up, and, joining the camp near Mangalwár, took command of his arm. Brigadier-General Neill was left in command at Cawnpore. On the 25th Havelock crossed with the remainder of his force. He was at Mangalwár on the 28th, attacked the rebels at Unao next day, capturing 15 guns, and then pushed on to Basiratganj, again and three times on that day encountering and routing the rebels. One of the invalid gunners was killed and two of Maude's wounded ; 19 guns captured.

The force went back again to Mangalwár. Two days after (4th), Lieutenant H. Smithett, with three guns of Captain Olpherts' Battery, joined. The same night Havelock advanced again to Basiratganj and attacked the rebels ; returning then to his former position. On the 11th he again advanced as the rebels collected, and gave them a third defeat. Sickness, especially cholera, was very prevalent—335 were in hospital ; fatigue and exposure at the unhealthiest time of the year reduced his numbers. The risk of attacking Lucknow was too great. So he recrossed the Ganges.* The move put fresh heart into the rebel cause in Oudh. Another cause of disquiet was the threatening attitude of the Gwalior contingent, now in open arms, and evidently thinking of coming towards Kalpi. Havelock, on crossing the Ganges, attacked the rebels, who August 2nd. August 11th. August 16th.

* Captain Maude, in his report to Lieut.-Colonel Adye, D.A.A.G., R.A. in India, prominently mentions Lieutenants Crump and Maitland. His battery had fought in ten successful actions in the hottest season of the year, silenced 47 out of 67 captured guns, and since leaving Ceylon had only one recorded case of drunkenness.

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1857. August. had again collected at Bithur, and came back to Cawnpore.

Major-General Sir James Outram, of the Bombay N.I., who had just brought the Persian Expedition to a successful termination, was coming up with combined Civil and Military powers in Oudh. Sir Colin Campbell was now Commander-in-Chief. On the 16th of September Sir James Outram arrived at Cawnpore with the 5th and 90th Regiments and Major Eyre's Battery.

MAJOR EYRE'S OPERATIONS ABOUT ARRAH.

July 10 Co. S. Div. R.A. Major Vincent Eyre, commanding 1st Company 5th Battalion with No. 3 Horse Field Battery, left Calcutta July 10th with his men and guns under orders for Allahabad. Passing Dinapore by river steamer, he reached Buxar on the 28th, and there heard that the three native regiments at Dinapore had broken out and were then besieging the Civil officers and residents of Arrah, who, with 50 Sikhs, were defending, like good Britons, the house of Mr. Boyle, a railway engineer. Major Eyre went on at once to Ghazipur, and there landed his only subaltern, Lieutenant D. W. Gordon, with two guns to reinforce Colonel Dames, and then with his approval returned to Buxar, to render what assistance he could to the besieged house.

54 Fd. Batt. Major-General Lloyd, commanding the Dinapore Division, had the 10th Regiment and the 4th Company 5th Battalion with No. 11 Field Battery there, but though anxious that martial law should be proclaimed,* did not know what to do with even more limited power. He sent Captain Dunbar, with two companies of the 10th, two of the 37th,† on their way up the river, and 50 Sikhs,‡ but this officer, when about a mile from Arrah, on the night of the 29th allowed himself to be surprised, and was killed ; and the party had to retreat, losing half their number.

* P.P. No. 4, p. 21, Inclosure 31 in No. 1.
† This regiment had just arrived from Ceylon.
‡ *Ib*, p. 2, Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

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Captain L'Estrange, of the 5th Fusiliers,* with 160 of his men, was coming up the river, and Major Eyre, on his own responsibility, receiving sanction from Dinapore, stopped them, and with his two guns and howitzer (one gun being still on the river), and the Fusiliers, less than half Captain Dunbar's force, moved towards Arrah, 45 miles distant. At Shahpur he heard rumours of Dunbar's disaster. At Bibiganj on the 2nd of August he came up with the rebels, who were in great strength, largely reinforced by Sepoys on leave.† After an hour's fire he ordered Captain L'Estrange to charge, covered by the guns firing grape. It was splendidly done. The rebels were completely dispersed, and Arrah was relieved. The Artillery casualties were Gunners T. Hayes and T. Hicks killed; Sergeant J. Knoles, Gunners M. McCarthy, T. Dwyer, and D. O'Brien wounded, the two first severely.

1857. August 2.

On the 6th of August four officers and 200 men of the 10th were sent to join Major Eyre. Thus reinforced, he left Arrah on the 11th for Jagdispur, the headquarters of Koer Singh, who was leading the rebellion here, a place surrounded by much jungle, and swampy with heavy rain. The rebels were routed at Dalár, two guns taken on the 12th and again on the 14th at Sataura, after which they dispersed; and the special object having been effected, Major Eyre, under Sir James Outram's orders, continued his progress to Allahabad.

Thus Major Eyre, with two companies and half a battery, accomplished what Major-General Lloyd with a whole regiment and six guns said he could not do.‡ The former in landing from the steamer with his guns had to seize village bullocks for their draft and trace them in how he could. His horses were coming up the Trunk Road under

* This regiment had come from the Mauritius in the beginning of July.

† Besides about 1,200 Sepoys, Koer Singh had 4,000 Irregulars, horse and foot, in the field.

‡ P.P. No. 4, p. 29, Inclosure 54 in No. 1.

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1857. Lieutenant E. L. Hawkins. The men of the 10th Regiment sent to him had only just received their Enfield Rifles, and Captain L'Estrange, at his desire, supplied instructors to teach them their management during the few days they halted at Arrah. Staff-Sergeant James Stuart Melville, of the 1st Company 5th Battalion, who had been highly commended, was afterwards promoted to the rank of a commissioned officer.

ADVANCE UPON LUCKNOW.

September. As troops came up to Cawnpore Major-General Havelock began to prepare for the advance into Oudh. The bridge of boats across the Ganges was in rear of the centre of the extensive town which covered it. This spot was more favourable for the bridge than for defence by a small force close to the bridge. Lieut.-Colonel Fraser Tytler had commenced an entrenchment for the garrison and as a *tête de pont*. Its disadvantages were clearly seen the following December. A better position might have been found a little lower down, clear of the city and near the old Artillery lines.

Besides the reinforcements already mentioned, the 78th Highlanders and Captain Brasyer's Sikh Regiment and Captain Olpherts with the other half-battery (2nd-3rd No. 12) had arrived. Major R. Napier, Captain Crommelin, and Lieutenant Limond, of the Engineers, also joined. Lieut.-Colonel F. R. Bazely. Principal Commissary of Ordnance, who had gone home on sick leave in the previous May and had just come out again, arrived at Cawnpore a day or two before the force marched, and was allowed to accompany it as a volunteer. Lieut.-Colonel Wilson, with the greater part of the 64th Regiment and a few invalid gunners, was left to garrison Cawnpore. Other troops were being pushed up from Calcutta.

The advancing force was formed into two brigades:—

1st Brigade.—Brigadier-General Neill.

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Artillery: Captain Maude's Field and Major Eyre's Heavy* Batteries. 1857. September.

Cavalry: Captain Barrow's Volunteers; Captain Dawson's Irregulars.

Infantry: 3rd Fusiliers; detachment 64th; 84th; 1st Madras Fusiliers.

2nd Brigade.—Colonel Hamilton, 78th.

Artillery: Captain Olpherts' Battery.

Infantry: 78th Highlanders; 90th Light Infantry; Brasyer's Sikhs.

The enemy were again attacked on the old ground at Basiratganj and routed, losing four guns. The river Sai was crossed on the 22nd at Banni, and next day the rebels were found posted with their left on the Alám Bágh. Heavy rain had filled all the lower ground, and at first the head of the column was confined to the road, but as soon as the Infantry deployed, the guns went to the front, and then it was a question with the latter who should get first close to the rebels, and here, says Captain Maude, Captain Olpherts with his Battery had the best of it. He could well afford to make the admission, but it was generously said. The rebels were driven back and five guns captured. They still held the gardens and enclosures in front of the canal, and our left had to be withdrawn, the right occupying the Alám Bágh. The force was exposed to a heavy cannonade, and large numbers of Cavalry coming through the high cultivation made a sudden irruption on the baggage in rear, which was repelled by the 90th and two of Olpherts' guns. Sept. 21st. Sept. 23rd.

A halt was made on the 24th after the heavy rain and work of the past three days. There was serious work ahead. The baggage and tents were left in the Alám Bágh with a detachment of Infantry and two guns under Lieutenant Harward. September.

* Major Eyre had exchanged his field pieces for four 18-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers. The rebels having blown up the magazine, they had only enough powder to fill the wagons.

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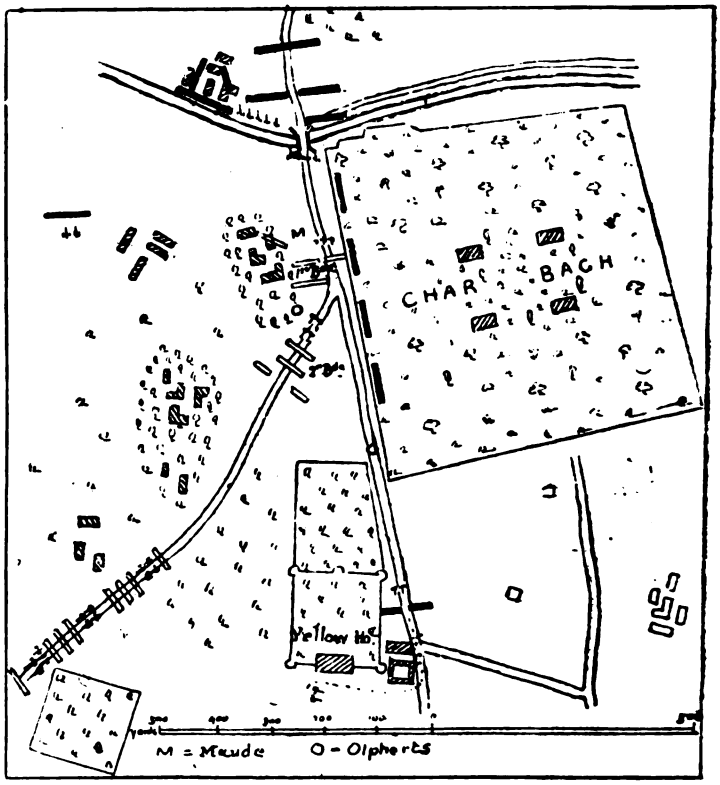
1857. Sept. 25th. Early the next morning the force fell in. The 1st Brigade with Maude's guns, led by Sir J. Outram, was in front, and soon came under fire of the rebel guns from right and left front As they approached the walled quadrangle called the Char Bagh, musketry fire opened from the gardens and fields on either side. Two guns near a building



some 600 yards to the right, called by us the Yellow House, gave considerable trouble, and the casualties about the guns were heavy. After being in action for some time, the Brigade advanced, and Captain Maude again unlimbered against a battery in front of the bridge over the canal

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at the corner of the Char Bagh wall at 150 yards. After a fire splendidly maintained, the bridge was carried by a charge of the 84th and Madras Regiments. 1857. Sept. 25th.

While this was going on the two guns at the Yellow House had moved round to the lane along the Char Bagh wall, and opened fire on the rear of the attacking column. Colonel Campbell, with part of the 90th Regiment, was ordered to take them, and it was done. But they had not the means of carrying them off. Captain Olpherts, galloping back, got limbers and brought them down, passing both ways under the fire of the rebels lining the Char Bagh wall, and bore them off in triumph. Both he and Captain Maude received the Victoria Cross, together with nine others, for their conduct here. Sir James Outram was wounded in the arm by a musket-ball, but continued to lead.

From thence the direct road to the Residency through the city was about two miles, every step of which would have to be contested in forcing barricades and capturing houses. So Outram diverged to the right, going along the canal bank outside the city. The 78th Highlanders held the entrance of the main street while the heavy guns and ammunition passed on. The guns taken were thrown down the steep sides of the canal. They reached the Dilkhusha without serious opposition. The head of the leading column passed by the right of the Chaupera Barracks towards the Sikandra Bagh, then turning at a sharp angle to the left, gained the Moti Manzil (or Mahal). Here they suffered severely from the fire of the Khurshid Manzil and Kaisar Bagh, and our guns were again unlimbered to keep it down, which was no easy task. In front of the building near the Kaisar Bagh, an entrenchment had been thrown up, which continued for some distance along the front of the buildings enclosing Sádat Ali's tomb. From behind this a fire of grape and musketry was kept up. Once inside the Moti Manzil enclosure they were sheltered pretty well. The heavy guns and wagons arrived,

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1857. Sept. 25th

but after considerable delay, and the 78th Highlanders coming up in rear instead of going on towards the Chaupera Barracks, turned to the left and passed along the road leading in front of the Kaisar Bagh. They attacked the nearest guns, spiked one of them, and then diverging to the right joined the rest near the Moti Manzil.

Darkness was now setting in, and Sir James Outram was at first for holding their ground in and around the Moti Manzil. But General Havelock was unwilling to let the day pass without accomplishing part of the work he had come to do, and so, with the sanction of Sir James, he ordered the 78th Highlanders and Regiment of Ferozepore to advance. Led by Outram and Havelock they rushed on. The way along the river side of the Chattar Manzil Palace would have been the least exposed, but no one unaccustomed to threading through the intervening buildings could readily find the way, and a wider road led to the rear of the Chattar Manzil enclosures between them and the "Painted House." The buildings here were filled with enemies. Their flat roofs with parapets, intended for privacy, made each a formidable post of defence. Havelock had sent back for the Madras Fusiliers, which came up with General Neill through a courtyard at its further side. The road was spanned by an archway which formerly had a lion upon it, and was called "Sher Darwáza," the Lion Gateway. It has been since called Neill's, for there the brave General was shot from the top of the archway. The body was put on a carriage and brought in. The men passing in divided, one part crossing the Páin Bágh (Lower Garden) to the right and on towards the clock-tower, the rest to the left by the streets south-west of the jail and adjacent buildings, meeting the others at the Baillie guard-gate. General Outram had been wounded in the arm, but remained in the saddle until he dismounted and passed in by one of Aitken's embrasures. The loss suffered in this last advance was severest in proportion to the time our

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men were under fire, and few of those who fell in the passages and lanes could be saved. The body of Lieut.-Colonel Bazely was found a day or two afterwards not more than 300 yards from the Baillie guard-gate ; a ring was still on one finger, and by it he was recognised. 1857. Sept. 25th.

Most of the force found their way into the Residency that night, but the heavy guns, a large number of ammunition wagons, and almost all the wounded up to that point were at the Moti Manzil, Colonel Campbell, 90th Regiment, with not more than 100 of his men, with them. They were behind a wall in front of the Manzil, but the open spaces between the different enclosures were under the hottest fire, and Colonel Campbell reported his inability to move without help.

Next morning Major Simmonds, 5th Fusiliers, with 250 of his men and some of Brasyer's Sikhs, were sent out. They occupied a house and garden between the palace and Colonel Campbell's position. Major R. Napier, of the Engineers, was subsequently sent with 100 of the 78th Highlanders, and Captain Hardinge with his Cavalry, to reinforce them. Two of Captain Olpherts' guns were to have gone, but that officer persuaded Major Napier not to take more than some spare bullocks for the removal of the guns, and himself accompanied them as a volunteer. Major Napier led his party by one of the side outlets of the palace along the river bank to Major Simmonds, under a smart fire, from which, however, they suffered little harm. Sept 26th.

From thence Major Napier made his way to Colonel Campbell, who was in Mr. Martin's house, and began to make arrangements for the removal, first of the sick and wounded, then of the great train of wagons and heavy guns. The first were taken under cover of night along the river side, under shelter of the bank, and reached the entrenchment without a single casualty.

The guns and wagons could not be taken by the same sheltered way. A 24-pounder which had the previous day

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1857. Sept. 26th. been in action, but had been silenced by the severity of the enemy's fire, was still outside in a very exposed position. It was extricated in a very daring and dexterous manner by Captain Olpherts, assisted by Lieutenant Crump and Private Duffy, of the Madras Fusiliers.* Lieutenant Crump was killed. He had already been mentioned in terms of high commendation, and was greatly regretted. Captain Olpherts was well known throughout the Bengal Army for his daring courage; few, indeed, had the same faculty of imparting pluck to others. Cooler when danger was rife than at any other time, he was ever ready with a mirth-provoking remark when most men would have been too serious to think of a joke. It was said of a well-known officer of the Royal Artillery that he never was in a better humour than when shot and shell were flying thickly around him. Private Duffy was recommended for the Victoria Cross. Brigadier Cooper was also killed here,† and the charge of the heavy guns devolved on a young officer, Lieutenant J. McKenzie Fraser, who, though wounded already, assisted greatly in getting the guns on.

At three o'clock the next morning the whole of the remainder of the force proceeded through the enemy's posts. They were not discovered till the leading part had reached Sept. 27th. a garden adjoining the Chattar Manzil Palace, where the guns were placed, and the rear guard were able effectually to cover the movement. On the 1st of October the guns were safe within the entrenchment.

On the same day that the gallant feat of extricating the heavy guns was performed, the Artillery had to record another death. Lieutenant D. C. Alexander, while walking on the road outside the Baillie guard, had his thigh smashed by a round shot. He died shortly after his removal to the hospital. "You can at all events bear wit-

* A drag rope was hooked to the trail by Private Duffy, and the gun was thus drawn within the enclosure.

† He was shot in the head while sitting and smoking a cigar.

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ness," he said to Mr. Gubbins, "that I have done my duty." Of the ten Artillery officers who had shared in the defence of the Residency from the beginning, six were now dead, three severely wounded; the tenth had suffered severely from illness. 1857. Sept. 27th.

The garrison, though reinforced, could not be withdrawn. They had yet to wait, but the position was extended. The ground on the river side was taken in, and the rebels driven out of Captánganj. The buildings east of the Cawnpore battery and Anderson's post were occupied by Captain Lockhart, 78th Highlanders. The jail, Farha Baksh, and Chattar Manzil Palaces, though somewhat too extensive, were included in the line of defence, and the position rendered much more secure. October.

Several sorties were made between the 26th September and 1st of October, and several guns captured or destroyed. An attempt was made to open up the direct road through the city towards Cawnpore, but this entailed too much loss and was abandoned. The enemy were mining as before, but Major Napier provided against this by a regular system of counter-mines, of which 21 were constructed from first to last.* The enclosing line of parapet was strengthened and batteries improved or constructed; a bastion at the south-west corner of Mr. Gubbins' compound, a battery between the sheep and slaughter-yards, the mound at Innes' post taken in, and the line of works continued down to the river.

The Residency was placed in telegraphic communication with the party at the Alám Bágh, which proved a valuable post, being in almost unimpeded intercourse with Cawnpore, though cut off otherwise from the former. The Lucknow garrison heard, on the 9th of October, in this way of the complete capture of Delhi up to the 25th of September. Further confirmation of this was afforded by

* They had constructed twenty mines. Of these seven were blown in by us; they were driven out of seven, and five had exploded, doing little damage.

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1857. the numerous accessions to the rebels outside. Notwithstanding, their attacks on the entrenchments were feeble. But Outram had brought no food supplies with him, and none could be got out of the city, so that they were straitened for provisions, and on the 21st the rations were still further reduced. Lieutenant MacFarlan records in his diary, "Always very hungry," a good sign that his severe wound had not permanently injured one important part of his constitution.

On the 6th of November the Lucknow garrison heard of the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell at Cawnpore, and that Sir Hope Grant was at Banni on the River Sai. A message was sent to the Commander-in-Chief by Mr. T. H. Kavanagh a clerk in one of the Civil offices, who disguised himself and left the entrenchment on the night of the 9th, reaching the headquarters camp early next morning. Mr. Kavanagh received the Victoria Cross for this, and was appointed afterwards an Assistant Commissioner. On the 12th they heard that the Commander-in-Chief had arrived at the Alám Bágh ; on the 14th that he was advancing on the Dilkhusha and Martiniére, and on the 17th Sir James Outram and General Havelock met him at the Moti Manzil, where the latter was told that he had been nominated a Knight Commander of the Bath. His health had for some days been failing ; nine days later Sir Colin Campbell and the senior officers of the force saw his body laid to rest in the Alám Bágh.

The siege of Delhi, the defence and "first relief" of Lucknow were the most glorious episodes of the Indian Mutiny. Full as those eighteen months were of gallant service and acts of individual heroism, both must stand out in strong relief as contests against overpowering numbers, under the depressing effects of wasting disease, a scorching sun, and in many instances a want of the ordinary necessaries of life, privations nobly born with cheerfulness. The opposition which Sir Colin Campbell with far greater numbers met with and overcame is a

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sufficient proof of what the defenders of Lucknow had to contend with from June to November. There was this difference between Delhi and Lucknow. If we had failed before Delhi the whole of Upper and Central India would have been lost. The Punjab would have gone, and a reconquest of the greater part of India been an imperative necessity. Had the Residency been captured, our difficulty would have been enormously increased, but the north-west would not necessarily have followed. Sir Archdale Wilson was fully aware of the great responsibility that devolved upon him, and he must be allowed the credit of having borne it well. 1857.

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"Lucknow," by Lady Inglis.

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APPENDIX.

A. Sir Colin Campbell's strictures on the selection of the Residency as a post of defence.

B. Strength of the Artillery portion of the garrison.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Sir Colin Campbell in his telegraphic dispatch of November 20th to the Governor-General considers that the position taken up by Sir H. Lawrence was a false one, an opinion confirmed by his acquaintance with the ground.* Whether he was right in withdrawing then altogether from a position he knew would have to be retaken a few months afterwards is a question on which opinions may differ. He had to stamp out rebellion elsewhere as well as in Oudh. But Sir H. Lawrence clearly had no option. If he could have found "a good military position outside the town," in easier communication with Cawnpore, and capable of acting as a check upon the great city, could he have established himself there? He had two places to hold, when mutiny first raised its head: the Residency centre of the civil authority, and cantonments centre of the military power. These he intended to hold as long as he could, but in the defensive struggle he knew must come, the Residency was the only spot that could be held. The straggling barracks of a cantonment would not have formed a defensible position, or adequate shelter for the women and children. He knew what such a choice had brought upon us at Kabul; we know what it had entailed upon the martyrs of Cawnpore. So Sir H. Lawrence bent all his efforts to collecting supplies at the Residency, while as a secondary depôt for stores, to be held only in the event of his force being adequate, he chose the Machi Bháwan. Had not the unfortunate result of the Chinhat action precipitated the investment, Lawrence would have made his position as secure as could possibly have been done. But nothing would have more surely precipitated matters than any attempt at evacuation of the Residency, even had it been done at the beginning of June. There were but two positions, the communications of which would have been clear of the city—the Martiniére and the Alám Bágh, both of which would have required extensive earthworks, more than could possibly have been constructed in two months, to say nothing of the shelter from the sun's rays, without which the contest could not have been prolonged. But these considerations would have been needless. At the first sign of a retrograde movement the whole city would have been up in arms; not a native would have remained loyal; the chiefs

* P.P. No. 6, p. 146, Inclosure 30 in No. 3.

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who at Sir H. Lawrence's wish furnished the supplies of food on which the garrison subsisted from July 1st to November 20th would have been rebels; and the massacres of Cawnpore would have been repeated at Lucknow. Between Delhi and Calcutta British authority would have disappeared. At Chiliánwála the retrograde movement of the advanced brigades entailed the loss of the guns, abandoned in the bush, and the lives of the wounded lying there. In both cases Sir Colin Campbell's reasoning on a correct principle blinded him to other considerations of the greatest importance.

NOTE B.

Strength of the Artillery, European and Native, who served in the defence of the Lucknow Residency.

The detail given in G.G.O., 12th December, 1857, of the Artillery present on the 1st of July, 1857 (after Chinhat), is as follows:—

4th Co. 1st Batt. No. 9 Field Battery	Officers	9	
	Native Officers	5	
2nd Co. 8th Batt. No. 2 Field Battery	Sergeants and Havildars ...	18	
	Buglers	6	
Oudh Irregular Batteries ...	Rank and File	146	—184
Magazine Establishment ...	Officers	1	
	Sergeants	4	
	Rank and File	10	—15
			199

According to the Annual Long Rolls, the following European non-commissioned officers and men were, or should have been, present on that day. The first two columns from other sources:—

	Commd. Officers.	Warrant Officers.	Sergts.	Buglers.	Corpls., Bombs., Gunners	Total.
Civil Employ Chief Commr. ...	1	...	...	...	...	1
4th Co. 1st Batt. No. 9 H.F.B.	3	...	8	3	64	78
2nd Co. 8th Batt. No. 2 B.F.B.	1	...	1	2	...	4
No. 1 Oudh Irregular Batt. ...	1	...	2	...	...	3
No. 2 Oudh Irregular Batt. ...	2	...	1*	...	...	3
No. 3 Oudh Irregular Batt. ...	1	...	2†	...	...	3
Magazine Establishment ...	1	1	3‡	...	...	5
Total	10	1	17	5	64	97
Of these are known to have died	6	...	8	1	25	40
Presumably survived	4	1	9	4	39	57

* Farrier-Sergeant Bartholomew Hernon (killed).

† Farrier-Sergeants T. Sexton and W. Spence.

‡ Magazine-Sergeant J. White, Laboratory-Sergeants J. Farrelly and W. Lynch.

From Town Major's Lists.

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NOTE B—*continued.*

The Native Artillery portion of the Garrison surviving on the 19th February, 1858, was as follows by G.G.O., April 9th, 1858 :—

	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Privates.	Syce Drivers.		Ordn'nce Drivers.		Bheestie.	Total.
						Naicks.	Privates.	Sirdars.	Drivers.		
2nd Company 8th Batt. ...	1	1	4	5	13	...	...	...	...	1	25
Gun Lascar Detail 4th Co. 1st Battalion	...	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	5
P Company Syce Drivers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	5
D Co. Ordnance Drivers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	15
No. 1 Battery Oudh Irr. Art.	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
No. 2 Battery Oudh Irr. Art.	1	1	7	2	...	...	...	...	5	...	16
No. 3 Battery Oudh Irr. Art.	1	1	1	3	...	...	...	...	2	...	8
Reserve Company	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Lucknow Magazine Lascars	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1
	3	5	13	12	16	...	5	...	22	1	77

If the foregoing figures be correct, it follows that 27 Native Artillerymen were killed or died during the siege.

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CHAPTER XII.

SEPOY WAR.

RELIEF OF LUCKNOW.—Arrival of Royal Artillery at Calcutta—Its Equipment—Sir Colin Campbell—Colonel McIntyre holding the Alám Bágh—Constitution of the Force—Advance to Lucknow—Dilkhusha and Martiniére Occupied—Severe Fighting at Sikandra Bagh and Shah Najaf—Garrison withdrawn from Residency—General Windham at Cawnpore—Gwalior Contingent attacks him—Fighting on the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of November—Arrival of Sir Colin Campbell—Battle of Cawnpore—Sir Hope Grant follows up—Commander-in-Chief goes towards Fatehgarh—Action of Khodaganj—At Shamshabad—Sir Hope Grant at Mianganj.

ALÁM BÁGH.—Its Position—Sir James Outram's Force—Attacks on him in December, January, and February.

OPERATIONS EAST OF OUDH.—Nipal Contingent—Longden's Column—Action near Allahabad—Frank's Column—Actions at Nasratpur—Chanda Sultánpur—Junction with Army at Lucknow.

CAPTURE OF LUCKNOW.—Hope Grant at Mianganj—Constitution of the Army—Advance to Lucknow—Martiniére Occupied—Outram detached North of Gumti—Chakar Kothi and Bádshah Bagh taken—Batteries—Right and Left Attacks—Kaisar Bagh taken—Rebels Escape.

ROHILKHAND.—Penny's Column—Walpole's Failure at Ruiya—Sawajpur—Bareilly.

RURKHI FORCE.—Constitution—Bhágiwala—Nagina—Bareilly—Broken up.

SHAHJAHÁNPUR FORCE.—Relieves the Wing 82nd—Actions with Rebels—Expeditions to Mohamdi and Shahabad—Broken up.

DURING September and the two following months, large reinforcements arrived at Calcutta. Most of them were sent up by river or road, as means of transport allowed. Of the China Expeditionary Force were the 82nd, 23rd, and 93rd Regiments, followed in October and November by the 34th, 42nd, 88th, 58th, 2nd and 3rd Battalions Rifle Brigade from home, and a wing of the 29th from Burmah. 1857. September.

Of the Royal Artillery, Bt.-Colonel G. R. Barker with his Staff Officer, Lieutenant R. Biddulph, arrived early in the month. Then from Hong Kong, Lieut.-Colonel W. T. Crawford and Major W. W. Barry, Lieutenant H. C. S. Sept. 5th-8th.

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1857. 66th Fd. Batt. Dyer (Quarter-Master), Surgeon G. T. Ferris, and Vet.-Surgeon H. Withers. 5th Company 13th Battalion, Captain C. S. Longden, 2nd-Captain H. L. Talbot, Lieutenants F. G. E. Warren, M. H. Fitzmaurice, and E. S. Burnett. 67th Fd. Batt. 6th Company 13th Battalion, Captain W. A. Middleton, Bt.-Major J. F. Pennycuick, Lieutenants W. D. Milman, W. Smith, and C. H. Pickering.

October 6th. A few days after, Major-General J. E. Dupuis, C.B., arrived to take Command of the Royal Artillery; also by overland route with him Bt.-Colonel D. G. Wood, C.B., Lieut.-Colonel J. M. Adye, A.A.G.R.A., Captains D. S. Greene,* A.D.C., and A. M. Calvert, and Lieutenant J. C. F. Ramsden.

Sept. 22nd. Red. 1863. The *Penelope* had already brought from the Cape of Good Hope half the 13th L.I., and the 3rd Company 14th Battalion, with its drivers; 2nd-Captain W. G. Le Mesurier, Lieutenants E. Staveley, J. R. Oliver, and C. D. Chalmers. Also a small detail of drivers of the 4th Company 5th Battalion, with Captain W. N. Hardy and Lieutenant A. Ford. The 3rd had just arrived at the Cape to relieve the 4th, when news of the Mutiny and an order to go on at once reached it. Captain F. J. Travers, Military Secretary at the Cape, volunteered, and was allowed to accompany it. He returned there after the relief of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell, was wounded at Lucknow, but was present at the Battle of Cawnpore.

October 20th. 68th Fd. Batt. Subsequently the steamer *Sydney* arrived with the 4th Company 14th Battalion, Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel S. E. Gordon, 2nd-Captain C. Johnston, Lieutenants E. Egan, W. Gilmour, and E. R. Cottingham, and the 7th Company 14th Red. 1863. Battalion, Bt.-Major C. H. Smith, 2nd-Captain C. E. Walcott, Lieutenants F. A. Whinyates, H. Edmeades, and J. C. D., R.H.A. G., R.H.A. Auchinleck. E and F Troops, R.H.A., commanded by Bt.-Majors J. R. Anderson and C. L. D'Aguilar did not arrive till the beginning of November.

* Transferred to 3-14 by G.R.O., No. 2, December 8th, 1857.

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1857. September.

As none of these batteries brought out any ordnance, Colonel Crawford immediately set about their equipment. It was not an easy matter. The arsenal at Fort William, a small one, had already furnished one or two batteries. Ordnance carriages and harness for two were still available, and Allahabad could equip two more. Cawnpore, main supply of harness, and the Gun Carriage Agency at Fatehgarh were gone. The studs at Ghazipur, Karantadi, and Pusa were being drained. The Calcutta Horse Market was depressed. The most serious difficulties were in the supply of harness and seasoned timber. The Inspector-General of Ordnance, Colonel Abbott, was fertile of resource, and energetic; difficulties were got over. The P. and O. steamer *Himalaya* went to the Cape in October and returned with 250 horses. More came from Australia and Bombay. Colonel Crawford, proceeding up the river with Captains Longden's and Middleton's Batteries, was ordered to take over 9-pounders at Benares.*

46th Fd. Batt. Red. 1862.

Major G. S. Cotter had come over from Madras some time before with A Company 3rd Battalion and No. 2 Field Battery.† Then Captain S. Rippon with C Company 5th (Native) Battalion and a Bullock Field Battery.‡ Both these were at first employed with the detachments keeping open the Trunk Road about and below Benares. Captain Rippon got a sunstroke and was relieved by Lieutenant S. H. E. Chamier till Captain R. Cadell took the Battery over. Lieutenant F. E. Hadow, one of his subalterns, had two M.T. howitzers with the Sambhalpur Field Force.§ Lieutenant E. M. Playfair, of the Nagpur Irregular Artillery, was employed in that quarter. The last contribution from Madras was a division of E Troop H.A., under Lieutenant L. Bridge, who had B. L. Gordon as his subaltern.

Captain G. Moir had been sent to Allahabad with the

* P.P. No. 4, Inclosures 73 and 79 in No. 5.

† Subalterns, G. G. J. Campbell (from E Troop), W. J. Bradford, and S. H. E. Chamier.

‡ Lieutenant C. Desborough joined in December.

§ P.P. No. 8, Inclosure 52 in No. 2.

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1857. Red. 1871. 3rd Company 5th Battalion (Bengal) in August. He was not strong enough to man six pieces, so got three guns and a howitzer.* His senior subaltern present, P. C. Anderson, was with two more and some invalids at Fatehpur, four marches south-east of Cawnpore. Lieutenant J. McK. Fraser was with Captain Moir, doing duty from the 1st Company.

The Naval Brigade of H.M.S. *Shannon*, Captain W. Peel, was at Allahabad now, and that of H.M.S. *Pearl*, Captain E. S. Sotheby, arrived in Calcutta August 8th.

This was the constitution of the Artillery prepared for the reconquest of Oudh and the neighbouring provinces and opening up communications.

Sir Colin Campbell took over office as Commander-in-Chief July 11th. Since then Outram and Havelock had fought their way into Lucknow only to be shut up in the entrenchment, and it was evident that the rebellion, focussed in Oudh, would have to be stamped out by a much larger army than had, as yet, been assembled. Cawnpore was the centre towards which our troops were converging. Brigadier-General Hope Grant, with the Delhi Column, was at Banthara, between Cawnpore and the Alám Bágh, and Brigadier T. Seaton was about to bring from Meerut and Delhi the large supply of provisions required by the relieving force. Maharája Jang Bahádur was coming from Nipal with an auxiliary force.

November.

Sept.-Nov. Outram had left Lieut.-Colonel McIntyre, 78th Highlanders, with a small party and four guns at the Alám Bágh when he went into Lucknow. The baggage, reserve ammunition, treasure, and more than 4,000 camp-followers was a large charge for about 400 men, besides the care of 64 wounded and as many sick. Major Bingham, 64th, brought a convoy of provisions, October 7th, greatly needed. The camp-followers had suffered very much for want of food. Lieutenant D. W. Gordon (1st-5th) was

* P.P. No. 6, Inclosure 35 in No. 2.

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sent there, and commanded the Artillery, while Harward had charge of the ordnance stores. Captain Moir with his Battery (3rd-5th) arrived October 25th, with Major Barnston's detachment. Lieutenant C. N. Judge, Engineers, assisted by Mr. Tait, a civil engineer, constructed the necessary field works. Major Bingham had left 100 men to strengthen them, and it speaks well for Colonel McIntyre's arrangements that during the 49 days he held the Alám Bágh the casualties among the fighting men only amounted to one killed, two wounded. 1857. November.

Sir Colin Campbell joined Sir Hope Grant at Banthara on the 9th, and on the 12th the army marched to the Alám Bágh. Lieut.-Colonel Crawford and Bt.-Major Barry, his Brigade-Major, joined on the 14th, the former taking command of the Artillery. Major F. Turner commanded the Bengal portion, with Lieutenant A. Bunny as his Staff Officer. Lieutenant H. C. S. Dyer, R.A., was Quarter-Master to his own portion of the arm. The whole of the Artillery was thus composed :— November.

Naval Brigade H.M.S. *Shannon*, Captain W. Peel, eight heavy guns.

1st-1st Bengal H.A., Captain Remmington, five field guns.	F., R.H.A.
2nd-3rd Bengal H.A., Captain Blunt, five field guns.	23rd Fd. Batt.
E Madras H.A., Lieutenant Bridge, two field guns.	Red. 1862.
3rd-14th R.A. and 4th-5th (Det.) R.A., Captains Travers* and Hardy, four heavy guns.	Red. 1863. 11th Co. S. D.
5th-13th R.A., Captain Longden, four mortars.	66th Fd. Batt.
6th-13th R.A., Captain Middleton, six field guns.	67th Fd. Batt.
3rd-1st No. 17 F.B., Captain Bourchier, six field guns.	53rd Fd. Batt.
1st-5th (Det.), Lieutenant E. W. E. Walker, three field guns.	10th Co. S. D.

The siege-train had been prepared at Allahabad by Lieutenant W. Tod Brown. Captain T. B. Ryley,† Assistant

* Was commanding R.A. now.

† On the Veteran Establishment. Captain Thomas Baskerville Ryley was an old and deserving officer, commissioned for good service in 1848. He was well born and educated. Had served at the siege of

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1857. Commissary, and Conductor P. Mallon accompanied it. It consisted of six 18-pounder guns, six 8-inch howitzers, ten mortars.

Lieutenant F. S. Roberts was, as before, on the Army Staff as D.A.Q.M.G. The rest of the army consisted of :—

Engineers.

One Company R.E. ; Bengal and Punjab Sappers ; one Company Madras Sappers.

Cavalry.

9th Lancers; Military Train (acting as Cavalry) ; Detachments 1st-2nd and 5th Regiments.

Infantry.

3RD BRIGADE.—Brigadier Greathed : Detachments 5th, 64th, 78th, and 2nd Punjab Regiments.

4TH BRIGADE.—Brigadier Hon. A. Hope : 53rd and 93rd and 4th Punjab Infantry ; Detachments 84th, 90th, and 1st Madras Regiments.

5TH BRIGADE.—Brigadier Russell : 23rd, 75th, and 82nd Regiments.

Nov. 14th. Sir Colin Campbell on the 14th took a wider circuit than Havelock had done. He moved over more open ground on the Dilkhusha. The rebels not expecting this, there was no serious opposition till the wall of the Dilkhusha Park was approached, when a musketry fire opened upon the leading brigade under Brigadier Hope. After "a running fight of about two hours" the enemy were driven through the grounds of the Martiniére across the canal. The Dilkhusha House was occupied, and the Martiniére made the Chief's headquarters. Brigadier Hope's Brigade was formed up in the grounds of the latter, towards the canal, with two of Captain Peel's guns and No. 17 Field Battery on the left. Captain Middleton, with his Battery, reached the Martiniére ; Captain Longden in the evening

Hathras in 1817 ; was one of the prisoners in Akbar Khan's hands in 1842 ; in the battle of Maharajpur and 1st Sikh War. He died at Cawnpore September 28th, 1858.

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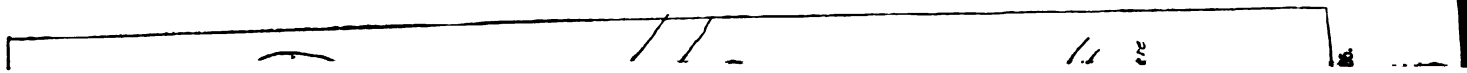

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ɔk post with his mortars in front, and kept up a fire all ght. Lieutenant A. O. Mayne, Bengal H.A., in the Q.M.G. :partment, a very promising officer, was killed on the ıd from the Martiniére. The rear guard did not close up l late next day. 1857 Nov. 14th.

The baggage was deposited within the Dilkhusha Park, d next day Sir Colin advanced on the Sikandra Bagh, strong walled enclosure. While the Infantry opened out to skirmishing order, Captain Blunt's guns advanced. aptain Hardy, with his 18-pounders, followed. The Horse .rtillery went forward at a gallop between a loop-holed illage and the Sikandra Bagh, up a stiff bank, in a ıanner that elicited general admiration, and opened at ıusketry range.* Captain Hardy brought his guns into ɔosition. The Infantry drove the defenders of the village ıut, and the whole fire bore upon the Sikandra. After ıbout an hour it was taken by storm. The 93rd Highanders and 4th Punjab Infantry were first in. It was full ɔf Sepoys, who had no escape open, and fought as expecting no quarter. The scenes in that house in Cawnpore were too fresh in the soldiers' minds, and some 1,800 bodies were afterwards carried out. The howitzer of 2nd-3rd H.A. under Lieutenant C. Hunter was sent into the enclosure as it was stormed. It was the only piece of ordnance used inside. Nov. 15th. Nov. 16th.

The next building attacked was the Shah Najaf.† The enclosing wall of this building was very massive. The parapet above was loop-holed, and its capture cost many lives. Among them Captain Whaley Hardy, commanding the 18-pounders, killed at half-past one that day. Captain

* Captain Blunt's notes at the time show that his casualties on this occasion amounted to 14 N.C.O. and men, six gun Lascars, and 20 horses. The returns of casualties in dispatches are incomplete. The Annual Casualty Rolls give only names of men removed by death or other causes. There is therefore no means of ascertaining the number of wounded.

† Often spelt "Nujeef" The name is properly "Ashraf Najaf" (noble hill). A monumental building for Ghazi ud din Haidar, Nawab of Oudh.

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1857. Nov. 16th. Peel placed his guns close in to batter it the better. Captain Longden, with his mortars, and Captain Middleton's Battery were in support. After a cannonade of three hours it was taken—the hardest-won success of a hard-fought day. Lieutenant A. Ford commanded the 18-pounder battery on the death of its Captain.

Nov. 17th. Communications were now opened from the left rear of the Chaupera Barracks to the canal. Brigadier Russell's Brigade, on the left, crossing it, was directed to take and occupy Major Banks' house and four bungalows on the right of the road leading to Hazrutganj. The Khurshid Manzil, formerly the 32nd mess-house, was surrounded by a circular ditch, scarped with masonry, and a loop-holed mud-wall. After a bombardment by Artillery it was taken by a Company of the 90th under Captain Wolseley,* some of the 53rd under Captain Hopkins, some detachments under Captain Guise. They not only carried this, but the Moti Manzil as well. Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock met the Chief there that day.

It was not Sir Colin Campbell's intention to hold Lucknow then. Orders were given for the withdrawal of the whole garrison from the Residency, and on the morning of the 23rd its defence had become a history of the past.

Operations at Cawnpore.

When Sir Colin Campbell advanced into Oudh, Major-General C. A. Windham, C.B., was left at Cawnpore with not more than 500 men and four 9-pounder guns, manned by a few Royal and Bengal invalid gunners. A Madras Brigade under Brigadier M. Carthew, with four 6-pounder guns under Lieutenant S. H. E. Chamier, came up, and other detachments arrived which finally brought up the force to about 1,700 effective men.

Major-General Dupuis, Lieut. Colonel Adye and Captain D. S. Greene, R.A., and Captain A. G. Austen (Bengal)

* Now Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley K.P.

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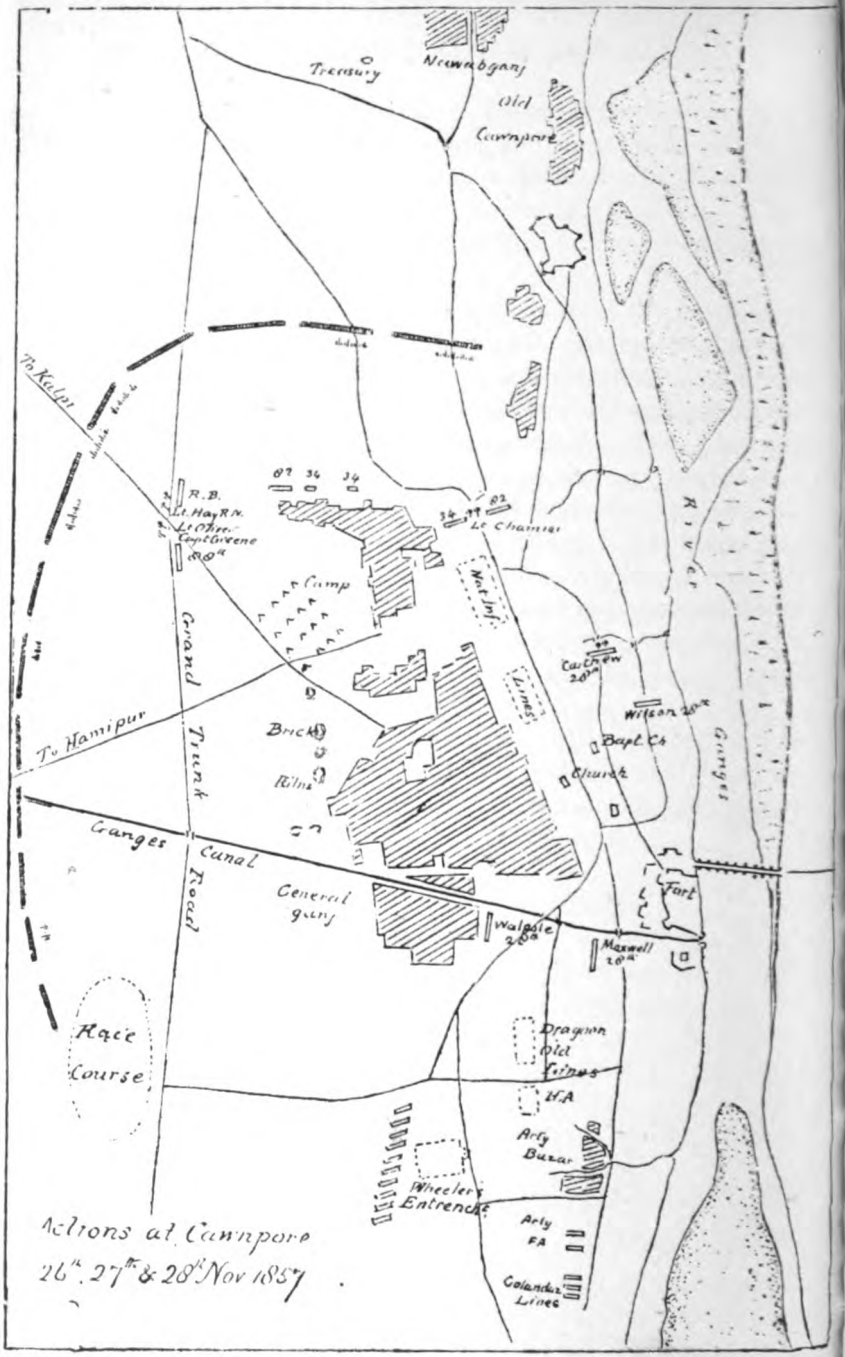

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also arrived. The latter had just come out from leave home, and had been temporarily appointed (G.O.C.C., 17th October) Commissary of Ordnance. 1857.

The Gwalior contingent, with other bodies of mutineers, were at last moving on Kalpi, but whether to proceed to Oudh or attack Cawnpore was not known. Their numbers were increasing, on the 19th reported to be 9,000 men with 38 guns. Of these 3,000 and 20 guns were at Kalpi; the rest at Bhognipur, Akbarpur, Shioli, and Shiorajpur, cutting Cawnpore off from above, but as yet not endangering its communications with Allahabad.

The Gwalior force was not the only danger. On the 1st of November, Colonel Powell, coming from Allahabad with the siege-train, had encountered and defeated a body of 4,000 rebels at Kajwa, after a severe action in which he was killed; Captain W. Peel, of the Naval Brigade, taking command and completing the victory. Lieutenant P. C. Anderson, with a detail of the 3rd Company 5th Battalion, was in this affair. So that materials for severing the communications were at hand.

Close to the bridge of boats behind the city was an entrenchment, called by courtesy a "fort," but by Colonel Adye more correctly an indifferent *tête de pont*. The houses and trees in cantonments were capable of affording cover to an enemy close to it. It may be questioned whether a better site would not have been found near the old Artillery lines. November.

General Windham had been for some days without any communication from Sir Colin Campbell, but knew that severe fighting had taken place. The rebels from below were closing in upon him, so on the 26th he struck his camp at the junction of the Kalpi with the Trunk Road, sent back his tents, and moved forward to the Pandu Naddi, where he attacked and defeated the advanced force of the enemy, capturing two 8-inch howitzers and a 6-pounder gun, returning to a position he had taken up in front of the city. As the day closed he received the welcome news Nov. 26th.

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1857. from Lucknow that all was well, and that Sir Colin Campbell was coming back at once.

Nov. 27th. Next day the troops were under arms at daylight as usual. Captain Sarsfield Greene and Lieutenant J. R. Oliver, with four field guns, and Lieutenant Hay, R.N., with two 24-pounders, were on the Trunk Road at its junction with that from Kalpi, flanked by men of the 88th and Rifle Brigade.* Colonel Walpole was in command here. To the rear, and at right angles, detached portions of the 34th and 82nd covered the northern end of the city; Lieutenant Chamier, with his four field guns, being at the north-east corner.

The rebels opened fire at ten a.m., and as their guns advanced their superiority in number and weight became very apparent. Our fire on the right was well maintained by Lieutenant Chamier, but the rebels did not seem anxious to come to close quarters. In front the guns kept advancing, and they appeared on the left beyond the canal. General Windham therefore drew his men behind the brick-kilns, which here lined the outskirts of the city.

Here the position would have been maintained, but it soon became evident that the enemy had got round to the left, and were occupying the city. General Windham, with some of the Rifle Brigade who had just come in from Fatehpur, cleared one or two streets, but there they were, and he had no option but to withdraw altogether to the entrenchment. Major-General Dupuis conducted this retrograde movement, which was done in good order without loss.

After a night of anxious deliberation, the following disposition was made:—

Nov. 28th. Colonel Walpole, with four Companies of the Rifle Brigade, two of the 82nd, to hold that part of the town on the south side of the canal known as General Ganj. Captain

* Three Companies under Lieut.-Colonel Woodford arrived on the evening of the 25th. Three more under Lieut.-Colonel Fyers made a march of forty-eight miles in twenty-six hours, and arrived in time to take an important part in the fighting on the 27th and 28th.

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Greene and Lieutenant Oliver, with two guns and two howitzers, were attached to this post. 1857. Nov. 28th.

Brigadier R. Wilson, with the 64th, held the fort, with a strong picquet at the Baptist Chapel. Captain J. H. Smyth and Captain E. O. Bradford were with the guns here.

Brigadier M. Carthew, with the 34th Regiment and Lieutenant Chamier's guns, to hold the central cantonment road which joined that to Bithur beyond the magazine.

Colonel G. V. Maxwell, with the 88th, held the ground between Walpole and the river, and supported him.

Colonel Walpole repulsed the rebels on his side, and captured two 18-pounder guns. But the main attack was on Brigadier Carthew, who was very hard pressed. The enemy were in immense numbers, and had ample cover in the trees and behind walls and houses. Brigadier Wilson, ordered to support him, moved on a parallel road nearer the river. They came on four of the rebel guns. Major Stirling was killed in spiking one of them. Brigadier Wilson also was killed, and they were unable to carry them off. It was here that a little bugler boy of the 64th crammed whatever stones or bricks he could get into the bore of one of them. Brigadier Carthew held his position till nightfall, and then fell back upon the entrenchment. The losses during these three days amounted to more than 300 men, and Lieutenant Chamier had fifteen casualties * out of eighteen men. Two of his guns were withdrawn during the day to assist Walpole's party, which had much less to do.†

During the night the rebels took possession of the town, Nov. 29th.

* This from General Chamier; G.O. mention only ten.

† Major-General Dupuis, C.B., Lieut.-Colonel J. M. Adye, Lieut.-Colonel Harness, R.E., and Major Norman McLeod, Bengal Engineers, specially; Captain Greene, R.A., and Captain J. H. Smyth, Bengal Artillery, were thanked in General Windham's dispatch. General Dupuis in his report mentions with praise Lieut.-Colonel Adye, Lieutenants Oliver (Royal) and Chamier (Madras), Captain Austen, and Captain Bradford, Assistant Commissioner, Oudh, who formerly was in the Artillery. The latter had been appointed Local Captain by Lord Canning, and directed to duty with this arm.

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1857. Nov. 29th. and on the following day brought some heavy guns to the river bearing upon the bridge. Unfortunately, the camp equipage had been left behind, and an immense stock of Quartermaster's stores stored in and about the houses in that part of cantonments were destroyed.

Sir Colin Campbell, learning the state of affairs, had pushed on at once, and in the morning Captain Peel's guns were in position on the opposite bank of the river neutralising the attempts of the rebels to destroy the bridge, and to bear upon the entrenchment. Brigadier Hope's Brigade, Remmington's Troop, and Bourchier's Battery crossed at 8 a.m. and proceeded to take up a position near the Cavalry lines, where they covered the road to Allahabad. All that day and the next the line of troops, followed by the rescued women and children, passed over. The army encamped near the old Dragoon lines, and the latter were accommodated in the Foot Artillery barracks till they were despatched as fast as could be done down the road to Allahabad under a strong escort.

Dec. 6th. All impediments to action having been thus cleared off, Sir Colin Campbell prepared to attack. The rebels had been largely increased in numbers from Oudh, and numbered over 20,000 men. Their left held the old cantonments, their centre the city, and their right the other side of the canal to some distance beyond the Trunk Road. The Chief's eye detected the obstacle which the city, with its narrow streets barricaded here and there, interposed between the rebel left and right, and he determined to attack their right. Brigadier Greathed with his three regiments held the suburb called General Ganj, where he had been for the past week, and kept the enemy there employed. Brigadier Little, with the Cavalry, was sent round to the left, prepared to threaten their rear and follow up the enemy in flight. Brigadier Walpole to move up on the left of Brigadier Greathed, pass the canal, and drive the enemy from the brick-kilns on that side of the city. Brigadier Hope, with Inglis in support, crossed the canal to

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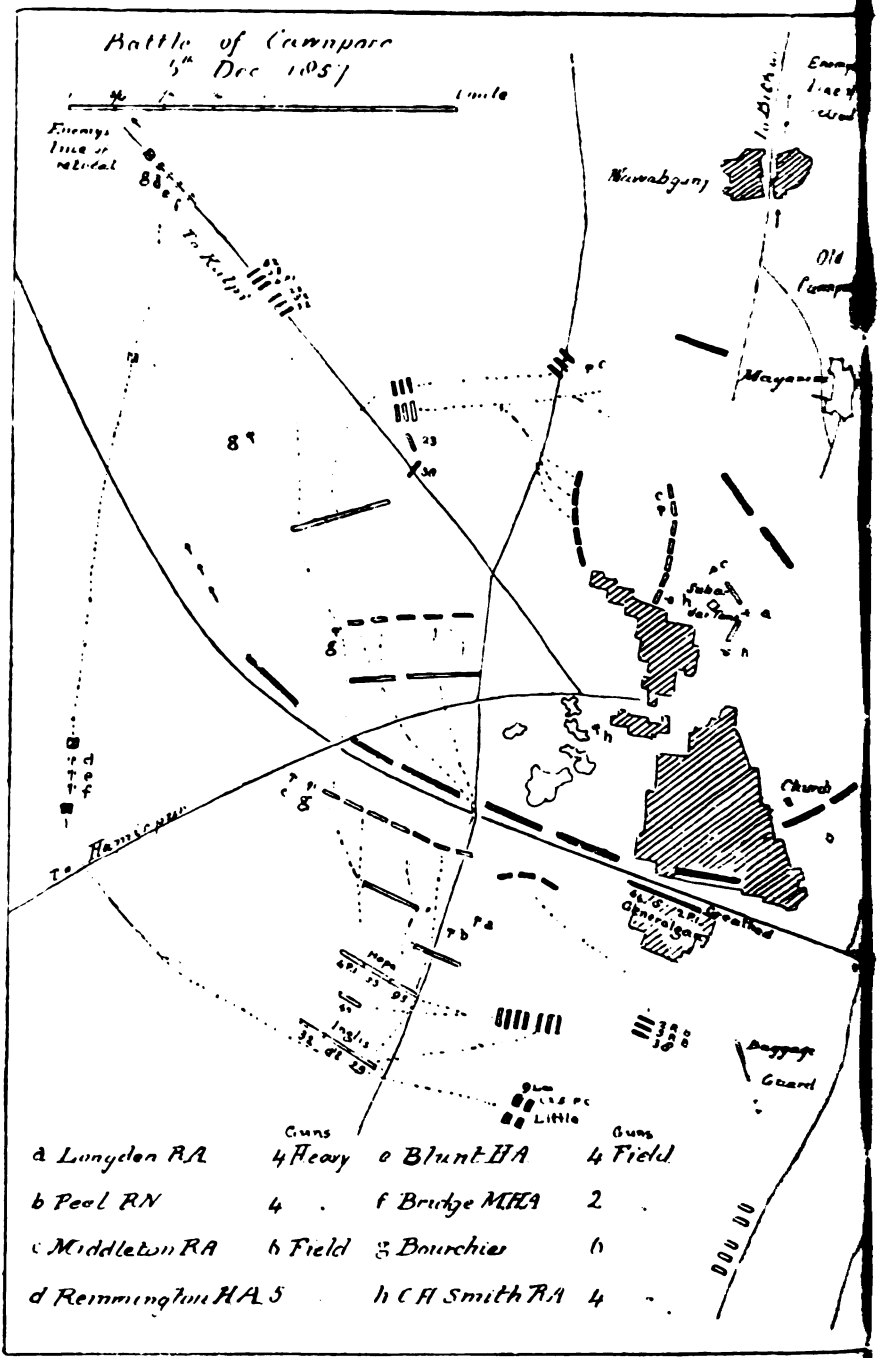

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the left of the Trunk Road under the fire of Captain Peel's 24-pounders and Captain Longden's 18-pounders, which moved up between these and Brigadier Walpole. Major Smith with 7th-14th to the right of the latter, and Captains Middleton and Bourchier with their Batteries on the left of the Infantry Brigades. General Windham, with a heavy fire from the entrenchment, occupied the enemy's attention on that side.* The fire of the heavy and field guns soon made itself felt. Under it the Infantry crossed the canal bridges. Lieutenant Bunny, Adjutant of the Bengal H.A., came up to Captain Bourchier on the left with the pleasing intelligence "Come along, they are bolting," and Major Turner ordered them up to grape distance. Captain Bourchier, in his account of it, describes the extreme excitement of his men as they galloped up the road. Field Batteries sometimes cannot help thinking themselves Horse Artillery. The road was good, and the distance short, and they gave it to them with a will. The batteries on the other side were not behind. The Infantry came up and passed on, capturing the camp about one o'clock. 1857. Dec. 6th.

The pursuit along the Kalpi road was continued by Bourchier's guns till the Cavalry and Horse Artillery took it up. One gun after another was captured as they passed along.

Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, was ordered with a large force of the Infantry to clear the enemy out of the old cantonments north-west and north of the city. Captains Longden, Middleton, and Major Smith were detailed for this task. Had General Mansfield allowed his men to go on, the success here would have been as complete. But the rebels, carrying off some guns, bolted in the direction of Bithur, whither, two days after, a force was sent in pursuit.

Brigadier-General Hope Grant was sent with a force of 2,700 men towards Bithur. Captain Remmington's Troop, Dec. 8th.

* Captain J. H. Smyth commanded the Artillery in the entrenchments.

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1857. Dec. 8th. the 1st-1st (Bengal H.A.), and Captain Middleton's Battery* (6th-13th, R.A.) were with it. A few miles from Cawnpore he learned that some rebels with guns had gone towards Serai Ghat, on the Ganges. Acting on his instructions, he changed his course to the right, and reached Shiorajpur before morning. Leaving the little baggage he had, he pushed on, and soon came up with the rebels by the river, who opened fire. Lieutenant F. G. E. Warren, commanding two leading guns, went on to close quarters and opened fire at about 600 yards. The rest of the guns soon came up and poured in so heavy a fire among the crowded mass that they soon gave way, and the Irregular Cavalry, following along the bank of the river, destroyed many. The nature of the ground was very unfavourable for mounted work. All their guns, fifteen in number, which might have been ours two days sooner, were taken. Grant then, after destroying the Nána's palace at Bithur, rejoined headquarters at Cawnpore.

December. The Commander-in-Chief could not leave Cawnpore till the 24th of December, when he moved towards Fatehgarh. He had with him Captain Remmington's Troop, 1st-1st (five guns); Major Smith's Battery, 7th-14th; Major Le Mesurier's Battery, 3rd-14th; † and Captain Peel's Naval Brigade (eight guns); 290 sabres of Brigadier Little's Brigade, under Sir Hope Grant; Brigadier Greathed, 8th, 64th, and 2nd Punjab Infantry; Brigadier Hope, 42nd, 53rd, and 93rd; Brigadier Hale, 23rd, 82nd, and 4th Punjab Infantry. He reached Miran-ka-Serai on the 30th. Brigadier Seaton was moving down the Trunk Road, and was then at Mainpuri. On the 31st he was at Bewar, and Sir Colin Campbell at Gursahaiganj. Five and a half miles further on, the road crossed the stream

* Captain Middleton, being in general command of the arm, Lieutenant W. D. Milman, Senior Subaltern, commanded 6th-13th, and was mentioned in the dispatches.

† Major F. Turner with the Field Artillery; Lieutenant H. H. Maxwell doing duty with the Naval Brigade.

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of the Káli-Naddi, at Khoda Ganj, by a suspension bridge which the rebels had only just begun to destroy. Brigadier Hope was sent on, and they fled. Lieutenant Vaughan, R.N., with two guns and a howitzer, was with him. 1858. January 1st.

Next morning the rebels had occupied the village in front of the bridge, and opened fire on the Commander-in-Chief, who at once ordered up the main body. Brigadier Hope threw part of his men across the river, and held the enemy in check till the rest came up. Lieutenant Vaughan's excellent practice dismounted a gun which raked the bridge, and blew up its limber. Major Smith's Battery supported the heavy guns. The 53rd attacked the toll-house without orders, driving out the enemy, and the rest of the Brigade coming up in support, the enemy abandoned the village and fled, pursued by Sir Hope Grant and the 9th Lancers.* On this day, Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, of the Bengal Artillery, D.A.Q.M.G., won the Victoria Cross for two acts of gallantry. Captain Remmington's and Major Le Mesurier's guns were not engaged. January 2nd.

Next morning the Commander-in-Chief blew open the gate of the fort at Fatehgarh. It was unoccupied, and was a most valuable acquisition, for not only the machinery of the Gun Carriage Works was there not much the worse, but what was far more valuable, the whole stock of seasoned timber. Next day, Brigadiers Walpole † and Seaton, with the twenty miles of stores, began to arrive. January 3rd.

The rebels, who had fled into Rohilkhand, some days after recrossed the Ganges at the Surajghat ferry, 12 miles higher up, and occupied the town of Shamshabád. Brigadier Hope was sent with his regiments; Captains Rem- January 26th.

* Lieutenant H. H. Maxwell was very severely wounded in the leg; the doctor pronounced amputation necessary, but he declined to part with the limb, and eventually recovered.

† Brigadier Walpole had left Cawnpore on the 18th December to proceed up the Doab as far as Mainpuri, but was not engaged. The 2nd Troop 3rd Brigade and 3rd Company 1st Battalion, under Captains Blunt and Bourchier, were with it.

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1858. mington's and Blunt's Troops were employed, as also the 3rd Company 1st Battalion under Lieutenant Harington (Captain Bourchier had been transferred to the 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A. at Lahore, and left the army on the 14th). The enemy were found posted behind a ravine January 27th. under cover, but Captain W. S. R. Hodson pointed out a bridge over it, across which Remmington passed at a gallop, wheeled to the right, and unlimbered at 600 yards. Captain Blunt coming up direct, opened across the ravine, each battery raking the face opposed to the other. The rebels broke and fled; four guns were captured, and they were pursued for some distance by the 9th Lancers, Hodson's Horse, and Lieutenant Lindsay with two guns, losing great numbers. Our casualties were very small, but Lieutenant McDowell, who fell, was a great loss to Captain Hodson, and the latter was wounded. Mr. Bradford, Assistant Commissioner, attended the Column in a civil capacity.

February. Sir Hope Grant was again detached against rebels on the left bank of the Ganges. He went up the road from Unao to Fatehpur Chaorási 15th of February, on to Bangarmau and Sultánganj, reaching Miánganj on the 23rd, where the rebels were. The two heavy pieces, supported by the Horse Artillery, opened a breach through which the 53rd rushed, and the place was taken. Major Turner and the 3rd Troop 3rd Brigade, and Major Anderson with E Troop R.H.A., with a detachment 5th-13th R.A. under Lieutenant F. G. E. Warren, with an 18-pounder and 8-inch howitzer, were the Artillery employed on this occasion. Lieutenant H. P. Bishop was Brigade-Major. Lieutenant F. S. Roberts on the General's Staff.

Alám Bágh.

1857. November. The withdrawal from Lucknow of the force with which Sir Colin Campbell had effected the relief of the besieged garrison at the Residency, with the great number of sick and

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wounded soldiers, and long train of wheeled conveyances laden with women and children, was effected with a skill to which the highest praise is justly due. Nothing was left to chance, and not a single life was unnecessarily sacrificed. He left behind him a city filled with enemies, and was marching towards another already held by a formidable enemy. 1857. November.

But to hold Lucknow in check and give himself a *pied à terre* for its eventual reconquest, Major-General Sir James Outram was left at the Alám Bágh with a force of somewhat more than 4,000 men. His camp was placed across the road 1,900 yards from the nearest point of the Alám Bágh. A jhil on either flank, though dry in early summer, with a bottom intersected by deep fissures difficult even for infantry, formed a good protection for the rear. The Alám Bágh was held by a strong picquet with field guns, each angle of the wall being covered by a semi-circular battery. To the right of the camp the fort of Jalálabád, at a distance of 2,800 yards, was held by a picquet with two guns. Lines of abattis connected the outlying picquets and batteries. In rear a detachment held the Banni Bridge. The front of the position extended for three miles. It was necessary to take in on the right the fort of Jalálabád, both as it was a strong one, and also because the grazing and forage ground lay in that direction.

The villages on the left front and flank were occupied, as, like most Indian villages, with their trees they were dangerous.*

Sir James Outram's force consisted of the 5th, 75th, 78th, 84th, and 90th; 1st Bengal and 1st Madras Fusilier Regiments; Brasyer's Sikhs and 7th Madras N.I. The Cavalry were: Military Train, Captain Barrow's Volunteers, a detachment Sikh Cavalry, and Wale's Horse. The Artillery consisted of:—

3-8 R.A., Captain F. C. Maude, V.C.; Lieutenants E. Maitland and W. S. Brown.

* Colonel Berkely to the Chief of the Staff, December 11. P.P., No. VIII., p. 20.

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1857. November. 4-5 R.A. (detail), Lieutenant A. Ford.

4-1 B.A. (40 men), Lieutenant J. Alexander; 2nd-Lieutenant W. J. Stewart * doing duty.

2-3 B.A. No. 12 F.B., Captain W. Olpherts, V.C.; Lieutenant H. Smithett; Surgeon J. J. Clarke.

1-5 B.A. No. 3 F.B., Lieutenants E. W. E. Walker, doing duty; L. C. F. Thomas, Madras Artillery; 2nd-Lieutenant D. W. Gordon; Ensign G. B. Ward, 48th N.I.;† Ensign W. Bird ;‡ Assistant-Surgeon J. Irving.

3-5 B.A., Captain G. Moir; 2nd-Lieutenant W. Gully § doing duty; Golandáz and ordnance drivers of 2-8; Lascars of 4-1; 50 men. Details Oudh Irregular Artillery; 26 men.

Brevet-Major V. Eyre was officiating as Brigadier, with Lieutenant J. McK. Fraser as his Staff Officer.

Lieutenant G. Hutchinson of the Engineers commanded the Sappers.

Ahmad Ali Shah, known as "the Mulvi," a bitter enemy of the English, directed the rebels' fire, as he afterwards did in Rohilkhand, and gave us a good deal of trouble. He did his best to make Outram's position a hot one. They constructed a long line of works in our front, extending somewhat beyond our left. Attacks were almost of daily occurrence, with the object, if possible of seizing the Banni Bridge in our rear, where was a force of 800 men.

December. On the 21st of December they sent a large force to the village of Ghaili, but Outram, moving early next morning, attacked and drove them back to the Dilkhusha. Major Olpherts with four, and Major Maude with two guns were engaged. They were quiet for some time after. On the

1858. January. 8th of January we lost a very promising young officer who

* Joined in January.

† Doing duty by Artillery Brigade Orders October 4th, and transferred to 2-3 by ditto, November 24th. Was a capital shot with a gun.

‡ Commissioned from 2nd Company 3rd Battalion

§ Joined November 13th.

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had already done much good service. Lieutenant Dundas W. Gordon was killed by a round shot. 1858.

The next attack in force was on our left, and Outram again met them by a decided repulse. Major Olpherts won additional honour by the way he took four guns, supported by the Military Train, to the front of the Infantry, and sent the rebels to the right about. Major Maude at the Alám Bágh was equally successful, and two of Captain Moir's guns on the right with some of the 5th Fusiliers and Brasyer's Sikhs repelled the attack on that flank. In all these attacks the rebels lost considerably, we slightly; one gunner was wounded on the 30th of December, and one on the 12th of January. January 12th.

On the 15th their attack was intended to intercept a convoy; on the 16th one was headed by a Bráhman calling himself Bidu Ke Dás, and dressed up to represent the Monkey God Hanumán. The divinity found himself that evening, sorely wounded, in a British hospital.

In January Captain H. Francis had taken command of 4th-1st; now Lieutenants H. V. Timbrell, H. O. Hitchens, 2nd-Lieutenant A. Dixon and Major Remmington with the 1st-1st H.A. joined. The 7th Hussars and Hodson's Horse had also been sent to reinforce Outram, and arrived in time to share in the last repulse of the rebels before the Alám Bágh on the 25th. February.

Throughout the whole defence of his position Sir James Outram had to reckon with six times his number of Sepoys and twice as many Irregulars. In the beginning of March, the troops intended for the last conquest of Lucknow were taking up their ground near the Alám Bágh.

OPERATIONS EAST OF OUDH.

Maharája Jang Bahádur, the Nipal Premier, immediately on the news of the outbreak at Meerut reaching him, had proffered his assistance in restoring order. It was accepted, and in July a Gurkha force entered the Gorakh- 1857. July.

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1857. July. pur district. Lieut.-Colonel G. H. Macgregor, C.B., of the Artillery, Agent for the Government at Murshidabad, was appointed with the rank of Brigadier-General to attend Jang Bahádur. Captains D. McNeill and G. Holland, Lieutenants W. A. Mylne and J. S. Gibb of the Artillery, and Lieutenant R. H. Sankey, Madras Engineers, were attached for duty with this force.

October. To co-operate with them, Lieut.-Colonel Longden with a small column left Benares in the end of October for the Azimghar district. Lieutenant Bridge, with his division of E Troop Madras H.A., was sent. The fort of Atraulia was captured on the 9th of November.

1858. January. On the 5th of January following Brigadier W. Campbell, commanding at Allahabad, went out against a body of rebels at Mansiáta, 12 miles on the other side of the Ganges. The 79th and two companies Rifle Brigade and Captain Matheson's Troop of Horse were taken. Colonel D. E. Wood, C.B., R.H.A., and 4th-14th (Lieut.-Colonel Gordon) with guns, and a detachment of 6th-11th under 2nd-Captain W. H. Goodenough, acting as Infantry, went. Major J. R. Anderson, with E Troop R.H.A., was coming up the Trunk Road from Benares, and was ordered to join with 50 of his men to act as Cavalry, sending his guns on to Allahabad. The rebels were driven from their position at Mansiáta and Pandara, again from a second one at Bairpur, and, returing towards Allahabad, dispersed those who had remained in their rear. The Horse Artillery did excellent service in following them up. Captain H. Francis, Bengal Artillery, acting as Interpreter to Major Anderson's Troop, is mentioned by Colonel Wood, who also says that the Troop horses, though out for sixteen hours, had not suffered.

1857. November. It was found necessary to form a stronger column than Longden's, and at the end of November, Brigadier-General T. H. Franks, who had commanded the 10th Regiment at Sobraon, was placed in command. It consisted of the 10th, 20th, and 97th Regiments, with the following Artillery :—

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Lieut.-Colonel E. Maberly, Commanding. 1857. November.

Lieutenant G. J. Smart, R.A., Lieutenant T. B. Strange, R.A., Staff.

Lieutenant J. Percival, B.A., Commissary of Ordnance.

F Troop R.H.A., two divisions, Lieut.-Col. D'Aguilar, C.B.

6-13 R.A., Captain W. A. Middleton, Field Battery.

8-2 R.A., Captain J. E. Thring, three 9-pounders, one 24-pounder howitzer.

A-3 Madras Artillery No. 1 Battery, Major Cotter, same number.

4-5 Bengal Artillery detachment, Lieutenant Simeon, two 9-pounders.

Additional ordnance, two 18-pounder guns, two $4\frac{2}{5}$-inch mortars, two 12-pounder howitzers, and two rocket tubes.

Lieutenant J. McLeod Innes, Engineers, just emancipated from the Lucknow Residency, had charge of his department.

Another force was formed further to the east, to co-operate with the Nipalese force. It was commanded by Colonel F. Rowcroft, 8th N.I. Captain S. E. Sotheby, R.N., H.M.S. *Pearl*, with a brigade of his men, served its guns.

General Franks' force had its right not far from Azimgarh; its centre at Jaunpur, and right at Sikandra in the Allahabad district, covering a front of some sixty miles. A body of rebels had collected again near the last-named place. Lieut.-Colonel D'Aguilar, equipped with ordnance during the night by Captain W. C. Russell, marched with two divisions of F Troop R.H.A. and two squadrons of the Queen's Bays to Sikandra on the 22nd. Next morning, General Franks attacked and defeated the rebels at Nasratpur, two and a half miles off, capturing two of their guns. Colonel D'Aguilar mentions with approbation his officers: Captain Thring, Major Cotter, 2nd-Captain Yates, and Lieutenant H. T. Arbuthnot, commanding divisions of F Troop, and his orderly officer, 2nd-Captain E. Markham, just promoted out of his Troop. The Horse Artillery and two squadrons of Cavalry returned to Allahabad. 1858. January.

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1858. February. General Franks then concentrated his force, and leaving Singramau on the 19th, vigorously attacked the rebels at Chánda that day. Captain Middleton with four guns, Major Cotter with two, supported by 2nd-Captain Waller with two 18-pounders, led. The other guns accompanied the main body. Six guns were captured. The rebels came on again as they encamped at Hamirpur, but were driven off. There were no casualties. Besides the above-mentioned officers, Colonel Maberly mentions Lieutenants Smart, Strange, and Percival.

The force reached Sultanpur on the 23rd. Here the rebels, said to be 25,000, were posted; their right on the village of Badshahganj; left on the Sultanpur Bazar. They were attacked and defeated with heavy loss. Our casualties amounted to eleven, of which 6-13, A-3, and 4-5 had each one man wounded. Lieutenant J. McLeod Innes, of the Engineers, here won the Victoria Cross, by holding alone a rebel gun, shooting one of its crew, till it was secured.

March. The column reached Haidargarh on the 28th, and Salimgarh on the 1st, where he awaited orders from the Commander-in-Chief. Franks moved to Amethi on the 4th. The fort of Dhaurára was held by the enemy, and he went to examine the place with a party of Cavalry and two guns of F Troop, under Lieutenant H. T. Arbuthnot. The rebels outside fled, but the fort was held. The 6-pounders could do nothing of course. Major Cotter came up with two 24-pounder howitzers. The outer fort was taken, but an inner keep was held. Lieutenant Innes, Engineers, was severely wounded trying to burst open the gate, and General Franks decided to leave the place. Two guns in the outer fort were removed under a heavy fire from the inner hold by Colonel Maberly, Lieutenants Strange, R.A., and Bradford, Madras Artillery, Captain Middleton, 29th Regiment, and three officers of the 97th.

Brigadier-General Franks joined the Commander-in-Chief's camp before Lucknow the same night. In his

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report he tenders his thanks to Colonel Maberly, Major Cotter, Captains Middleton, Thring, and Waller, Lieutenants Smart, Strange, Simeon, and Percival. 1858.

Capture of Lucknow.

Although rebellion had by no means been put down in the provinces east of Oudh by the beginning of March, 1858, Sir Colin Campbell was now able to direct his efforts to the capture of Lucknow, where it had its centre, and to the subjugation of Rohilkhand, which till now had been left untraversed by any British force.

Sir Hope Grant on arriving at Cawnpore from Fatehgarh in the beginning of February, had been ordered by the Chief to assume command of the troops on the other side of the Ganges as far as Banni. He was now, for distinguished service, a Major-General, and in command of the Cavalry Division. He was ordered to make a "daur" towards Fatehpur Chaurási. He took with him three regiments of Infantry, two squadrons of the 7th Hussars, and two of the 9th Lancers. The Artillery consisted of:—

Major J. R. Anderson, R.A., Commanding.

Lieut.-Colonel F. Turner, B.A.

E Troop R.H.A., Major J. E. Michell; Lieutenant C. E. Torriano. D., R.H.A.

3rd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., Lieutenants H. P. Bishop, H. E. Harington, T. E. Dirom. S., R.H.A.

Detachment 5-13, Lieutenant F. G. E. Warren. Two heavy guns.

Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, D.A.Q.M.G., Army Staff.

The Nána Sahib was not at Fatehpur, but rebels were ahead, and the General went on to Miánganj, a rectangular walled town, where they were. The two heavies were placed in a good spot to the left to make a breach, and Bishop's 9-pounders a little further back. Four of Anderson's guns and the 7th Hussars on the Cawnpore road checked their attempts to get round to the rear. The other two guns, with the 34th and a troop of Cavalry, Feb. 23rd.

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1858. Feb. 23rd. covered the baggage. Lieutenant Warren in an hour had made a good breach, through which the 53rd made their way. Of some 2,300, 500 men never fought again, and 400 were made prisoners. From thence, Sir Hope Grant returned by Mohan and joined the Commander-in-Chief at March 1st. Banthara on the Sai River.

The siege-train, prepared at Agra, consisted of eight 24-pounder guns, four 8-inch howitzers, and four 8-inch mortars, in addition to those already at Lucknow and with the Naval Brigade. It joined the camp on the 8th of March.

The force now assembled was the largest British Army that India had as yet seen together. It was brigaded as follows :—

Cavalry.

Major-General Sir. J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., Commanding ; Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, V.C., H.A., D.A.Q.M.G.

1st Brigade.—Brigadier A. Little : 9th Lancers, 2nd Battalion Military Train, 2nd P.C., det. 5th P.C., Wale's Horse.

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier W. Campbell: 2nd D.G. (Bays), 7th Hussars, Hodson's Horse, Volunteer Cavalry, det. 1st P.C.

Infantry.

1ST DIVISION : Major-General Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., Commanding.

1st Brigade.—Brigadier D. Russell: 5th and Madras Fusiliers, 84th.

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier C. Franklyn : 78th, 90th, Ferozepore Regiment.

2ND DIVISION : Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard, K.C.B., Commanding.

3rd Brigade.—Brigadier W. Hamilton : 34th, 38th, 53rd.

4th Brigade.—Brigadier Hon. A. Hope : 42nd, 93rd, 4th P.I.

3RD DIVISION : Brigadier-General H. Walpole, Commanding.

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1858. March 1st.

5th Brigade.—Brigadier J. Douglas, C.B.: 23rd, 79th, 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

6th Brigade.—Brigadier A. Horsford, C.B.: 2nd and 3rd Battalion Rifle Brigade, 2nd P.I.

Engineers.

Brigadier R. Napier, Commanding.

Lieut.-Colonel H. D. Harness, R.E., 4th and 23rd Cos. Royal S. and M. Captain A. Taylor, Bengal and Punjab S. and M.

Artillery.

Major-General Sir A. Wilson, Bart., K.C.B., Commanding. Major E. B. Johnson, A.A.G.A.; Lieutenant R. Biddulph, R.A., D.A.Q.M.G.; Lieut.-Colonel C. Hogge, Director of Ordnance; Captain Barchard, 20 N.I., and Lieutenant Deedes, 60th K.R. Rifles, A.D.C.

FIELD ARTILLERY.—Brigadier D. E. Wood, C.B., R.H.A., Commanding. Lieutenant J. S. Frith, H.A., Brigade-Major; Lieut-Colonel F. Turner, Commanding H.A.

E Troop R.H.A, Major J. R. Anderson, C.B.

F Troop R.H.A., Lieut.-Colonel C. L. D'Aguilar, C.B.

1st-1st H.A., Major F. F. Remmington.

2nd-1st H.A., Lieut.-Colonel H. Tombs, C.B., V.C.

2nd-3rd H.A., Captain W.A. Mackinnon.

3rd-3rd H.A., Lieutenant H. P. Bishop.

5th-12th R.A., Q Battery, Captain J. R. Gibbon:

3rd-14th R.A., No. 20 Battery, Major W. G. Le Mesurier.

2nd-3rd F.A., No. 12 Battery, Major W. Olpherts, V.C.

A-3rd Madras, No. 1 Battery, Major G. S. Cotter.

SIEGE ARTILLERY.—Brigadier G. R. Barker, C.B.* Lieutenant A. Bunny, H.A., Brigade-Major; Lieut.-Colonels C. J. B. Riddell, R.A., and E. Maberly, R.A.

3rd-8th R.A., Major F. C. Maude, V.C.

* Appointed Brigadier, Field Army Orders, on the 26th of December, *vice* W. T. Crawford, returned to China.

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1858. March 1st. 6th-11th R.A., 2nd-Captain W. H. Goodenough.
5th-13th R.A., 2nd-Captain H. L. Talbot.
4th-1st F.A., Captain H. Francis.
1st-5th F.A., Lieutenant E. W. E. Walker.
3rd-5th F.A., Captain G. Moir.
50 Artillery Recruits,* Lieutenant W. Dowell.

Sir Colin Campbell knew what Lucknow was, and that the capture of several small fortresses, in succession, lay before him. He knew also that since he had last been there the rebels had barred the way by which he had then advanced, by throwing up works on three successive lines of defence, as may be seen from the plan. But Sir Colin was not the man to risk unnecessary loss of life. His Chief Engineer, second to none in his profession, recommended an attack on the eastern side as offering the best advantages, and the ground beyond the Gumti was clear. He determined, therefore, to take them in reverse from that side, retaining the Alám Bágh, and covering the space intervening between it and his own army by the Nipalese troops.

March 2nd. The advance passing Alám Bágh drove in the enemy's picquets and seized on the Muhammad Bagh and Dilkhusha, where batteries were commenced, to reply to the
March 3rd. canal guns and those at the Martiniére. One opened next morning. The siege-train and Walpole's division came up in the next two days, and General Franks joined with his field force. The Engineers prepared a bridge of casks, which was thrown over the Gumti, north of the Bibiapur
March 6th. House, and on the morning of the 6th Sir James Outram
Right attack. had crossed with the following force :—

1st Cavalry Brigade.—Queen's Bays, 9th Lancers, 2nd and detachments 1st and 5th Punjab Cavalry.

5th Infantry Brigade.—23rd Fusiliers, 79th Highlanders, and 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

* Part of the annual draft proceeding to Meerut, under Captain Atlay, and now at Cawnpore. 2nd-Lieutenants G. H. Dyke and J. R. Macleay were with it at Lucknow.

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REFERENCES TO PLAN CAPTURE OF LUCKNOW.

LEFT ATTACK.

1. 4 G., 2 H., on canal bastions and Martinière.
2. 4 G., batter enemy's right bastions.
3. 4 G., 1 H., 3 M., shell do. and Banks' house.
4. 5 G., 5 M., batter and shell Begam Kothi.
5. 4 G., 4 M., batter and shell Begam Kothi and Serai.
6. 2 68-pounders, 5.M., batter and shell Imambara bastion.
7. 24- and 68-pounder, 5.M., batter Imambara bastion.

RIGHT ATTACK.

1. 10 G., clear Chakar Kothi.
2. 1 G., 1 H., enfilade 1st line of works.
2. 5 G., 3 H., shell Moti Manzil and Mess-House.
3. 5 M., shell Mess-House and Kaiser Bagh.
4. 4 G., 3 M., 2 H., batter Chatter Manzil and shell Kaiser.
5. 2 G., command bridge.
6. 2 G., command bridge.
7. 4 G., batter Residency, cover advance.

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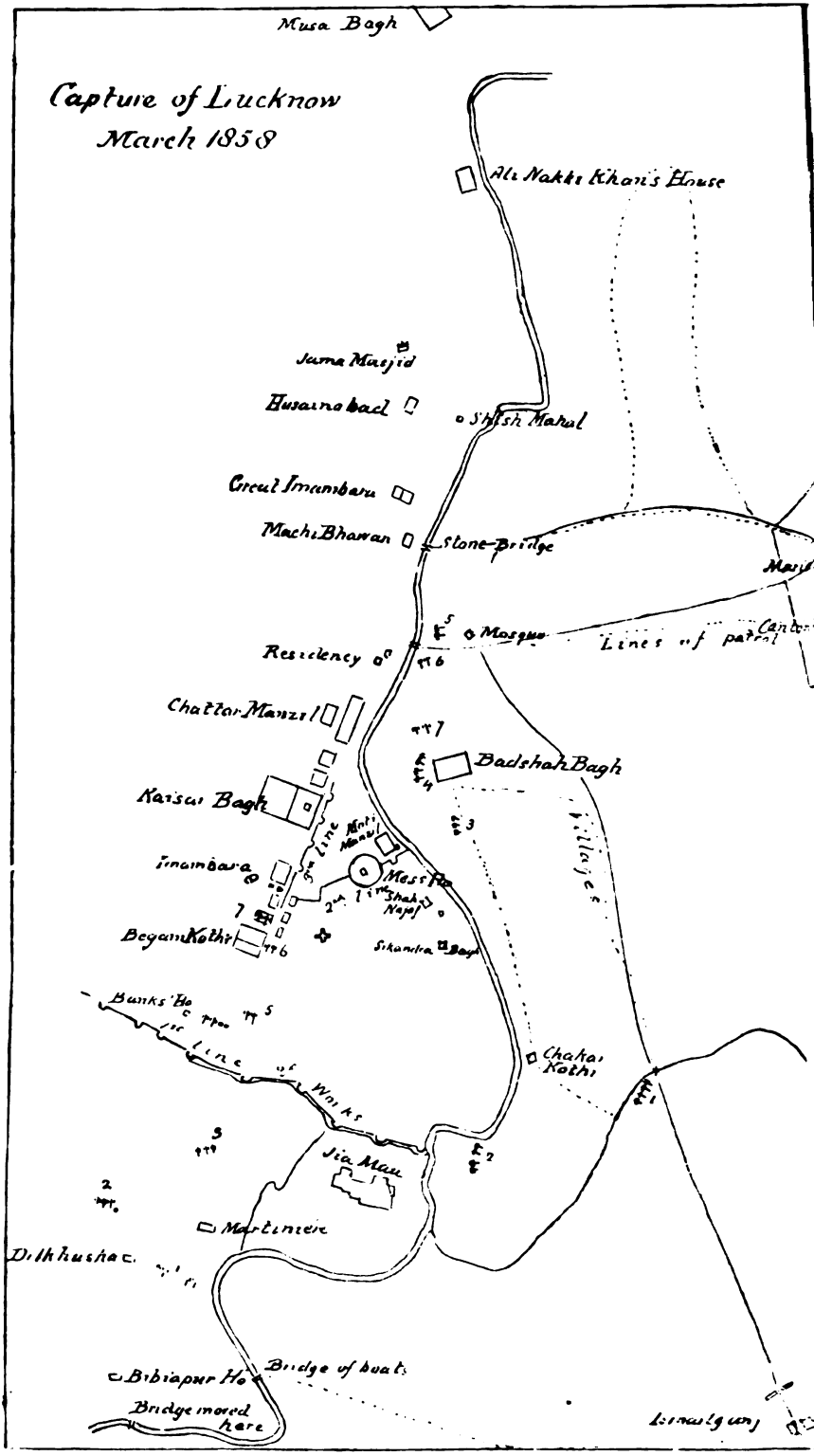

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6th Infantry Brigade.—2nd and 3rd Battalion Rifle Brigade. 1858. March 6th.

Artillery.—Brigadier D. E. Wood, C.B., Commanding Field Artillery.

F Troop R.H.A., 1st-1st H.A., 2nd-3rd H.A., 5th-12th and Q Battery R.A.

Lieut.-Colonel C. J. B. Riddell, Commanding Siege Artillery. 8th-2nd, 6th-11th, and 5th-13th R.A.

Ordnance, eight 24-pounders, four 8-inch howitzers, and ten 8-inch mortars.

Lieut.-Colonel F. Turner, B.H.A., was specially attached to this force. Captain C. F. Young, R.A., was Staff Officer. Sir Hope Grant was second in command to Sir James Outram.

The crossing having been effected before the rebels could take steps to prevent it, Outram moved towards Ismailganj, and then throwing his right forward, placed the force across the Faizabad road. The enemy's Cavalry attacked but were repulsed, and in the charge, the Queen's Bays pursuing further than Sir Hope Grant intended, to the river, lost an excellent officer in Major Percy Smith.

On the 7th the enemy again attacked and were repulsed, chiefly by the Horse Artillery fire. On the 8th, the siege guns under Colonel Riddell joined, and Colonel D'Aguilar's Troop with the 9th Lancers were sent back.

On the north side of the Gumti, 850 yards west of the Kokrál Bridge, was a substantial building called the Chakar Kothi, the grand stand of the King of Oudh's race-course. It was now filled with Sepoys, wherefore the General sent his right column with Captain Gibbons' Battery through the villages, driving the rebels before him, when the left column with the Horse Artillery took up a position close to the Kokrál Bridge. Here, at a distance of 1,200 yards from the Chakar Kothi, a battery (No. 1) of eight 24-pounders and three 8-inch howitzers was placed and opened at daybreak.* It was commanded by Captain Thring, assisted by Captain Waller and Lieutenant Simeon. March 9th.

* Colonel Riddell's Report. "Occasional Papers," Vol. I., p. 81.

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1858. March 9th. The request to leave the Kothi was complied with, and this column, the Horse Artillery in front, drove the rebels back beyond the Bádshah Bagh, which, as well as the Házri Bagh, was held, half of Q Battery in the former; the right column under Walpole having united with the left.

A battery (No. 2) had been thrown up at a bend of the Gumti in two portions; one to enfilade the canal line of works, the other directed against the Martiniére. Captain Waller commanded the first (one gun, one howitzer); Captain Thring, Captain Young, and Lieutenant Simeon with the second (three guns, one howitzer).* It opened a little after midday. Two more 24-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers were subsequently added to shell the Moti Manzil and mess-house. Captain A. Pearson and Lieutenant Simeon were successively in charge of these.† The others were not long in action.

Left attack. On the other side No. 1 Battery, four guns and two howitzers, opened early the same morning. On Outram's signalling his advance from the Chakar Kothi, the 42nd, 93rd, and 4th P.I., supported by the 53rd and 90th Regiments, carried first the Martiniére and then the canal line of works. There was little opposition; the rebels could not stand the direct and flank fire. Battery No. 2, four guns, was already in action against the right portion of the same line towards Banks' house.

March 10th. Right attack. Battery No. 3, for five mortars, which had been made during the night, opened on the mess-house and Kaisar Bagh. It continued in action till the latter building was taken. A patrol was sent towards cantonments. Lieutenant H. A. Tracey, 6-11, wounded this day.

Left attack. Battery No. 3, for four guns, one howitzer, and three mortars, the latter under Captain Moir, opened on Banks' house. Sir E. Lugard captured it that afternoon and it

* This is marked as one battery of ten guns on the large plan published in the Surveyor-General's Office, but was really in two detached portions.

† Colonel Riddell's Report. "Occasional Papers," Vol. I., p. 81.

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was secured as a post. No. 4, for five guns and five mortars, to breach the Begam Kothi was established. 1858.

During the night, Battery No. 4 had been made at the Bádshah Bagh for four 24-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, and five mortars to shell the Kaisar and batter the Chattar Manzil and Farha Baksh Palaces. The attacks on the iron and stone bridges were carried out by two columns. The right, under Brigadier-General Walpole, was accompanied by half of Q Field Battery and two 24-pounders, and worked through the suburbs as far as a mosque on the left of the road to Mariao. The left column, under Lieutenant Colonel Pratt, was accompanied by the other three field battery guns and two more 24-pounders, and went by the lower road towards the iron bridge, occupying the houses along the river. This column was strongly opposed. Captain Thynne and Lieutenant H. Moorsom were killed; the latter had been with Havelock's force in the Residency, and was very much regretted. The five guns were placed in position (No. 5) near the head of the iron bridge. The other column, leaving the 1st Bengal Fusiliers to hold the mosque, pushed on to the stone bridge, but the ground there was too much under command of the Machi Bháwan and Lachman Tila to be held. The camp of the head man of Sandila was, however, captured, with two guns. Right attack. March 11th.

Brigadier Napier established batteries; No. 5, for four guns and four mortars, to breach the Begam Kothi; and No. 6, two 68-pounders (Shannon guns) and five mortars to silence a bastion thrown up in front of the Imámbára and shell the building itself. They opened early, and at 4 p.m. Brigadier Hope, under the orders of Sir E. Lugard, stormed the first-named palace with the 93rd Highlanders, 4th Punjab Infantry, and 1,000 Gurkhas. "This," says the Chief's dispatch, "was the sternest struggle during the siege." Left attack.

Battery No. 6, placed close to the iron bridge with two guns, opened in assistance of No. 5. No. 7, along the south wall of the Bádshah Bagh, battered the Residency buildings Mar. 12-13th. Right attack.

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1858. Mar. 12-13th. and covered the advance on that side after the fall of the Kaisar Bagh. Four guns, two howitzers, and nine mortars were sent to reinforce the right. Firing was kept up. A small shed in front of No. 5 took fire on the 13th. Explosions had been frequent, and several men had been injured. Lieutenant Cuthbert, of 6-11, went forward and put it out without stopping the fire of his guns.

Left attack. Jang Bahádur, with 9,000 men and 24 field guns (drag-rope exercise used), took up his position in line and then crossed the canal, occupying the city to left of Banks' house.

March 14th. Left attack. The Imámbára was captured. Brasyer's Sikhs overflowed into the Kaisar Bagh, which was soon filled with British soldiers. Lieutenant Warren, with his gunners, accompanied the Infantry into the Kaisar Bagh and turned two of the guns on the rebels. Several accidents occurred from explosions of loose powder. Major Barry was severely injured. The third line of works was thus turned, and all the buildings up to the Chattar Manzil secured.

Right attack. Outram's guns were turned on the buildings beyond this point, which the rebels were gradually evacuating. He rejoined Sir Colin Campbell this day.

March 16th. On the 16th Sir J. Outram carried the Machi Bháwan and Great Imámbára. Some of the rebels, crossing the Gumti, made for Faizabad. Another body attacked Brigadier Franklyn's force at the Alám Bágh. Major Eyre commanded the Artillery. Captain Olpherts, with his four guns, and the Infantry fire drove them off after a

March 17th. four hours' fight. Next day Captain D. McNeill and Lieutenant A. Bogle rescued the two survivors of the Sitapur fugitives, Mrs. Orr and Miss Madelaine Jackson. On the 19th Outram dislodged the remaining rebels from the buildings along the Gumti as far as the Musa Bagh, beyond which he followed them as far as he could. Captain Middleton's Battery (6-13) and some heavy guns under Major Carleton were employed on this service. Lucknow was ours.

The names of the officers reported in General Orders as

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deserving of honourable mention are given in the note appended to this chapter. Others there were whom their commanding officers considered worthy of high commendation, but who do not appear in the published list. 1858.

Operations in Rohilkhand.

The province of Rohilkhand remained to be subdued. Thither went from Oudh the principal leaders of rebellion. The Muhamedans there retained, with the name of Rohilla, the light complexions, the independent and warlike character of a far-off country beyond Afghanistan. The Commander-in-Chief and Brigadier-General Walpole's Brigade were to invade it from the south; Major-General R. Penny from Meerut through Badaon; and Brigadier-General Jones was forming at Rurkhi a column to sweep down from the north-west. Major-General T. Seaton, commanding at Fatehgarh, kept ward along the Ganges, where divers bodies of rebels remained to be interviewed. One of these he attacked on the 7th of April at Kankar, some twenty miles to the north of him, capturing three guns. Major C. H. Smith, with 7-14 R.A., was engaged here.

Major-General Penny was to unite with the Chief at Miránpur Katra, between Shahjahánpur and Bareilly; two squadrons 6th D.G. (Carabiniers), some 360 of the 64th Regiment with native detail Cavalry and Infantry, about 1,400 men. The 3rd Company 3rd Battery No. 14 F.B., and the 2nd Company 4th Battery with a heavy battery* (two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, two 8-inch mortars) under Lieutenant H. M. Cadell, with Lieutenant H. Girardot. 14 Co. S. Div. 4 Mt. Batt.

General Penny went on and met Sir Colin Campbell at Fatehgarh; then returning to his column, crossed the Ganges at Nadauli, and proceeded to Usait, whence he April 24th.

* The Commander-in-Chief had prohibited (G.O.C.C., 24th March, 1858) columns attacking forts without heavy ordnance. This was merely repeating what had been laid down in G.O.C.C., 8th of November, 1806. See Chap. XVI.

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1858. April 30th. made a night march towards Badaon. He was riding in front of the advanced guard, unsuspicious of evil, when on nearing the village of Kakraula, a discharge of grape was fired from a gun in front. Lieutenant Curtis, with his Carabiniers, forming the advance, charged and took the gun after a severe contest with the rebels. The village was shelled, but the General was not again seen alive. His body was afterwards found. He was a good officer and much esteemed, but allowed himself to neglect on this occasion a very ordinary precaution of war. Colonel H. R. Jones, of the Carabiniers, took command, and with the column joined the Commander-in-Chief at Miranpur Katra.

General Walpole's force consisted of the 9th Lancers and 2nd P.C.; 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Regiments and 4th P.I. Major J. Brind commanded the Artillery, with Lieutenant A. Bunny as Staff Officer. 2nd Troop 1st Brigade (Lieut.-Colonel H. Tombs, C.B., V.C); 3rd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A. (Major F. F. Remmington); and 4th Company 1st Battery (Captain H. Francis) with two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, and two 8-inch mortars.

56 Fd. Batt. S.,R.H.A.

April 7th. It left Lucknow and proceeded to Malaon. A mile north of Rudamau, further on, was the fort of Ruiya,* belonging to one Nirpat Singh; oblong, with a broad and deep ditch and circular bastions; surrounded by jungle on the north and east sides. It was said that its owner had offered to surrender after a show of resistance; but it was not examined. It was attacked without any preparatory fire, on the strongest side, and we lost in killed and wounded 94 officers and men. Of the Artillery, Lieutenant H. E. Harington was very severely, Gunner D. Somerville (4-1), mortally, two N.C. officers severely, and three others slightly wounded. One regretted by the whole force and all who knew him, Brigadier Adrian Hope, was killed. A retreat was ordered. That night the fort was evacuated, but the name of Ruiya still brings to the mind a feeling of shame and regret.

April 15th.

* A form of pronunciation of Ruda; the older maps have it Rooda.

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Thence General Walpole went on to Sawájpur near Sirsi, not far from the Ramganga and Alaganj, where a body of rebels was found. The Horse Artillery and Cavalry went ahead and four guns were taken. He joined the Commander-in-Chief on the 27th. Major Le Mesurier with 3-14 and a siege-train of eight 24-pounder guns, twelve 8-inch and three 5½-inch mortars had joined two days previously. 1858.

The whole force then went on to Shahjahánpur, where, having left a wing of the 82nd and Lieutenant H. O. Hitchins, Bengal Artillery, with about 22 men of the 4th Company 6th Battery, two 9-pounders and two heavy guns to hold the jail, it proceeded on to Bareilly to meet the column from Rurkhi. By the junction of Penny's, Sir Colin Campbell had two troops and one battery of Field Artillery, Captain Francis and Lieutenant Cadell's heavy batteries, the siege-train under Major Le Mesurier, and a detachment of Reserve Artillery (4th-6th) under Captain Cookworthy, two strong brigades of Infantry and two of Cavalry. Khán Bahádur Khán, the local magnate, had a considerable force, though rather overrated as to numbers; still very formidable. He took up a position on the south-east side of the town, though he knew of the Rurkhi column, and had no intention of being crushed between both. The British guns were well placed, and as the Infantry advanced covered by them, the rebels gave back, leaving some pieces in our hands. A body of Ghazi fanatics made an impetuous attack, driving the 4th Sikhs out of a village where they were posted. The 42nd received them at the point of the bayonet, where many fell fighting. The attack repulsed, Sir Colin occupied the old cantonments, but during the night the Rohilla chief with most of his regular followers got away towards Pilibhit. Brigadier General Jones was encamped fourteen miles off beyond Fatehganj. May 1st-5th. May 5th

OPERATIONS OF THE RURKHI FIELD FORCE.

This column was formed at Rurkhi early in March, at March.

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1858. March. first under Brigadier J. Coke, C.B.; afterwards under Brigadier-General J. Jones, C.B., of the 60th Royal Rifles. It consisted of a squadron 6th D.G. (Carabiniers) under Captain Bott; Multáni Horse, Captain Charles Cureton: 60th Royal and 1st Punjab Rifles; 17th Punjab and 1st Sikh Infantry. The Artillery consisted of:—

21st Fd. Batt. 1st Company 1st Battalion No. 7 F.B., Captain A. G. Austen, with Lieutenants Price and Wake.

6 Co. E. Div. 2nd Mt. Batt. 6th Mt. Batt. 4th Company and detachments 1st and 3rd Companies 4th Battalion. Heavy Battery: two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars. Lieutenant F. W. Stubbs,* 2nd-Lieutenants Franks† and Hume.

A small movable column was at Manglaur, nearer the Ganges, under Lieut.-Colonel J. H. Smyth, H.A. Captain Hughes' 1st Punjab Cavalry, some Carabiniers, 1st Sikh Infantry, and the 5th Troop 1st Brigade H.A., which had done such good work at Delhi under Captain G. A. Renny, V.C. Part of this column belonged to the Rurkhi one.

April. The heavy battery was sent to Colonel Smyth at Nágal on the Ganges on the 13th, and next day General Jones moved up to Khankal, near Hardwar, and crossed the Ganges. Coming down towards Najibabad, he met

April 17th. the rebels in the forest jungle somewhere between Amsot and Bhágiwala, capturing four of their guns. Colonel Smyth's column and the heavy guns crossed near Asafgarh

April 20th. and joined at Najibabad.

April 21st. Next day General Jones marched‡ to Naginah, where the rebels were in great force. The Field Battery and Cavalry went forward and came into action. Captain Bott, with the Carabiniers, charged down upon a line of guns, driving the gunners from them. Captain Cureton

* Doing duty from 4th Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.
† Of the 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.
‡ Colonel Smyth with most of his column remained to cover the rear.

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went straight for all arms in turn. The defeated rebels were pursued for several miles. A considerable number got into a walled garden and there defended themselves, till the place was taken, after one or two shrapnel had been sent in, by Coke's Rifles. There were a large number of women and children inside; but of these one woman was killed fighting desperately in the gate, one was wounded, and two children killed by a shrapnel.* Twelve guns and three zamburaks were taken. Between 600 and 700 of the rebels were killed. The heavy guns were not wanted. Our casualties were few. Lieutenant Gostling, of the Multáni Horse, was killed, and Mr. Hanna, a student at the Rurkhi Engineering College, who had come out as a volunteer with the heavy battery, and had joined the Multáni Regiment in one of its charges, was severely wounded in two places. At the recommendation of Brigadier Coke, he afterwards received a commission.† A telegraph signaller, taken prisoner by the Nawab of Najibabad some months before, was recaptured by a daring act of Captain Cureton. He reported the rebels to have numbered 12,000, but to have been taken by surprise. 1858. April 21st.

The force then marched towards Moradabad, but the rebels retreated before it. They had a fight on the 24th with the Nawab of Rampur at Moradabad, but declined to wait for General Jones. At this place on the 25th several prominent rebels were captured. April.

After a week's halt, during which a small force was sent to Amroha, the column marched for Bareilly. The rebels were waiting at Mirganj, and there Captain Austen's guns and the Cavalry went on and accounted for some sixty of them. May 3rd. May 5th.

Next day, on getting to Bareilly, half the heavy battery

* This from personal observation, mentioned, because four years after I was told we had slaughtered a large number of women and children, and that the officer in civil charge knew it for a fact. When we consider what a wild lot Coke's Rifles were it is surprising the loss of life was not greater.

† Now Colonel H. B. Hanna, Retired List, B.S.C.

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1858. May 5th. was sent to a position right of the road and opened at 1,000 yards, while the field battery advanced to closer quarters on that flank. They again advanced and cleared the bridge over a stream where two guns were taken. The 60th and 17th P.I. got into the town. The rebels dispersed, not showing much fight. Major Larkins, with a wing of the 17th, held the Kotwali, the rest being withdrawn to camp. On the other side, the Chief's guns opened for a short time. Major Brind was employed this day and the next in clearing out the city.

Shahjahánpur Field Force.

May 7th. The Rurkhi force was now broken up, and another formed for the relief of Shahjahánpur, where the wing of the 82nd was besieged in the jail by rebels. It consisted of Captain Austen's field and Lieutenant Stubbs' heavy batteries,* a company of Sappers, two squadrons of the Carabiniers and Multáni Cavalry, 60th Rifles, 79th Highlanders, wing 82nd and 22nd P.I.; commanded by Brigadier-General Jones.

May 11th. Shahjahánpur lies in an acute angle formed by the junction of the Garra and Kanhaut rivers. The road from Bareilly crosses the former by a stone bridge at its southern end, but General Jones intended fording the Garra higher up above the town so as to avoid street fighting. The river was full of quicksands, however, and one of the light gun teams got stuck. While searching for a better spot a large body of Cavalry appeared on the right towards the stone bridge. The General at once formed line to that flank and moved down the river to meet them; the 60th and 79th and heavy guns in first line, with the 22nd P.I. in support, and Cavalry on the right. The line advanced until the heavy guns came into action at 1,200 yards, when after two or three rounds the

* Lieutenant Franks having been ordered here to rejoin his Troop, and Mr. Hanna having gone, only one subaltern, Lieutenant Hume, was left with the heavy battery.

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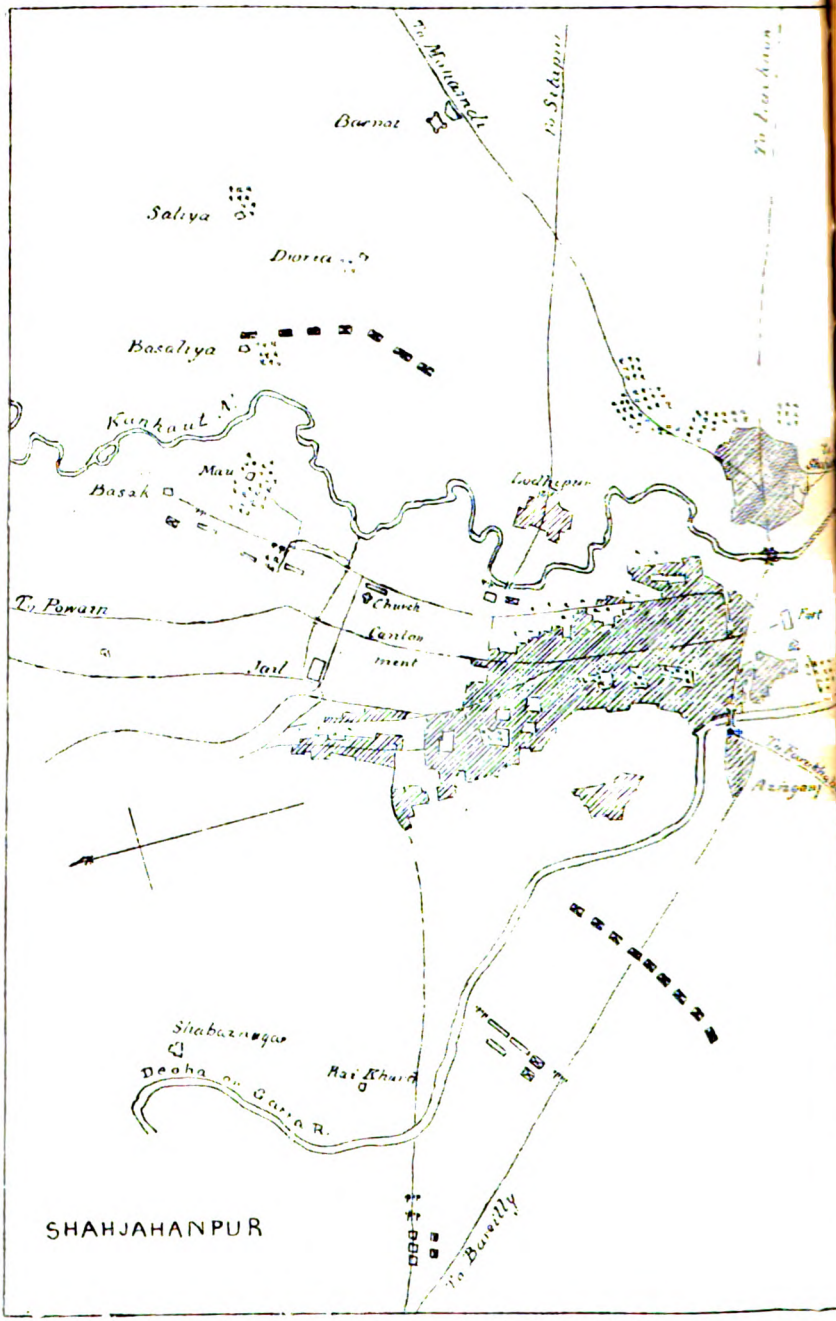

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long line of sabres began to melt away, and the Cavalry, with Captain Austen's guns, which had got back very quickly, followed them up to a considerable distance. 1858. May 11th.

The town was then shelled from the bridge, after which the column moved up, skirting the denser part of the town through civil lines and encamped on the cantonment parade-ground, close to the jail, and facing the town.

On the 14th it was rumoured that the rebels intended to attack the rear of our position; their force, consisting chiefly of Cavalry, with some guns, were at the fort of Barnai. General Jones took up his position at 2 a.m. behind the Kanhaut stream, covering the town; an extensive one for a small force. Lieutenant Hume, with two light guns, on picquet at the lower end; Captain Austen's divided on either flank; the heavies also divided on the left, but with only one officer.

As day broke they were seen, and the guns opened with very good effect. After a time they got behind the numerous topes of trees, which screened them from view, crossed the Kanhaut, and suddenly appearing close to the front of the two right heavy guns, charged up. A charge of grape from the howitzer stopped all but some thirty. Gunner Bremner, at the 18-pounder, waited, port-fire in hand, till they were nearly 15 yards off, and then emptied five saddles; only three or four came on. De Kantzow's men turned, but he with two others gallantly went at them. He received a bad sword cut over the face, but his Risaldar cut the man down between the guns. The others fled and the guns resumed fire. May 15th.

A large body of them collected before the ford at Lodipur (nearly a thousand of them), but Captain Austen sent them a message to go, and they went. So ended the day. The practice of the guns was good. Captain Cureton told the writer that the people of two villages were employed in carrying off the dead and wounded. Yet General Jones in his dispatch only says: "Guns too far to produce much effect. . . . The Cavalry . . . charged on our guns

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1858. May 15th. with considerable loss to themselves, but none to us." Gunner Bremner afterwards was appointed (G.O.C.C., December 29th, 1858) to the Ordnance Commissariat for his cool, steady conduct.

The troops were out for two days longer, the suburbs being full of rebels. Lord Clyde came in on the 18th; Lieut.-Colonel Tombs' Troop H.A., Major Le Mesurier's Heavy Battery (3rd-14th), and Captain Cookworthy with the 4th-6th F.A., with him. The rebels were still at Barnai under the Begam, the Mulvi, Firoz Shah, and Ismail Khan.

May. Brigadier Coke arrived on the 22nd, bringing with him Captain Hammond's Field Battery (3rd-3rd).

On the 24th a force of one brigade of Cavalry and two of Infantry, under Brigadier-General Jones, was sent to Mohamdi. Lieut.-Colonel H. Tombs, C.B., commanded the Artillery, which consisted of his Troop (2nd-1st) under Lieutenant Wilson, Captains Austen's (1st-1st) and Hammond's (3rd-3rd) Field Batteries, and Major Le Mesurier's and Lieutenant Stubbs' Heavy Batteries. The rebels at Barnai opened fire; their numerous Cavalry were held in check by the heavy guns, and as they retreated the Cavalry and Field Artillery followed them up to Jafnapur, where camp was pitched. A wagon of Hammond's Battery blew up, killing two gunners and a driver.

May 25th. Next day the Field Artillery went to the front and drove the rebels out of the topes of trees, near Mohamdi; their Cavalry, charging ours, got roughly handled. They had few guns, and those not worth much. The force returned to Shahjahánpur on the 29th. Lord Clyde left, and Captain Hammond's and Major Le Mesurier's Batteries also went.

June. Another expedition was sent to Shahabad on the night of the 31st. Colonel Tombs' Troop, Captain Austen's and Lieutenant Stubbs' Batteries were employed, but the fighting was poor. On the 4th of June the Shahjahánpur Field Force was broken up.

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This closed the operations in Rohilkhand. Oudh, *fons et origo mali*, now held the remnant of the rebels in Upper India and had to be swept again the following winter. 1858. June.

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APPENDIX.

A. Names of Officers belonging to or serving with the Artillery at the siege and capture of Lucknow recorded as deserving of honourable mention.

B. Return of Artillery and Ordnance employed at the siege of Lucknow, March, 1858.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Names of officers belonging to or serving with the Artillery at the siege and capture of Lucknow, recorded as deserving of honourable mention.

Captain Sir W. Peel, K.C.B., R.N.
Commander J. W. Vaughan, R.N.
Captain T. C. Gray, R.M.
Lieutenant W. C. F. Wilson, R.N.
Lieutenant W. R. Wratislaw, R.N.

Brigadier D. E. Wood, C.B., R.H.A.
Brigadier G. R. Barker, C.B., R.A.
Lieut.-Colonel C. Hogge
Lieut.-Colonel C. J. B. Riddell, R.A.
Lieut.-Colonel E. Maberly, R.A.
Lieut.-Colonel C. L. D'Aguilar, C.B., R.H.A.
Lieut.-Colonel H. Tombs, C.B., V.C., H.A.
Lieut.-Colonel F. Turner, H.A.
Lieut.-Colonel E. B. Johnson.
Major G. S. Cotter, Madras Artillery.
Major J. R. Anderson, C.B., R.H.A.
Major H. P. Yates, R.H.A.
Major J. F. Pennycuick, R.A.
Major W. W. Barry, R.A.
Major W. G. Le Mesurier, R.A.
Major H. A. Carleton.
Major N. O. S. Turner, R.A.
Major F. C. Maude, V.C., R.A.
Major F. F. Remmington
Captain W. A. Middleton, R.A.
Captain J. R. Gibbon, R.A.
Captain W. N. Waller, R.A.
Captain G. Moir.
Captain J. E. Thring, R.A.
Captain C. F. Young, R.A.
Captain H. L. Talbot, R.A.
Captain J. McC. Campbell, R.A.
Captain W. A. Mackinnon
Captain W. H. Goodenough R.A.
Captain A. C. Johnson, R.A.
Captain A. Pearson.
Lieutenant A. Bunny, H.A.
Lieutenant H. P. Bishop, H.A.
Lieutenant J. S. Frith, H.A.
Lieutenant E. Simeon.
Lieutenant W. Tod Brown.
Lieutenant F. G. E. Warren, R.A.
Lieutenant H. C. S. Dyer, R.A.
Lieutenant M. H. Fitzmaurice, R.A.
Lieutenant R. Biddulph, R.A.
Lieutenant E. C. Cuthbert, R.A.
Lieutenant S. C. Kyle, R.A.

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NOTE B.

Siege of Lucknow, 1858.

Return of Artillery and of Ordnance employed, from a statement in letter No. 1161, December 6th, 1865, Adjutant-General's Office, to Government.

Corps Present.	Officers.	Native Officers.	Rank and file.
Brigade Staff	9	...	9
F Troop R.H.A.	8	...	192
1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A ...	4	...	124
2nd Troop 1st Brigade H.A. ...	5	...	131
2nd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A. ...	3	...	132
3rd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A. ...	4	...	135
5th Company 12th Battalion R.A.	6	...	187
8th Company 2nd Battalion R.A.	6	...	109
3rd Company 8th Battalion R.A.	5	...	104
6th Company 11th Battalion R.A.	5	...	107
6th Company 13th Battalion R.A.	7	...	122
3rd Company 14th Battalion R.A.	6	...	147
4th Company 1st Bengal R.A. ...	3	1	49
2nd Company 3rd Bengal R.A. ...	4	1	168*
1st Company 5th Bengal R.A. ..	...	...	...
3rd Company 5th Bengal R.A. ...	4	...	76
4th Company 5th Bengal R.A. ...	5	...	127†
2nd Company 8th Bengal R.A. ...	...	...	...
H.M.S. *Shannon*	26	...	405
Royal Engineers	16	...	201
Bengal Engineers	24	13	212
Madras Engineers	1	...	...
Punjab Pioneers	6	20	735
Delhi Pioneers (unarmed)	3	8	743

Ordnance.	
24-pounder guns ...	10
18-pounder guns ...	9
68-pounder guns (Naval Brigade) ...	4
10-inch howitzers ...	5
8-inch howitzers ...	6
10-inch mortars ...	10
8-inch mortars ...	26
5⅕-inch mortars ...	12
4⅘-inch mortars ...	4
9-pounder brass guns	26
24-pounder brass howitzers	4

Ammunition.

Rounds issued ... 77,587 but the actual expenditure of the siege cannot be ascertained.

From the Examiner of Ordnance Accounts.

* This in all probability includes the 50 Artillery Recruits under Lieutenant W. Dowell sent over from Captain Atlay's detachment at Cawnpore, and probably also some of the Native details from the Lucknow Garrison.

† This may include some more of the Native details (Lascars, etc.), from the Lucknow Garrison, attached for the purpose of drawing rations.

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CHAPTER XIII.

END OF SEPOY WAR.

MUTINY AT MHOW.—Captain Hungerford—Siege of Dhár—Actions at Mandisor.

DEFENCE OF SÁGAR.—Capture of Bálabetta—Actions in the Vicinity.

OPERATIONS ABOUT AZIMGARH.—Sir E. Lugard sent to assist Colonel Milman—Passage of the Tons—Brigadier Douglas in pursuit of Kunwar Singh across Ganges—Actions about Jagdispur.

OPERATIONS IN OUDH.—Artillery about Lucknow in March—Kursi—Bari Dundia Khera—Simri—Nawabganj—Soraon Field Force—Dhainawan—Tirul—Sir Hope Grant to Faizabad—Rebels Attacked at Sultanpur—Attack on Rebels at Salimpur—At Kantur.

BRIGADIER TROUP'S FORCE.—Advance from Shahjahánpur—Pasgáwan—Rasulpur—Mithauli—Mehndi—Biswán—Watching Fords—Ordered into Quarters.

BRIGADIER BARKER'S FORCE.—Sandila—Jamu—Birwa.

SIR HOPE GRANT'S MOVEMENTS.—Distribution of Artillery—Actions at Shahpur—Daudpur—Exciting Chase—Queen's Proclamation—Major Smith's Battery—Major Moir's Battery, in the Doab—Rampur Kasia taken—Amethi evacuated—Evelegh's Column—Husainganj—Mianganj—Other Forts taken—Gordon's and Brett's Columns.

FINAL OPERATIONS.—Hope Grant sent to Faizabad—Horsford operates along the Gumti—Rehora—Hope Grant passes Gogra—Actions with Rebels—Rowcroft attacks Rebels at Tulsipur—Hope Grant follows up—Lord Clyde's Force—Moves to Nánpara—Attacks Rebels—Lord Clyde severely injured by a fall—Masjdia captured—Rebels driven across the Rapti—Sir Hope Grant takes command of the Frontier line—Rebels driven into Nipal—Attacked by different Columns—Troops ordered into Quarters.

1857. NOT the least interesting of the campaigns of 1857-58 are those which were carried on in Central India. But with the exception of what occurred at Mhow and Ságar, they do not belong to the Bengal Artillery. Before reverting to the operations in and about Oudh, it would be better briefly to record the events in these stations.

59 Fd. Batt. Captain T. J. W. Hungerford commanded the 2nd Company 6th Battalion No. 8 Field Battery at Mhow. He was an officer of ability and decision of character. An unfortunate fall with his horse when a young subaltern just posted to the mounted branch sent him home, and he returned with a stiffness of one knee, which impeded his

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walking, but not riding, powers. This, followed by a lengthened time at the out-station of Dacca, had deprived him of much regimental experience. But after 1848 he had made up for this. He spoke most of the languages of Europe, and had passed the highest examinations in Urdu and Hindi. Lieutenant H. A. Mallock was the only subaltern present with the Battery in May, 1857. 1857.

The Native Cavalry and Infantry at Mhow mutinied on the 1st of July, and murdered Colonel Platt and his Adjutant, Captain Fagan. Colonel Durand, Acting-Resident at Indore, had been obliged to leave for Sihor, so Captain Hungerford took his Battery down and shelled the Sepoys' lines, but they had cleared off. He collected all the officers and drummers, and placed the fort in such state of defence as it was capable of, and then destroyed some of the villages near which had aided the mutineers. Not being able to hear from Colonel Durand, he placed himself in official communication with Holkar and with Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, maintaining his position till the arrival, on the 2nd of August, of the Resident with a column commanded by Brigadier C. S. Stuart, Bombay Army. Captain J. D. Woollcoombe, Bombay Artillery, with the 4th Company 2nd Battalion No. 4 F.B., and the Hyderabad Contingent, commanded by Major W. A. Orr, Madras Artillery, with the 1st and 4th Companies of its Artillery, under Captain J. de C. Sinclair, were with it. July. August. 55 Fd. Batt.

As soon as the cessation of the rains allowed of it, military operations were begun. The fortress of Dhár, west of Mhow, was invested on the 25th of October, breached, and was to be stormed on the 1st of November, but was vacated during the night. Captain Hungerford, with half his Battery, was present. From thence the force proceeded to Mandisor on the River Chambal, where a large body of rebels under Ferozshah of the Delhi family was collected. They were attacked on the 22nd and again on the 24th at Gorária, and completely defeated. Lieutenant C. H. Strutt, of the Bombay Battery, was mentioned for his good shoot- October.

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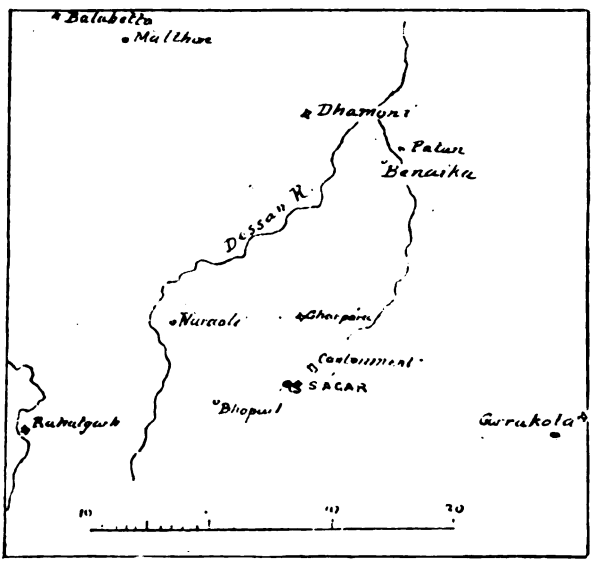
1857 ing, along with Captains Hungerford and Woollcoombe. The former returned with his Battery to Mhow, where it remained. Captain Hungerford subsequently received promotion as Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel in 1858, and the distinction of a C.B., but died the following year in New South Wales of illness contracted on service.

DEFENCE OF SÁGAR.

The station of Ságar stands 215 miles north-east of Mhow, 233 south of Agra, and 223 south-west of Allahabad; the



nearest stations to which it could look for support. The country is chiefly covered with trap rocks, pierced in places by sandstone of the type common in the Vindhyan hills, and with bands of limestone; off-road tracks, not very favourable to the movements of Artillery. South-west of cantonments was a small lake, some four miles round, on the north-west and west sides of which was the town. East of the town, resting on the lake, a fort contained all the Ordnance Stores. Lieutenant T. Nicholl, Commissary, had just taken charge. His father had gloriously

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fallen in command of his Troop in the retreat from Kabul in 1842. Brigadier Sage commanded. The 1st Company 3rd Battalion No. 4 F.B. (bullocks), under Captain W. B. Marshall, were the European part of the Troops ; the 3rd I.C., 31st and 42nd N.I., were the remainder. 1857.

Brigadier Sage got an urgent requisition from Major R. H. Sale at Lallatpur, and sent Major Gaussen with a small detachment and two guns to reinforce him. Lieutenant F. V Eyre, being the only subaltern, Lieutenant E. H. Willoughby, on the Revenue Survey, was sent in charge of the guns. He was a brother of the Willoughby who so nobly discharged his duty in the magazine at Delhi on the 11th of May. June 14th

The Gwalior Infantry at Lallatpur had mutinied, and Major Gaussen was not able to go further than Malthon. He was reinforced from Ságar, and took the fort Bálabetta by storm. Lieutenant Willoughby was ordered to destroy the gate. Unfortunately, he was not provided with a proper fuze, and lighted the train with part of his cotton mirzai (padded tunic). The powder exploded before he could get safely away, and he was severely wounded in the knee He died at home three years afterwards from the effects of the injury. Ensign Spens, of the 31st, who happened to be in the fort, was killed. June 23rd.

The Sepoys here had not mutinied, but there was ground for distrust. Brigadier Sage, at the instance of Lieutenant Nicholl, laid stores in the fort. The Treasury followed, then the Staff with the women and children, and finally, on the 29th of June, the battery of Artillery. June.

Ill-feeling sprung up between the two regiments of Infantry, resulting on the 7th of July in a fight. The 31st asked the Brigadier for two guns, promising to attack the 42nd and Irregular Cavalry. The latter, hearing something of this, lost no time in getting out of harm's way, with the exception of some who remained faithful. Thenceforward, until the arrival of Sir Hugh Rose in 1858, the fort was held by its garrison. There was no actual investment, but July.

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1857. July. the attitude of several of the chiefs around was hostile. During this time three expeditions were sent out against bodies of rebels. One to Benaika, north-north-east of Ságar, in which a gun was captured. One under Colonel Sept. 15th. T. Dalyell, 42nd N.I., to Naraoli, where the followers of the Bhánpur Raja had entrenched themselves, was not so successful. Colonel Dalyell and many of his men were killed, and the party returned *re infectâ*. A third had a brush with the rebels at Bhápail, eight miles west of Ságar, in which Gunner J. McGreary was killed. Without being very decisive, these affairs helped to maintain the credit of British authority, and increase the respect entertained by the people for the fort of Ságar.* The Commissioner of Jabalpur proposed to Brigadier Sage to retire on that place, but he declined; a resolution in which he was supported by his officers, especially the gunners.

Operations about Azimgarh.

1858. The districts of Azimgarh and Gorakhpur were all disturbed by rebel leaders, chief of whom was Kunwar Singh of Jagdispur, Shahabad. Colonel Milman, having received a check from him at Atraulia, retreated back on March 29th. Azimgarh cantonment. Sir E. Lugard was despatched from Lucknow to set matters straight. Lord Mark Kerr, commanding the 13th Light Infantry, had been ordered to Benares, and left that place with a wing of his regiment, a troop of the Queen's Bays, and 17 men of 4th-5th Bengal Artillery, under Lieutenant D. Welsh. Lieutenant Robertson, with a detail of 8th-2nd, was also present.† He made his way to Azimgarh, then invested by the rebels.

Sir E. Lugard's force consisted of three regiments of British Infantry, Military Train, some Sikh Cavalry, detachment 4th Company R.E. and Punjab Pioneers, with half of E Troop R.H.A., under Major J. E. Michell; 8th-

* They had an idea that possession of Ságar brought good fortune.

† Not mentioned in the detail of the force, but is among the officers thanked by Colonel Lord M. Kerr.

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2nd and a detachment of 5th-13th R.A., under Captain Thring; and A-3rd Madras No. 2 Battery, under Major Cotter. Two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, two 8-inch and four 5½-inch mortars. Lieut.-Colonel Riddell commanded the Artillery; Major N. O. S. Turner, Staff Officer; and Captain C. F. Young, Commissary of Ordnance. 1858.

General Lugard reached Jaunpur, and after a day's halt moved on to Tigra. The enemy were at Manihár, but retreating, were followed up and two guns captured. Three days after he entered Azimgarh, having captured three guns on the 14th. Next day the River Tons was passed in face of the rebels. Brigadier Douglas, C.B., with part of the force (R.H.A., four of Major Cotter's guns, and Lieutenant Kyle with two small mortars), was sent after them. He attacked them at Azimatgarh, and for two days the pursuit was hotly kept up by Ghosi, Nagra, and Sikandarpur, all scenes of action. Again at Munirkhás on the 20th, Kunwar Singh, retreating to his own country, crossed the Ganges at Sheopur Ghat, ten miles below Balliah, where Colonel Cumberlege with two regiments of Madras Cavalry was waiting for him, and defeated a party under Captain Le Grand, 35th Regiment, who was killed. April 9th. April 12th. April 17th.

Sir E. Lugard came up at once from Azimgarh, where he had been clearing the country, crossed the Ganges, and followed the old rebel into the Jagdispur jungles. He was again attacked, and more guns* captured. Two guns of the Indian Naval Brigade and two of J Battery (5th-3rd R.A.), under Lieutenant C. R. Franklen, with the 6th Regiment from Sahserám, joined the force. Lieutenant Maxwell, R.H.A., was wounded near Jagdispur. Most of the casualties on this arduous service were from sunstroke. The Artillery were employed for some time in following up the rebels till the force went into quarters for the rest of the hot weather. Major Cotter went to May 2nd-4th May 20th.

* One of them was a curiosity, a wooden cylinder, with copper bore, strengthened exteriorly by wrought iron hoops, bound with hide, and covered with leather.

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1858. Benares, Major Michell and Captain Waller to Benares; Sir E. Lugard had gone home sick, leaving Brigadier Douglas in command.

OPERATIONS IN OUDH.

March. After the capture of Lucknow, and the departure of Walpole's column and the Commander-in-Chief, the Artillery in and about Lucknow consisted of:—

G., R.H.A. F Troop R.H.A., Lieut.-Colonel C. L. D'Aguilar, C.B.*
F., R.H.A. 1st-1st H.A., Major F. F. Remmington.†
8 Fd. Batt. 5th-12th (Q.F.B.) R.A., Captain J. R. Gibbon.
23 Fd. Batt. 2nd-3rd (No. 12 F.B.), Major H. A. Carleton.‡
Red. 1871. 3rd-8th R.A., Major F. C. Maude, V.C.
65 Fd. Batt. 6th-11th R.A., 2nd-Captain W. H. Goodenough.
66 Fd. Batt. 5th-13th R.A., 2nd-Captain H. L. Talbot.
10 Co. S. Div. 1st-5th, Lieutenant E. W. E. Walker.§
57 Fd. Batt. 2nd-3rd H.A., Captain W. A. Mackinnon.‖
67 Fd. Batt. 6th-13th (F.B.) R.A., Captain W. A. Middleton.
Red. 1871. 3rd-5th, Captain G. Moir.¶

The three last, though not part of the garrison, were at Lucknow. Colonel G. R. Barker, in command of the arm, Major General Sir Hope Grant commanding at Lucknow.

Sir Hope Grant had already been out on a "daur." The rebels were said to be at Kursi, some 20 miles north of Lucknow. Colonel E. Maberly commanded the Artillery, with Lieutenant T. B. Strange as his Brigade-Major. Major Remmington's and Captain Mackinnon's Troops were

* Went home on sick leave, May 21st, when Major Yates took command. Subalterns, F. Lyon, H. T. Arbuthnot, and A. K. Rideout.

† Lieut.-Colonel H. A. Olpherts at home, sick leave. Subalterns, H. Murray, G. R. Manderson, and G. B. Traill.

‡ Subalterns, H. V. Timbrell and H. Smithett.

§ Lieutenant J. McK. Fraser, wounded previous September in Lucknow, had to go home, but died at the Cape. Ensign W. Bird, late staff-sergeant, was doing duty.

‖ Subalterns, F. H. McLeod, C. Hunter, and G. Cracklow.

¶ The Field Battery with this Company had been withdrawn. Captain Moir had just been transferred (G.O., 17th, March) to the 3rd-1st H.A., but was still in command. Lieutenants Gully and Low had been doing duty, but the former was transferred to the 3rd Company 1st Battalion next month.

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on the service; and Captain Moir went with two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, and four 5½-inch mortars. Lieutenant F. S. Roberts was D.A.Q.M.G. to the column. It left Lucknow on the 22nd, and next day came up with the rebels, who retreated. Lieutenant C. Hunter (2nd-3rd H.) got his division into action; the guns unlimbered when clear of the village. Captain S. J. Browne,* in a brilliant charge, captured 13 guns and a mortar, riding clean through the enemy five times. Two lascars were killed and two gunners severely injured by the explosion of a wagon of 1st-1st H.A. The column then returned to Lucknow. 1858.

Very shortly after, the Mulvi having appeared at Bari, 29 miles north by west from Lucknow, Sir Hope Grant was ordered after them with a force of about 3,000 men. Captain Mackinnon's Troop, Captain Middleton's Battery, and Captain H. L. Talbot's Company, with two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars were sent, Colonel Maberly in command. He came up with the rebels on the 13th. They attacked the advanced guard, under Lieutenant M. M. Prendergast, in great force, and had surrounded it and the two guns with it, under Lieutenant C. Hunter, but a squadron of the 7th Hussars appearing, they galloped off. The experience of former fights was not lost upon them, for their efforts were mainly confined to attempts upon the baggage, which were repulsed by the Cavalry and Bengal Fusiliers, and the village was stormed and carried. April. April 9th.

From thence the column moved to Burasi, Mahmudabad, and Ramnagar, six miles from Bitauli near Bahramghat, where the Begam had been, but she had disappeared. The column then returned by Nawábganj Bára Banki to Lucknow. April 14-19th.

Another expedition had at once to be undertaken towards the Ganges. Captain Mackinnon's Troop, Captain Gibbons' Battery, and Captain Talbot's Company; two 18-

* Now General Sir S. J. Browne, G.C.B., K.C.S.I., V.C.

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1858. May. pounders, two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars were taken.* Proceeding by Banni-Kanth, the fort of Panchingaon was visited and disarmed, and another destroyed. Dhundia Khera was reached on the 10th. It was a very strong fort on the Ganges with very thick mud walls, and surrounded by a dense jungle, through which one or two pathways known only to the initiated led into the place—difficult, therefore, to be taken. It was deserted and apparently unarmed; but Major Vaughan's Sikhs searched and found two guns and a brass French 32-pounder howitzer down dry wells.

From thence the column proceeded by Nagar to Simri, where a body of rebels about 3,000 strong, with two guns, had posted themselves. The guns opened the attack, and the Rifle Brigade with Vaughan's Sikhs in skirmishing order, supported by the 38th and 90th, cleared the nullah where they were, and the guns were taken. The same night there was a sudden though very unfounded alarm in camp. In the confusion which ensued, Captain Gibbons was twice thrown down and was severely wounded by the accidental discharge of his own revolver. The column then returned to Lucknow, having lost a great number of men from the fatal effects of the sun.

The rebels maintained their attitude of hostility obstinately in Oudh, though it was not easy to meet them in the field. Sir Hope Grant was kept on the move throughout the whole of the hot weather. A report of Beni Madhu at Jasenda, on the River Sai, some 24 miles south-south-east of Lucknow, took him down there early in June to find the place empty. The Nána, still in Oudh territory, and the Begam, equally vindictive, kept up the spirit of resistance to the last. Tantia Topi, in Central India, had a wider field for his fugitive talents. So that though the signal defeats by Sir Hugh Rose of the rebels at Kunch, on the 6th of May, and at Golauli, where they had the advantage of an almost

* Major N. O. S. Turner, Staff Officer.

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impregnable position, on the 22nd of May, with the capture of Kalpi, made their cause hopeless, there was still much to do before the country could be at rest. But the desertion of Sindiah by his own troops when he went out to engage Tantia Topi on the 1st of June, and Sindiah's flight to Agra, revived the hostile spirit, and rebels began to collect again at Nawábganj (Barabanki). 1858. May.

Sir Hope Grant had a column under Colonel Purnell at Chinhat, and another part of his force at Nawábganj (Unao). He moved up to Chinhat, and leaving all baggage there, marched against the rebels on the night of the 12th. The Artillery were commanded by Major Carleton; Lieutenants Smart and Strange the Staff Officers. June.

2-3 H.A., Captain W. A. Mackinnon, Lieutenant C. Hunter.

5-12 Q Battery R.A., 2nd-Captain A. C. Johnson, Lieutenant A. D. Burnaby.

2-3 No. 12, Major H. A. Carleton, Lieutenant J. Percival.

The rebels had taken up a good position, covered as to three sides by a stream crossed by a stone bridge, and on the remaining side by jungle. Sir Hope Grant moved by night, to avoid the fatal heat of this time of the year, and made a kind of platform-bridge two miles up the stream with the object of turning their right and getting between them and the jungle. This was reached before daylight, and when the attack was developed, Johnson's 9-pounders silenced some of the enemy's guns bearing upon the bridge, dismounting one. Mackinnon's guns were in action ahead, and the rebels, apparently not having concentrated, appeared to be in four bodies. Carleton had detached Lieutenant Percival with two guns to accompany Daly's Horse (Hodson's). A body of Zamindari Horse with two guns attacked the main body in rear, and Carleton's opened upon them first with round-shot and then with grape, which, as the range was above grape distance, was given with a high elevation. It had, however,

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1858. June. the desired effect. Sir W. Russell,* with two Squadrons 7th Hussars and two Companies of the Rifle Brigade, was in support. The former charged twice through them, and round the two guns lay 125 dead rebels.

Altogether, six guns were taken and some hundreds of rebels killed. Our casualties were 67; but in addition there were 283 cases of sunstroke, of which 33 were immediately fatal. This victory had important results. The rebels thenceforward did not concentrate; the different bodies remaining in may places, stood till a British force appeared, when they fled, or evacuated their forts after exchanging a few shots. The force remained at Nawábganj some time longer.†

July. In July, the Governor-General placed Brigadier F. A. C. Berkeley, C.B., in command of a force designated the Soraon Field Force, consisting of 340 men of the 32nd and 54th Regiments; 7th P.I., some of Brasyer's Sikhs and 6th Madras Light Cavalry, and the Lahore Light Horse. Three guns of E R.H.A., under Major Michell, and three of 4th-14th R.A., under Lieutenant Cottingham, were present.

A force had been stationed at Soraon after Brigadier Campbell had been out there in the previous January up to this time. The 4th Company, Captain C. Johnston, Lieutenants Egan and Cottingham, were with it.

Brigadier Berkeley crossed the Ganges from Allahabad on the 12th, attacked the rebels' position at Dhainawan‡ and captured it, inflicting heavy loss. From thence he went on to Tirul, a fort on the borders of Oudh, nearly

* Colonel J. Hagart, 7th Hussars, commanded the whole of the Cavalry. This officer so frequently mentioned in dispatches, and recommended for the Victoria Cross, but not decorated with it, has lately died (September 15th, 1894) in London.

† Captain Mackinnon's Troop (2nd-3rd) went to Chinhat; Lieut.-Colonel Carleton's Battery to Lucknow; the latter officer went home on sick leave.

‡ Called in the dispatch Dehain. It is on a small patch of land belonging to Oudh in the Allahabad district, and is seven miles west-north-west from Soraon.

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north of Soraon, which had been ineffectually attempted the previous March. Like most of such places, it was surrounded by a dense jungle to within a few feet of the ditch. It was shelled on the 16th, and evacuated during the night. 1858. July.

Sir Hope Grant was again called out the same month to assist Mán Singh, who was besieged in his fort of Shahganj near Faizabad. The Artillery taken consisted of:—

F R.H.A., Major Yates; Q Battery 2nd-Captain A. C. Johnson; and 5th-13th with heavy guns 2nd-Captain H. L. Talbot.* On the way there, a detachment with the Horse Artillery was sent under Colonel Hagart to Sáraganj, south-east of the road, after some rebels. They rejoined the column on the 24th. The rebels about Shahganj cleared off, and Sir Hope Grant was only able to shell them in the rear as they crossed the Gogra at Ajudhia. Two guns of the 2nd Troop 3rd Brigade, under Lieutenant F. H. McLeod, arrived from Lucknow on the 2nd of August. August.

On the 9th, Brigadier Horsford was sent against a large body of rebels collected at Sultanpur. F R.H.A., 200 of the 7th Hussars, 300 of Hodson's Horse, the Madras Fusiliers, and 5th Punjab Rifles composed this force. The rebels were reported numerous, and the 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade followed a week after with two guns of Q Battery, under Lieutenant T. B. Strange. They were driven across the river on the 13th and occupied the cantonment and town of Sultanpur. Shelling them from the left bank and outpost affairs were of daily occurrence. On the 22nd, two days after Lieutenant Strange had joined Horsford, Sir Hope Grant arrived with Captain Talbot's heavy guns and a wing of the 53rd Regiment. Next day the heavies were at work under much rain. On the 25th, the Madras Fusiliers, Punjab Rifles, and Strange's guns crossed under Colonel Galwey, seized two villages and destroyed the rebel camp. August 16th.

The rest of the force, except Captain Talbot's guns and

* Captain Longden was absent on sick leave. The subalterns were Lieutenants Warren, FitzMaurice, and Burnett.

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1858. August. the 53rd, crossed. On the evening of the 28th the Cavalry and Horse Artillery were ordered out to repel an attack. Next day the rebels had evacuated the cantonment, which we occupied. They were broken up: many joined the Raja of Amethi, who had strengthened his village* with some extensive entrenchments; but Lord Clyde deemed it advisable to postpone further active operations till after the rainy season had all cleared off.

September. Absolute rest, however, there was not. A large body of rebels had collected at the large village of Salimpur, on the Gumti near Amethi, fourteen miles south-east of Lucknow. Two columns moved out against them. Major E. G. Bulwer, 23rd Regiment, left Dilkhusha on the night of the 22nd of September with two 9-pounders under Lieutenant E. C. Cuthbert (6th-11th), and two Coehorn mortars under Lieutenant E. Maitland (3rd-8th). Lieut.-Colonel R. Pratt, also of the 23rd, left Nawábganj Barabanki the same night with four H.A. guns under Captain Mackinnon (2nd-3rd), and proceeded towards Chiria Ghat. He attacked the rebels, who were on the north side of the Gumti, at daybreak. Major Bulwer reached Munshiganj (Amethi), and heard the firing on the other side. Salimpur was strongly entrenched with a rampart and double ditch. The rebels daring to come out were sent back, and the place being stormed, they were driven over the river with heavy loss. Both columns, having thus effected their object, returned to their quarters.

Major Hume, 1st Bengal Fusiliers, was commanding at Dariabad. Some rebels collected on an island in the Gogra near Bhamor Ghat, eleven miles north-west of that station. He moved out on the 18th of September and attacked them

* Not to be confounded with the Amethi now to be mentioned near Lucknow. This one is sixteen miles (direct) south-west of Sultanpur. The large village of the other Amethi as it is named on the latest maps coincides with Munshiganj of the older ones.

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there, dispersing them. Lieutenant Anson Swinton, with two guns of the 2nd-3rd No. 12 F.B., and Ensign P. Roddy, V.C.,* with three 6-pounders of the Kapurthala Contingent, were present. Mr. E. O. Bradford, Assistant Commissioner, who had done good service at Cawnpore under General Windham, was here, and rendered valuable assistance in the intelligence department. He unfortunately broke his collar-bone by a fall three days before this action. The rebels were again collected by the 7th at Kantur, ten miles off, and at Badho Serai close by. Among them were some of the 3rd L.C. of Meerut notoriety, under their Havildar Major. Major Hume attacked and again inflicted heavy loss, capturing a gun. Lieutenant Swinton and Ensign Roddy were both mentioned in Major Hume's dispatch.

1858. September. October.

Operations from Shahjahánpur.

The Shahjahánpur column was formed for service in Oudh on the 15th of October under command of Brigadier Colin Troup 48th Bengal N.I. Major-General Sir Thomas Seaton, K.C.B., was commanding at Shahjahánpur. The rebels had been for some time collected about the village of Pasgáwan and its neighbourhood. Their leaders were Firoz Shah, Khán Bahádur, Khán of Bareilly, Khán Ali, and Ismail Khán; the last had been once Kotwal of Meerut. The Mulvi had been shot at the gate of Powain in June, and the Raja being marked in consequence, Sir T. Seaton had gone to his relief and given Khán Bahádur a thrashing at Ban ka gaon. Four of Captain Austen's guns were employed here. That officer being on leave, they were commanded by Captain Cookworthy.

October 8th. 21 Fd. Batt.

Brigadier Troup's column consisted of three squadrons Carabiniers and Lieut.-Colonel Cureton's Multáni Horse; the 60th Rifles (1st Battalion), 93rd Highlanders and 66th

* Promoted from Acting-Staff-Sergeant 2nd Company 3rd Battalion at Lucknow under Captain Olpherts. Received the Victoria Cross for an act of bravery with the contingent of the Sikh Raja of Kapurthala the previous month under Sir Hope Grant. Is now a Colonel on the Retired List.

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1858. October. S., R.H.A. N.I. (Gurkhas); the Headquarter and 3rd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A. (Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel F. F. Remmington, C.B.), two guns of the 1st Company 1st Battalion (Lieutenant A. J. Wake), and the 4th Company 4th Battalion with 6 Co. E. Div. Heavy Battery (2nd-Captain F. W. Stubbs).* Lieut.-Colonel J. Brind, C.B., was in command of the Artillery, with Captain H. P. Bishop as his Staff Officer.

The column marched on the 18th, and next day carried a battery thrown up by the rebels at the village of Madhupur near Pasgáwan after the heavy guns had silenced it. After waiting for some stores, the rebels were again attacked October 25th. at Rasulpur and fled towards Aliganj, north-east. The fort of Mithauli was next attacked. Its Raja or his head man had refused protection to the Shahjahánpur fugitives who were massacred at Aurangabad. This fort was surrounded by a dense jungle impassable by any wheeled conveyance except along one or two winding approaches difficult to find and very difficult to traverse. The average depth of this belt was about a mile. Before proceeding against Mithauli the whole of the camp equipage and stores, except such of the latter as were indispensable, were sent back by permission to Muhamdi. The direct and easiest road had been cut across, obstructed by fallen trees and by a battery at the bridge over the Katna stream, rumours of which reach- Nov. 7th. ing Brigadier Troup, he moved down to Maholi, crossed there, and next day found himself before the fort. Firoz Nov. 8th. Shah with some 500 men and two guns disputed the way, while Khán Bahádur with a large force was waiting on the other road. Colonel Brind placed Captain Cox with the heavy guns, as well as the thick foliage permitted it to be seen, in front of the south face, and the mortars under Captain Stubbs to the right of the guns a little way off before the south-east bastion. Lieutenant E. T. Hume, with a division of Remmington's Troop, and Ensign T. Bird, Provost-

* Captain W. F. Cox of this company had just come out from home and joined it in camp at Pasgáwan on the 23rd of October. Captain Stubbs was retained with the column, his services being required.

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Marshal, assisted in serving the latter. The shelling continued till dusk and was at first vigorously replied to, but their fire gradually subsided and at last ceased some time after dark. The 4th Company had one gunner and one ordnance driver killed, Bombardiers Muir and Bradley and two lascars severely wounded. The guns were withdrawn, but the mortars were left in position, covered by two and a half companies of the 60th Rifles under Captain Jenico Preston,* whose admirable disposition of his men averted a threatened attack during the night. Next morning the fort was empty, and Raja Loni Singh got a reprieve. 1858. November.

Firoz Shah, with most of the rebels, had gone towards Aliganj, north-north-east of Mithauli, and Brigadier Troup went with a light column in pursuit, on the 17th; Colonel Remmington being sick, 2nd-Captain Mercer had command of his Troop. The enemy were come up with in the evening, and after the exchange of some shots retreated, but could not be pursued in the dark. The distance marched was 28 miles.

Next day, Lieut.-Colonel Brind went on with the Troop, carrying 36 Riflemen on the carriages; a squadron of the Carabiniers, under Captain Bott; 359 of the 4th Irregular Cavalry, under Captain Hall; and 100 of the Multáni Regiment, under Lieutenant Dixon. Following the tracks of the rebels who were retreating, they came upon them, after a long march of 25 miles in anything but a straight line, near Mehndi, and at once opened upon them with the guns, the Riflemen acting as skirmishers. Three guns took them in flank, and before long the rebels abandoned their guns, which were taken, nine in number, one only being carried off. This very creditable affair concluded, the force returned and rejoined the rest of the column, which, under Colonel Leith Hay, 93rd Highlanders, met them at Hargaon.

The column then moved by Talgaon on Biswán, where Firoz Shah was posted. They avoided direct attack when Dec. 1st.

* Now Viscount Gormanston, K.C.M.G., Governor of Tasmania.

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1858. Dec. 1st. the light guns went forward, but a large body of 800 Cavalry, supported by guns and Infantry, went at Cureton on the right flank, who formed front to that side and countercharged, making straight for the nakkáras,* chased them back into the topes, and drove the gunners from their guns. Had Brigadier Troup pressed home his success, all might have been captured, and he was not one who drew rein willingly, but Lord Clyde was anxious to push back the rebels by degrees towards the hills, and orders were, it was supposed, given not to press them too hard.

But Firoz Shah managed to slip through the line of columns and crossed the Ganges on the 7th, making again for Central India, where he joined Tantia Topi. Of his ultimate fate after February, 1859, nothing appears to be known.

Brigadier Troup's column moved northwards. There was no more organised resistance. 'Ismail Khan gave himself up to Troup on the 4th. The head men of villages began to bring in guns. Troup's regiments formed three detachments, placed along the line of the River Ghogra under the hills, watching the ferries and fords, till in February they were ordered (G.O.C.C., 20th January) into quarters.

BRIGADIER BARKER'S COLUMN.

October. Brigadier G. R. Barker,† R.A., was placed in command of a column in the month of October. He had been commanding at Lucknow during the absence of Sir Hope Grant. It consisted of two squadrons of the 2nd D.G. (Queen's Bays), some Native Cavalry, three Companies 88th, 100 of the 3rd Battalion Rifle Brigade, and a Police Battalion. Of Artillery he had the 3rd-1st No. 17 F.B. (Major A. Pearson),‡ 2nd-3rd No. 12 F.B. (Lieutenant

* Small kettle-drums carried by Cavalry; beaten to keep the men together and as a signal for charging.

† Made K.C.B. in 1859.

‡ In temporary command of this Company. Captain Mackinnon posted to it had not then joined.

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W. Dowell),* a detail of 3rd-8th R.A. (Lieutenant W. S. Brown), and the Headquarters with a detail of the 6th-11th R.A. (Lieutenant Tracey).† Major Goodenough, of 6th-11th, was senior Artillery Officer‡ at first. Captain J. McC. Campbell was Depy.-Asst. Qr.-Mr.-General. The heavy ordnance were one 18-pounder, one 8-inch howitzer, two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars. 1858. October.

The rebels had taken up a position in force at Sandila, where Brigadier Barker attacked them on the 8th, defeating them after a severe fight, in which his casualties were large. They were followed up; a small affair took place at Jamu, four miles from Sandila, and on the 21st the fort of Birwa was attacked and taken. Lieutenants Tracey and Brown commanded the mortars here. Brigadier Barker, after this, was mainly occupied in keeping guard, and when Troup's column had defeated the rebels at Biswa on the 1st of December, he joined him there on the 3rd, returning three days after to Bari. In the meantime Firoz Shah had slipped round the left of Troup's column, and, as has been said, got across the Ganges. It was reported that Lord Clyde considered that Barker had erred in not remaining at Bari in rear, where he might have intercepted Firoz Shah. While, however, all sources of information were open to the rebel leader, ours was picked up by our Irregular Cavalry, and did not extend very far from the column. The communications between the different columns was, perhaps, not quite as perfect as it should have been; but had Brigadier Barker been at Bari, Firoz Shah would not willingly have given him the chance of another action.

* Lieut.-Colonel H. A. Carleton, C.B., at home on sick leave.

† Lieutenant Cuthbert had not joined from Lucknow. Lieutenant Tarleton was commanding another detail at that station.

‡ His rank as Brevet-Major was the same as Major Pearson's, but as Captain in the Army he was the senior. They respectively commanded the Royal and Bengal Artillery. G.O.C.C., 25th October, directed that when the Artillery of different services were together, the senior officer should command the whole. Pearson then, as 1st Captain, was the senior regimentally.

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1858. October.

Sir Hope Grant's Movements.

The Artillery in and about Oudh was stationed as follows at the end of September :—

Lucknow.—2nd-3rd H.A., Major E. K. Money ; 3rd-8th R.A., Major Maude, V.C. ; 6th-11th R.A., F.B., Major Goodenough ; 6th-13th R.A., Major Soady* ; 2nd-3rd No. 12 F.B., Major H. Le G. Bruce.

Fatehgarh.—7th-14th R.A., Major C. H. Smith; 3rd Sikh Co., Captain G. Holland.

Cawnpore.—3rd-1st No. 17 F.B., Major Mackinnon; 3rd-5th, Major Pearson.

Fatehpur.—Half E R.H.A., Lieutenant Torriano ; C 5th Madras Artillery.

Allahabad.—4th-14th R.A., Lieut.-Colonel S. E. Gordon.

Nawábganj.—1st-1st H.A., Major H. Le G. Bruce,† Det. 6-13th.

Faizabad.—F R.H.A., Major Yates‡ ; 5th-12th R.A., Q Batt., Major A. C. Johnson.

Sultanpur.—Det. 2nd-3rd H.A., Second-Captain F. H. McLeod ; 5th-13th R.A., Heavy Batt., Major Talbot ; Det. Q Batt., Lieutenant Strange.

Azimgarh.—8th-2nd R.A., Major J. E. Thring.

Benares.—5th-3rd R.A., Major G. C. Henry.

Dinapore.—4th-5th No. 11, Captain Swinhoe ; Det. A 3rd Madras Artillery.

Patna.—A 3rd Madras Artillery, Major Cotter.

Sir Hope Grant resumed operations in October. Major Raikes, Madras Fusiliers, was sent with 500 Infantry, a troop 7th Hussars, and Lieutenant Rideout's division of F R.H.A. towards Jalalpur. On the 13th he came up with a party of rebels some 4,000 strong, crossing the Tons River

* Appointed, not joined. 2nd-Captain C. J. Tyler, posted on promotion, joined the Battery on the 28th of August, and commanded it till Major Soady came out.

† Acting for Lieut.-Colonel H. A. Olpherts, who returned from home in December.

‡ Major Hon. D. M'D. Fraser appointed, not joined.

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near Shahpur, attacked and routed them, taking two guns. Returning to Sultanpur by Akbarpur and Haidarganj, he disarmed the followers of Sarup Singh whom he had captured, and the gates of whose fort were blown up by Lieutenant Rideout. 1858. October.

Brigadier Horsford, hearing that some rebels with guns were again in the direction of the Kándu Naddi, moved out from Sultanpur at 2 a.m. on the 20th. The right divisions of F R.H.A., under Lieutenant F. Lyon, and of Q Battery, under Lieutenant T. B. Strange, some of the 7th Hussars, Irregular Cavalry, and Infantry. Twelve miles off they reached rather dense jungle traversed by the road. Along this the guns and Infantry went, the Cavalry keeping outside, so as to cut the rebels off. Fifteen of the Hussars, four Sowars, and the Staff accompanied the guns. On nearing the rebels they began to run for it, so the Brigadier followed up with the Artillery and mounted escort. Passing several straggling Sepoys, who bolted into the jungle, after two or three miles they came on a body of them in rapid retreat. The leading gun came into action at 100 yards. A 6-pounder shot made them disperse. Before the gun had limbered up, Lieutenant Strange with one of his got in front, and the pursuit was continued. Two or three Sepoys who remained on the road were cut down, one by Lieutenant Strange, or ridden over, and the wagons were overtaken after another mile, the drivers abandoning them. They were going now almost at racing speed,* and a few minutes brought them up to a 9-pounder with eight smoking horses, pumped out. A shout of delight from the gunners as they passed it, and nearly another mile after they came to a 24-pounder howitzer with its horses all in a heap, dropped from exhaustion. Here they pulled up,

* Q Battery was well equipped, not with stud, but with Cape and some Bombay horses, small, but well-bred ; and was fortunate enough to be able to add a pair to the usual teams of six. The Remount Committee at Calcutta in the latter part of 1857, of which Captains Middleton and Sarsfield Greene were members, had done their best to make the batteries efficient in this respect

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1858. October. knowing it was the last. The Cavalry on the flank soon came up, passed on, and captured three elephants.*

The two pieces captured in this six miles' chase were our own. The Brigadier's dispatch says they belonged to the famous Jalálabád battery, and bore the Mural Crown. If this were so it would have delighted the heart of its former commander, now the Inspector-General of Ordnance, Major-General Augustus Abbott, C.B. The native gunners were proud of them, and attached a virtue to them above that of common guns; so it is not unlikely that they kept them as long as they could.

Immediately afterwards Brigadier Horsford was out on another expedition towards Mohana with the Cavalry, Horse Artillery, and 2nd Batt. Rifle Brigade. The fort† there, about six miles from Jagdispur, was deserted and was Oct. 28th. blown up. The mounted part of the force pursued the rebels and drove them over the Gumti, accomplishing forty miles in addition to thirty on the day before.

November. On the 1st of November a parade in review order was held here, as in all stations, and by all other forces in the field, to hear read the Queen's Proclamation assuming the direct Sovereignty of India.

It will be necessary now to go back a little. When Lord Clyde went against Lucknow in March Major C. H. Smith's Company (7th-14th R.A.) was left at Fatehgarh. April-May. Subsequently Captain C. E. Walcott and Lieutenant H. Edmeades were detached to Etawa, whence they proceeded down the Jumna to Shergarh Ghat in May, while Sir Hugh Rose was advancing on Kalpi a little lower down, encountering and dispersing some bodies of insurgents. Colonel Riddell, with the 3rd Europeans and Alexander's Horse from Agra, composed the force. They had an affair with

* The account of this exciting chase is from a very graphic one which General Sir R. Biddulph kindly wrote out for me, corroborated in all essential particulars by the dispatch and other letters.

† Katari in Sir W. Cope's "History of the Rifle Brigade."

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some of the rebels flying from Sir Hugh Rose on the other bank, and captured their tents. 1858. May 25th.

The 3rd Company 1st Battery and No. 17 F.B.* in the end of December, 1857, was sent to Fatehgarh with a division under Lieutenant Hare at Mainpuri for about a month. It then joined Colonel Maxwell's force, Lieut.-Colonel C. H. Blunt, C.B., being in command, and with it crossed the Ganges on the 20th of May, and was engaged with Sir Hugh Rose's army in the operations against Kalpi on the 21st and 22nd, ending with its capture on the 23rd of that month.

To settle accounts with the Raja of Amethi, Rám Gholam of Rampur Kasia, and Beni Mádho of Shankarpur, Sir Hope Grant was moving from the north-east, Brigadier Evelegh from the north-west, and Brigadiers E. Wetherall and Pinckney from the east and south. Lord Clyde was also in this part of Oudh, superintending the clearance of the province. Brigadier Wetherall had with him E Troop R.H.A., now commanded by Major W. A. Middleton,† and the 3rd-14th, Major W. G. Le Mesurier.‡ He was to co-operate with Sir Hope Grant against Rampur Kasia, but finding himself in front of that place on the morning of the 3rd, he attacked forthwith, fortunately—for the fort was a strong one—on a side where the ramparts were incomplete, and took the place with 23 guns and a loss of 78 killed and wounded, November.

* Captain Mackinnon posted G.O.C.C. 19th July, *vice* Blunt to 4th-3rd H.A. Sub-officers Lieutenants H. E. Harington (to 3rd-3rd H.A., March, 1858), R. T. Hare (sick leave in July), E. L. Hawkins (posted in December, 1857), J. Sconce, D. S. Pemberton (posted in January 1858), and W. Gully (posted in April).

† With 2nd-Captain S. M. Grylls, Lieutenants F. C. H. Lyon, W. J. Hall, and Maxwell. Captain Michell and 2nd-Captain Torriano had gone home on promotion.

‡ With Lieutenants Staveley and Oliver, Assistant-Surgeon Horton. This Battery had gone from Shahjahanpur to Fatehgarh, and there was ordered to join Sir H. Rose before Gwalior. It only got as far as Dolpur, June 20th, whence it was sent back to Agra. Gwalior having been taken, after three weeks it was sent to Allahabad, where it received a Heavy Battery and joined the force at Soraon.

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1858. November. earning thereby a reprimand from the Commander-in-Chief. Sir Hope Grant, hearing the firing, came up with the Cavalry and Horse Artillery after the capture.

Six days after, Sir Hope Grant was at Ramnagar, a mile north-north-east of Amethi. Like the other place, it was an extensive entrenchment of three or four miles in circumference, jungle inside and out, but not as strongly built as Rampur. Its Raja surrendered and gave up 16 guns.

June. In the month of June Sir Hope Grant found it necessary, in order to keep open the communication with Cawnpore, to station a force at Nawábganj in the Unao district. It consisted of the 1st-1st B.H.A., under temporary command of Major H. Le G. Bruce,* the 1st Sikh Cavalry, 20th Foot, and Captain Charles Chamberlain's Military Police. It was placed under Brigadier Evelegh. He attacked and dispersed a body of rebels at Husainganj, between Mohan

August. and Rasulabad, on the 8th of August, and again at Mianganj on the 5th of October.

November. In the beginning of November he marched to co-operate with the other column, immediately under the Commander-in-Chief. At Purwa he was joined by Lieutenant H. Latham with a detachment of the 3rd-5th from Cawnpore and some heavy guns. There were affairs with different bodies of rebels at Morarmau on the 8th, Simri on the 9th, which was taken again, the heavy guns coming into use, and on the 17th at Bera, whence the heavy guns were sent on to Rai Bareli. Brigadier Evelegh went then to Dhundia Khera, accompanied by Lord Clyde, dislodging the rebels on the 24th. Major H. Le G. Bruce with Lieutenants Manderson and Barnes and four guns of the 1st-1st H.A. were employed on this service. Lieutenant Manderson was for the time placed in charge of the heavy guns, Lieutenant Latham having only lately joined the regiment; he was, indeed, the

* When Lieut.-Colonel H. A. Olpherts went home on sick leave the command of this Troop was given for the time to his cousin, Major W. Olpherts, V.C., who, being elected one of the Prize Agents, was replaced by Major Le G. Bruce.

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junior officer of the Bengal Artillery on service during the Mutiny. 1858. November.

Two other columns were sent up along the banks of the Ganges to clear that part. With one, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel S. E. Gordon, R.A., the right and left divisions of the 4th-14th R.A., Captain C. Johnston, Lieutenants Gilmour and Egan, went. With the other, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Brett, 54th Regiment, the centre division of the same Battery, under Lieutenant Cottingham, operated on the left bank.

Lord Clyde now prepared to drive the remaining rebels up towards Nipal. Most of the different chiefs in Oudh, watched as they were by detached columns, were beginning to refrain from open hostility,* and civil authority to resume its functions; but the remnants of the mutinied regiments still remained, broken in spirit, but conscious, many of them, that their past deeds deserved no pardon, while others whose hands were not stained with the blood of British subjects outside of fair fight, yet dreaded accepting the gracious terms of Her Majesty's Proclamation.† These had crossed the Gogra. Troup's and Barker's columns were closing them up on the north-west; other detachments watched the line of that river to Bahramghat, and Rowcroft's force sealed up the outlet towards Gorakhpur and Azimgarh.

Sir Hope Grant was sent to Faizabad. The force there under Brigadier Taylor, C.B., consisted of the 53rd, 79th, and 1st Sikh Regiments; wings of the Queen's Bays and 9th Lancers, Major Hughes' 1st P.C. and Daly's (Hodson's) Horse; E R.H.A., Major Middleton, C.B.; ‡ 3rd-1st H.A.,

* Beni Mádho, the Nána and his brother, Bála Rao, were with the miscellaneous force of Sepoys and other rebels beyond the Gogra.

† On my way from Oudh to Rawál Pindi in March, 1859, I passed numerous parties of disbanded Sepoys going to their homes. The look of almost all was one of undisguised hate. A melancholy change from what I remembered it to have been two short years before.

‡ Sub. Off. Lieutenants F. Lyon and Maxwell.

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1858. November. Major Moir; * four guns of Q Battery R.A., Captain A. C. Johnson; † 3rd-14th R.A., Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Le Mesurier with Heavy Battery.‡

Nov. 23rd. Brigadier Horsford, at Jagdispur§ south of the Gumti, was obliged to detach a force against some rebels collected a little higher up the river. Colonel Galwey, with a portion of his regiment, the Madras Fusiliers, and the left division of F R.H.A., under Lieutenant H. T. Arbuthnot, went. They got to, and took the fort of Rehora on the Gumti, and then on to Koeli, but here Captain Scott, Madras Engineers, was killed. They returned to Horsford's camp, now at Mohana, the same day. Another fight with Beni Mádho's followers took place on the 29th, in which the right and centre divisions of the Troop under Lieutenants Lyon and Rideout were employed. They had two men badly wounded. Brigadier Horsford's column then marched to Lucknow, joined that under Lord Clyde, and returned with it to Bahramghat.

Sir Hope Grant crossed the Gogra on the 27th o November, and attacked the rebels on the other side under a fire from his heavy guns. They retreated, carrying off all their guns but one, and two more abandoned, as the Cavalry and Horse Artillery followed. As they increased the pace, nearing the rebels, the latter opened with grape; but Major Middleton's speed got his guns within the range they had laid for, and he came into action without much harm. Four more guns were captured, and the force returned to camp.

Dec. 6th. Sir Hope next had a brush with some of them at

* Off. 2nd-Captain A. Fraser, Lieutenants C. G. Robinson and E. Fraser. It did not accompany Sir Hope Grant's column, but joined Lord Clyde's.

† Sub. Off. Lieutenants Burnaby and Majendie.

‡ Sub. Off. Lieutenants Stavely and J. R. Oliver.

§ Artillery with this column were E R.H.A.; right division Q Battery, Lieutenant Strange; and 5th-13th with heavy guns, Major H. L. Talbot. Lieutenant Strange rejoined his Battery shortly after, and being invalided on account of fever, his place was taken by Lieutenant H. Le G. Geary.

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Machligaon, where a large force of rebels at the edge of a jungle opened upon a picquet of ours. Lieutenant Maxwell, with two guns, replied, and the main body coming up with the rest of E Troop, they were driven back and two of their three guns captured. The column went on to Bankasia, occupying the fort; and then by Gonda to Sikrora, whence it got to Balrampur, the Raja of which place had been faithful. Brigadier Rowcroft's column, with Captain Sotheby's Naval Brigade, was at Hir, south of the Banki Rapti River, and Sir Hope Grant, hearing that Bála Ráo was at Tulsipur, directed him to go against him. Brigadier Rowcroft accordingly crossing the river, attacked Bála Ráo, capturing two guns, but he carried off the rest, of which he had a considerable number. Want of Cavalry prevented him doing more.

1858. Dec. 6th. Dec. 7th. Dec. 9th.

Bála Ráo had gone eastward, and Sir Hope, to prevent his escape, moved to Tulsipur, thence to Dhokahari,* on the border of the Gorakhpur district, and then northward to Pacharoa, where he learned that the Mahráta chief was at Kandakot. He ordered Brigadier Taylor, who had been left with the 53rd Regiment and some Horse Artillery at the west side of Tulsipur, to move up, and with Rowcroft's column concentrating on the rebels, attacked them there. They would not stand, but left all their guns, 15 in number, and ran. One miserable Sepoy was taken, half intoxicated with bhang. He said they were in a wretched state, and starving.

December. 1859. January 4th.

Lord Clyde, meanwhile, had come from Bahramghat to Faizabad. His force consisted of some of the Carabiniers, the 7th Hussars, Daly's Horse, 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade, 20th Regiment, and Biluch Battalion. The Artillery were F R.H.A., and a Division of the 2nd-3rd H.A. under 2nd-Captain F. H. McLeod, which did not cross the Gogra, but remained at Faizabad.

1858. December.

The force crossed the Gogra on the 11th, and moving by

* Dulhurree in Sir Hope Grant's Journal; but the above appears to be the place. Name taken from an Ordnance map.

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1858. December. Nawábganj and Parspur, got to Sikrora on the 14th; Sir Hope Grant left this place the same day for Bahampur. Then on by Karmalapur to Bahraich. Here Colonel Dec. 19th. Christie's Column, 5th P.C., wing 80th Regiment, Major Moir's Troop H.A., and Major Talbot's heavy guns, joined. Dec. 23rd. It crossed the Sarju River, and encamped 15 miles north-west of the cantonment, where it was detained two days by Dec. 26th. rain. Then a long march northwards brought them up with the rebels at 3 p.m. The Horse Artillery and Cavalry turned their left, and pursued till dark; six guns were captured. Lord Clyde's horse came down with him, giving the old Chief a nasty fall, dislocating the shoulder.

Dec. 27th. Next day the march was continued. The fort of Masjidia was captured after a two hours' fight, and eight more guns taken. A move back to Nánpára, and then an advance to Banki brought them once more before the Dec. 31st. rebels, drawn up in front of jungle. They retired before the guns and Cavalry, who for nearly an hour tried to dislodge them from the cover. The Infantry coming up, drove them through, and the Cavalry, with guns, again going to the front, forced them into the Rapti, where numbers were killed or drowned. Major Horne, 7th Hussars, and some of his men were also drowned in following them up. Five guns were captured, and the force got back to camp at sunset, the Horse Artillery having been in the saddle since eight o'clock the previous evening.

1859. January. Major Moir's Troop, left at Nánpára with Christie's column, joined on the 4th, and F R.H.A. went to Bahraich. The Commander-in-Chief now went back, having sent for Sir Hope Grant to Chandarpur, and left to him the task of completing the work of guarding the hundred miles of frontier towards Nipal. Permission was given by Jang Bahádur to enter the Nipal country, and Brigadier Horsford, entering the Sonar Valley, crossed the Rapti and came up with some rebels, from whom he captured 14 guns. Colonel Kelly, C.B., twice chased others near Feb.-April. Butwal, taking more guns. Colonel Beauchamp Walker,

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of the Queen's Bays, captured the fort of Bangaon in the same direction, and Sir Hope Grant, in May, had the last conflict with the miserable remnants of a once fine army. 1859. Feb.-April.

Long before this most of the troops and batteries had been ordered into cantonments or quarters. It was the first time some of them had enjoyed this comfort since the commencement of the outbreak or their landing in India. Major Moir's Troop, and half of the 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade, under Lieutenant R. R. Franks, were retained beyond the Gogra for some time longer. F Troop R.H.A. went to Meerut; E to Sitapur; the 5th-3rd, under Major G. C. Henry, was for a time employed watching the hills; and Colonel Maude's Company was ordered to England; 6th-11th went to Benares; Q Battery to Gorakhpur; 5th and 6th-13th to Lucknow; 3rd-14th to Allahabad; 4th-14th to Rai Bareli; and 7th-14th at Fatehgarh.

And the land had rest.

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AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THIS CHAPTER.

General and Regimental Orders.

Army Lists and Muster Rolls.

Papers laid before Parliament.

"Incidents in the Sepoy War," Sir H. Grant's Journal. Edited by Colonel H. Knollys.

Malleson's "History of the Indian Mutiny."

"History of the Rifle Brigade," by Sir W. Coke.

Letters and Journals of various Officers. Major-Generals H. T. Arbuthnot's and Rideout's Journals and the "History of the Rifle Brigade," giving as they do names of halting places, are most valuable means of identifying them and tracing movements, especially when the distances marched are given.

APPENDIX.

A. Officers of the Royal Artillery in the Presidency of Bengal who served in the field, 1857-58-59.

B. Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the suppression of the rebellion, 1857-58-59.

C. Officers of the Bengal Artillery killed in action or who died of wounds or disease incident on service.

D. Officers of the Madras Artillery who served in the Bengal Presidency during the Sepoy War.

E. Warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers who were granted commissions for good service.

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NOTE A.

Officers of the Royal Artillery in the Presidency of Bengal who served in the field during the Sepoy War of 1857-58-59.

On the Staff.

Major-General Sir J. E. Dupuis, K.C.B.
Major-General Sir D. E. Wood, K.C.B.
Brigadier W. T. Crawford, C.B.
Brigadier Sir G. R. Barker, K.C.B.
Bt.-Colonel C. J. B. Riddell, C.B.
Lieut.-Colonel E. Maberly, C.B.
Lieut.-Colonel J. M. Adye, C.B.
Bt.-Major D. S. Greene.
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel W. W. Barry, W.
Captain A. M. Calvert.
Bt.-Major C. F. Young
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel N. O. S. Turner, C.B.
Bt.-Major J. McC. Campbell.
2nd-Captain G. J. Smart.
Lieutenant R. Biddulph.
Lieutenant J. C. F. Ramsden.

E Troop R.H.A. (*D, R.H.A.*), *Nov. 7th*, 1857.

Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel J. R. Anderson, C.B.
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel W. A. Middleton, C.B., from 6-13.
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel J. E. Michell, C.B.
2nd-Captain S. M. Grylls, from 5-3.
Lieutenant C. E. Torriano, prom.
Lieutenant F. L. H. Lyon.
Lieutenant S. J. M. Maxwell, W.

F Troop R.H.A. (*G, R.H.A.*), *Nov. 7th*, 1857.

Bt.-Colonel Sir C. L. D'Aguilar, K.C.B., prom.
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel Hon. D. McD. Fraser, C.B., from 6-7.
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel H. P. Yates, C.B., prom.
2nd-Captain E. Markham.
Lieutenant F. Lyon, prom.
Lieutenant H. T. Arbuthnot.
Lieutenant A. K. Rideout.

8th Co. 2nd Batt. (*20th Field Battery*), *Dec. 6th*, 1857.

Bt.-Major J. E. Thring.
2nd-Captain W. N. Waller.
Lieutenant R. C. Smith.
Lieutenant S. C. Kyle.
Lieutenant J. Robertson.

5th Co. 3rd Batt. (*Field Batt.*) (*13th Field Batt.*), *Jan. 15th*, 1858.

Captain E. E. R. Dyneley.
2nd-Captain S. M. Grylls, to E Troop.
Lieutenant C. R. Franklen.
Lieutenant T. G. Poulden.
Lieutenant H. L. Mitchell.

4th Co. 5th Batt. (*11th Co. S Div.*), *detail, June 13th*, 1857.

Captain W. N. Hardy, K.
Lieutenant A. Ford.

K = Killed. W = Wounded.

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NOTE A—*continued.*

3rd Co. 8th Batt. (*Reduced* 1871), *June 13th*, 1857.

Bt.-Major F. J. Travers, W.	2nd-Captain E. Maitland.
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel F. C. Maude, C.B., V.C.	Lieutenant W. S. Brown.

6th Co. 11th Batt. (*65th Field Batt.*), *Dec. 6th*, 1857.

Bt.-Major W. H. Goodenough.	Lieutenant H. A. Tracey, W.
Lieutenant E. C. Cuthbert.	Lieutenant E. de L. Tarleton.

5th Co. 12th Batt. Q Field Batt. (*8th Field Batt.*), *Dec. 28th*, 1857.

Bt.-Major J. R. Gibbon, W.	Lieutenant A. D. Burnaby.
Bt.-Major A. C. Johnson.	Lieutenant V. D. Majendie.
Lieutenant T. B. Strange, from Staff, March 1858.	Lieutenant H. Le G. Geary, joined December, 1858.

5th Co. 13th Batt. (*66th Field Batt.*), *Sept. 18th*, 1857.

Bt.-Major C. S. Longden.	Lieutenant M. H. Fitzmaurice.
Bt.-Major H. L. Talbot.	Lieutenant E. S. Burnett.
Lieutenant F. G. E. Warren.	

6th Co. 13th Batt. (*67th Field Batt.*), *Sept. 18th*, 1857.

Bt.-Major W. A. Middleton, to E, R.H.A.	Bt.-Major C. J. Tyler, joined 28th of August, 1858.
Bt.-Major F. J. Soady, joined December, 1858.	Lieutenant W. D. Milman.
Bt.-Major J. F. Pennycuick	Lieutenant W. Smith.
	Lieutenant C. H. Pickering.

3rd Co. 14th Batt. (*Reduced* 1863), *Nov. 7th*, 1857.

Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Le Mesurier, C.B.	Lieutenant E. Staveley.
	Lieutenant J. R. Oliver.
Lieutenant H. C. S. Dyer, from Staff.	Lieutenant C. D. Chalmers.

4th Co. 14th Batt. (*68th Field Batt.*), *Oct. 25th*, 1857.

Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel S. E. Gordon, C.B.	Lieutenant W. Gilmour.
	Lieutenant E. Egan.
2nd-Captain C. Johnston.	Lieutenant E. R. Cottingham.

7th Co. 14th Batt. (*Reduced* 1863), *Oct. 25th*, 1857.

Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel C. H. Smith, C.B.	Lieutenant F. A. Whinyates.
	Lieutenant H. Edmeades.
Bt.-Major C. E. Walcott.	Lieutenant J. C. Auchinleck.

N.B.—The date after the number of each Troop or Company is the date of arrival in India.

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NOTE B.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the suppression of the Rebellion in India, 1857-1859.

—	—	Siege or Defence of					Operations in or about								
		Delhi.	Cawnpore.	Resid. Lucknow.	Relief of Lucknow.	Capture of Lucknow.	Punjab.	Dinapore to Lucknow.	Delhi, Agra, Doab	Cawnpore.	Rohilkhand.	Oudh.	East of Oudh.	South of Jumna.	Minor Services.
Col. E. G. Dixon	Pol. Emp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
Maj.-Gen. Sir A. Wilson, K.C.B.	Staff	p	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Col. H. Garbett	6 Batt.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brig. R. Horsford...	3 Batt.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
,, F. Brind, C.B.	Staff	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Col. J. L. Mowatt...	3 Bde.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maj.-Gen. Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B.	Civ. Emp.	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Major F. R. Bazely	Ord. Dep.	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Col. F. Gaitskell, C.B. ...	8 Batt.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lt.-Col. G. F. C. Fitzgerald ...	Gurkha F.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...
Major G. Larkins	7 Batt.	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Col. G. H. Macgregor, C.B.	Gurkha F.	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...
,, J. Brind, C.B.	1 Batt.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...
,, R. R. Kinleside ...	2 Bde.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lt.-Col. J. H. Campbell	3 Batt.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, A. Huyshe ...	4 C. 5 / 5 Batt.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
Bt.-Major G. L. Cooper	2 T. 2	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Col. Sir R. C. Shakespear ...	Pol. Emp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
Lt.-Col. E. W. S. Scott	3 C. 3-14	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Col. V. Eyre, C.B.	1 C. 5	...	...	p*	p	p†	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Col. M. Mackenzie	4 T. 1	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, M. Dawes	3 T. 1	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, C. Hogge, C.B.	Ord. Dep.	p	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, F. Turner, C.B. ...	3 T. 3	p	...	...	p	p	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...
Lt.-Col. H. A. Carleton, C.B. ...	2 C. 3-12	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...
,, G. Kirby	6 C. 8-15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
,, T. J. W. Hungerford, C.B.	2 C. 6-8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
Bt. Lt.-Col. J. Abercrombie ...	4 T. 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
,, J. H. Smyth, C.B. ...	5 T. 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...	p
Bt.-Major E. K. Money	2 T. 3	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, W. Maxwell	D.P.W	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
,, C. Douglas	Dep.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
Bt.-Lt.-Col. E. Kaye ...	4-1 / 2 T. 2	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...
Capt. C. H. Dickens ...	D.P.W.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
Bt.-Major H. Hammond	3 C. 3-14	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	p	...	p	...	...	...	...
,, A. Robertson	G.C.A.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Lt.-Col. G. Bourchier, C.B. ...	3 C. 1-17	p	...	...	p	...	p	...	p	p	...	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Major G. Moir ...	3 C. 5 / 3 T. 1	...	...	...	...	p†	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...
,, J. Young	D.P.W.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* Second part. † Alám Bágh, Nov.—March.

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NOTE B—*continued.*

—	—	Siege or Defence of					Operations in or about						
		Delhi.	Cawnpore.	Resid. Lucknow.	Relief of Lucknow.	Capture of Lucknow.	Punjab.	Dinapore to Lucknow.	Delhi, Agra Doab.	Cawnpore.	Rohilkhand.	Oudh.	East of Oudh.
Bt.-Lt.-Col. W. Olpherts... ...	2 C. 3-12	...	...	p*	p	p†	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
,, H. A. Olpherts ...	1 T. 1	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
Capt. R. C. H. B. Fagan... ...	D.P.W.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, A. P. Simons	2 C. 8-2	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Col. H. Tombs, C.B., V.C. ...	2 T. 1	p	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
Bt.-Major A. G. Austen	1-17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...
Capt. C. W. Timbrell	2 C. 7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, E. A. C. D'Oyly	2 C. 5-21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Major W. A. Mackinnon	2 T. 3 3 C. 1-17	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
Capt. W. B. Marshall	1 C. 3-4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Lt.-Col. F. F. Remmington, C.B.	1 T. 1 3 T. 3	p	...	...	p	p	...	...	p	p	...	p	...
Capt. H. Francis	4 C. 1	...	...	...	...	p†	...	...	...	...	p	p	...
Bt.-Major H. Le G. Bruce	4 C. 5 2 C. 3-12 1 T. 1 dd.	...	...	...	p‡	...	...	...	...	p	...	p	...
Capt. D. McNeill	Gurkha F.	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
Bt.-Lt.-Col. E. B. Johnson, C.B.	Staff	p	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, H. H. Maxwell ...	Nav. Bde.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Major T. E. Kennion... ...	8 Batt.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, A. Light ...	Recr. Dep. 2 C. 5	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Lt.-Col. C. H. Blunt, C.B.	2 T. 1 3-1-17	p	...	...	p	p	...	...	p	p	...	...	...
Bt.-Major C. Cookworthy...	3 T. 1 4 C. 6	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	p	...	p	...	...
,, W. C. Russell	Ord. Dep.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p
,, A. Pearson ...	Gwal. Cont. 2 C. 5 3 C. 1	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	p	...	...	p	...
Capt. G. Holland	Gurkha F.	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
,, H. M. Boddam	D.P.W.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, J. A. Angelo	6 Batt.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, J. E. Watson	4 Batt.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
Bt.-Major A. Bunny	3 Bde.	p	...	...	p	p	...	...	p	...	...	...	...
Capt. W. J. Gray	8 Batt.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, W. F. Cox	4 C. 4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
Bt.-Major G. A. Renny, V.C. ...	5 T. 1	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...
Capt. H. V. Timbrell	1 C. 3	...	...	...	...	p§	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, J. C. Griffiths	Ord. Dep.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Major E. W. E. Walker	4 T. 1 1 C. 5-3	...	...	...	p	p§	...	...	p	...	p	...	...

* Second part. † Alám Bágh, Nov.—March. ‡ On Staff.
§ Alám Bágh, Jan.—March.

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NOTE B—*continued.*

—	—	Siege or Defence of					Operations in or about							
		Delhi.	Cawnpore.	Resid. Lucknow.	Relief of Lucknow.	Capture of Lucknow.	Punjab.	Dinapore to Lucknow.	Delhi, Agra, Doab.	Cawnpore.	Rohilkhand.	Oudh.	East of Oudh.	South of Jumna.	Minor Services.
pt. W. A. Mylne	Gurkha F.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...
eut. C. Dempster	7 Batt.	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
pt. C. H. Cookes	1 T. 3	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, A. H. Heath	D.P.W.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, W. D. Couchman ...	4 T. 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	p	...
	1 T. 1														
.-Major H. P. Bishop ...	3 T. 3	p	...	...	...	p	...	...	p	...	p	p	...	...	...
	3 Bde.														
apt. F. R. De Bude	4 T. 3	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, E. H. Hildebrand ...	3 C. 4	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
t.-Major C. S. Lemarchand	Gwal. Cont.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
	2 C. 6														
apt. L. Machell	Ord. Dep.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...
t.-Major J. S. Frith ...	1 H.A.	p	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
ieut. G. Baillie	St. Emp.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, J. Fulton	D.P.W.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, T. H. Salt	3 Batt.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, G. O. Rybot ...	D.P.W.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
,, A. O. Mayne ...	Staff	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
nd-Capt. A. Fraser ...	3 T. 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p*	...	...	...
,, E. Simeon ...	4 C. 5 dd.	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...
3t.-Major W. T. Brown ...	Ord. Dep.	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...
2nd-Capt. C. M. W. Mercer	3 T. 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...
,, D. Thomson ...	D.P.W.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, W. Dowell ...	†	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	p	p	p	...	...
,, M. C. Sankey ...	Staff	p	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1 T. 1														
Lieut. J. Y. Worthington ...	2 T. 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
,, J. H. Lamb... ...	Civ. Emp.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, D. C. Alexander ...	2 O. I A.	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, G. D. Willoughby ...	Ord. Dep.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, H. G. Perkins ...	2 T. 1	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bt.-Major J. S. Gibb ...	Gurkha F.	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...
2nd-Capt. F. W. Stubbs ...	Recr. Dep.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...
	4 T. 2														
	4 C. 4 dd.														
,, A. Gillespie	1 Sikh Co.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, W. Wilson ...	3 C. 7	p	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...
	1 T. 1														
,, T. A. Dirom	3 T. 3	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...
,, T. N. Harward ...	2 C. 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	p‡	...	p	...	...	...	...	...
,, A. H. Bogle	Gurkha F.	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, F. H. Macleod ...	2 T. 3	p	...	...	p	p	...	...	p	p	...	p	...	...	...

Trans-Gogra.

† In charge of outpost guns at Dacca.
‡ Alám Bágh, Sept.—Nov.

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NOTE B—*continued.*

			Siege or Defence of				Operations in						
—	—	Delhi.	Cawnpore.	Res.d. Lucknow.	Relief of Lucknow.	Capture of Lucknow.	Punjab.	Dinapore to Lucknow.	Delhi, Agra, Doab.	Cawnpore.	Rohilkhand.	Oudh.	East of Oudh.
2nd-Capt. Sir W. Hamilton, Bt.	1 Sikh Co.	p											
Lieut. B. Ashburner ...	2 Batt.		p										
,, H. J. Evans ...	5 T. 1	p									p		
,, H. Murray	3 T. 1	p							p	p		p	
	1 T. 1												
,, T. Nicholl	Ord. Dep												
,, St. G. W. Ashe ...	3 O. I. A.		p										
,, C. W. Maynard ...	5 T. 1										p		
,, A. H. Lindsay ...	1 T. 1	p				p			p				
,, T. P. Smith ...	2 T. 1					p					p		
,, E. L. Earle... ...	D.P.W.	p											
,, E. H. Willoughby...	Surv. Dep.												p
,, G. M. Dobbin ...	1 T. 1						p						
,, T. E. Dickins ...	D.P.W.	p											
,, J. Percival	5 C. 7											p	p
	4 C. 7												
,, P. C. Anderson ...	3 C. 5									p			
,, M. M. Fitzgerald ...	3 C. 3 dd.	p							p				
,, J. A. H. Eckford ...	7 Batt.		p										
,, G. R. Manderson ...	3 T. 2												
	1 T. 1	p			p	p			p			p	
,, H. M. Cadell ...	2 C. 4-1												
	5 T. 1										p		
,, J. McK. Fraser ...	1 C. 5												
	3 C. 5			p*		p†		p					
,, C. E. Lewes ...	1 T. 3						p						
,, D. J. Welsh ...	4 C. 5												p
,, F. S. Roberts, V.C.‡	Staff.	p			p	p			p	p		p	
,, H. O. Hitchens ...	2 C. 7					p			p		p		
,, G. Cracklow ...	3 C. 1-17												
	2 T. 3	p			p	p			p			p	
,, E. P. Lewin ...	4 C. 1			p									
,, E. L. Hawkins ...	1 C. 5-3												§
	3 C. 1-17							p		p			
,, J. H. Bryce ...	3 O. I A.			p									
,, H. E. Harington, V.C.	3 C. 1-17	p			p	p				p		p	
,, R. A. Smith ...	D.P.W.												
,, J. R. Pearson ...	Ord. Dep.												
,, E. Salwey	4 T. 3	p											
,, C. Hunter	2 T. 3	p			p	p			p	p		p	
,, H. D. Jackson ...	2 C. 4	p											
,, G. B. Traill ...	1 T. 1	p											
,, D. W. Gordon ...	1 C. 5					p†		p					

* Second part. † Alám Bágh, Nov.—March.
‡ Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar and Waterford. § Kalpi.

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NOTE B—*continued.*

—	—	Siege or Defence of					Operations in or about							
		Delhi.	Cawnpore.	Resid. Lucknow.	Relief of Lucknow.	Capture of Lucknow.	Punjab.	Dinapore to Lucknow.	Delhi, Agra, Doab.	Cawnpore.	Rohilkhand.	Oudh.	East of Oudh.	South of Jumna.	Minor Services.
C. H. Barnes ...	4 T. 1 1 T. 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
J. Bonham	1 O.I. A.	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
J. Alexander ...	4 C. 1	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
J. Hills, V.C. ...	2 T. 1	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
M. Elliott	3 C. 3-14	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
D. MacFarlan ...	2 O. I A.	...	...	p	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
J. C. G. Price ...	1 C. 1-7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	..
F. J. Cunliffe ...	4 C. 1	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
J. Sconce	3-1-17	p	...	...	p	...	p	...	p	p	...	...	...	...	...
H. A. Mallock ...	2 C. 6-8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
R. R. Franks ...	2 T. 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p*	...	...	...
R. Aislabie	3 C. 7	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C. G. Robinson ...	4 C. 7 3 T. 1	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p*	...	...	...
C. S. S. Taylor ...	3 C. 3-14 3 T. 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...
P. Thompson ...	3 T. 3	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
W. T. Somerville ...	3 C. 8	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
H. L. Jones... ...	2 C. 5-21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...
E. C. Griffin ...	2 C. 5-21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	..	...	...	...	...
J. H. Shuldham ...	6 C. 8	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
A. J. Wake... ...	1 C. 1-7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...
F. V. Eyre	1 C. 3-4 4 T. 3	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
A. H. Davidson ...	3 C. 3-14	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...
E. Fraser	3 T. 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p*	...	...	...
H. Smithett ...	2 C. 3 dd.	...	...	p†	...	p‡	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
R. T. Hare ...	4-6 3-1-17	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...	p§	...
W. Gully	1 C. 4 3 C. 5 dd. 3 C. 1-17	p	...	...	...	p‡	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p§	...
Sir R. de L. St. George, Bart.	Unposted 1 C. 1	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p
H. Chichester ...	Unposted 3 C. 3-14	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...
D. S. Pemberton ...	Unposted 3-1-17	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	p	...
W. R. Craster	Unposted	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E. T. Hume ...	Unposted 2 C. 4 3 T. 3	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	p	...	...	...

* Trans-Gogra. † Second part. ‡ Alám Bágh, Nov.—March. § Kalpi.

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NOTE B—*continued.*

—	—	Siege or Defence of					Operations in or about							
		Delhi.	Cawnpore.	Resid. Lucknow.	Relief of Lucknow.	Capture of Lucknow.	Punjab.	Dinapore to Lucknow.	Delhi, Agra, Doab.	Cawnpore.	Rohilkhand.	Oudh.	East of Oudh.	South of Jumna.
Lieut. J. N. Martin	Unposted	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, T. Ryan	Unposted													
	1 Sikh Co.	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...	...	...
,, G. M. W. Sotheby ...	Unposted	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, F. W. Burney	Unposted	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, W. O'Brien...	Unposted	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, H. Girardot ...	Unposted													
	2 C. 4	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...
	1 C. 1-7													
,, W. J. Stewart ...	4 C. 1													
	1 C. 1-7	...	...	...	...	p*	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...
,, A. Dixon	3-1-17													
	1 T. 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	p	...	...
,, F. Coddington	2 C. 3	...	...	...	...	p*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, E. H. Dyke	Unposted	...	...	...	...	p*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, J. N. Macleay	4 C. 1	...	...	...	...	p*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, A. Swinton...	2 C. 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...
,, H. De G. Warter	1-5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...
,, F. W. Ward ...	3-1-17													
	3 T. 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.	p	...	p†	...	...
,, J. A. Low	4 C. 1	...	...	...	...	p*	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
,, A. S. Heyland	2 C. 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...
,, G. G. Nelson	1-1-7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...	...
,, H. Latham	3 C. 5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...
DOING DUTY.														
Lieut. H. G. Delafosse, 53 N.I....	2 C. 3-12	...	p	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...
,, R. A. Dobbin, 7 N.I. ...	4 C. 5-11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
Ens. M. G. Clerk, 1 N.I... ...	2 C. 3-12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...
,, W. E. D. Broughton, 8 N.I.	4 C. 5-11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...
,, E. B. Ward, 48 N.I. ...	2 C. 3-12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	...
Local Capt. E. O. Bradford ...	Oudh Com.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	p	...	p	...	...

* Alám Bágh, Feb.—March. † Trans-Gogra.

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NOTE C.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery killed in action, or who died of wounds or disease incident on service in the Sepoy War of 1857 1858, 1859.

Bt.-Colonel C. G. Dixon, died 25 June 1857, at Beaur Ajmir
Bt.-Colonel H. Garbett, died 14 January, 1858, of wound at Delhi
Bt.-Colonel F. Brind, C.B., killed 10 July, 1857, at Sialkot
Bt.-Colonel J. L. Mowatt, died 30 May, 1857, at camp, Pipli
Major-General Sir H. L. Lawrence, K.C.B., A.D.C., died 4 July, 1857, of wound at Lucknow
Lieut.-Colonel J. R. Bazely, killed 25 September, 1857, at Lucknow
Major G. Larkins, killed June, 1857, at Cawnpore
Bt.-Major G. L. Cooper, killed 25 September, 1857, at Lucknow
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel M. Mackenzie, died 5 October, 1857, of wound at Delhi
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel T. J. W Hungerford, C.B., died 5 December, 1859, at Melbourne, N.S.W.
Captain A. W. Hawkins, killed 14 June, 1857, at Gwalior
Captain J. Mill, drowned 7 June, 1857, in River Gogra
Bt.-Major A. Robertson, died 17 September, 1857, of wound at Fatehgarh
Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel H. A. Olpherts, died 11 November, 1860, at Landour
Captain R. H. B. Fagan, killed 12 September, 1857, at Delhi
Captain A. P. Simons, died 7 September, 1857, of wounds at Lucknow
Captain E. A. C. D'Oyly, died 7 July, 1857, of wounds at Agra
Lieutenant W. Stewart, killed 15 June, 1857, at Gwalior
Lieutenant C. Dempster, killed 27 June, 1857, at Cawnpore
Lieutenant E. H. Hildebrand, killed 8 September, 1857, at Delhi
Lieutenant A. O. Mayne, killed 14 November, 1857, at Lucknow
Lieutenant J. H. Lamb, died 24 August, 1857, of wounds at Agra
Lieutenant D. C. Alexander, killed 28 September, 1857, at Lucknow
Lieutenant G. D. Willoughby, killed 12 May, 1857, near Delhi

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NOTE C—*continued.*

Lieutenant H. G. Perkins, killed 31 May, 1857, at Hindan
Lieutenant F. H. Turnbull, killed 8 June, 1857, at Jhansi
Lieutenant B. Ashburner, killed 27 June, 1857, at Cawnpore
Lieutenant St. G. Ashe, killed 27 June, 1857, at Cawnpore
Lieutenant E. H. Willoughby, died 27 July, 1860, of wound at Balabetta
Lieutenant T. E. Dickens, died 27 July, 1857, of wound at Delhi
Lieutenant J. A. H. Eckford, killed 27 June, 1857, at Cawnpore
Lieutenant J. McK. Fraser, died 25 July, 1858, of wounds at Lucknow
Lieutenant C. E. Lewes, died 17 November, 1857, at Simla
Lieutenant E. P. Lewin, killed 26 July, 1857, at Lucknow
Lieutenant J. H. Bryce, died 8 August, 1857, of wound at Lucknow
Lieutenant R. A. Smith, died 8 September, 1857, at Allahabad
Lieutenant E. Salwey, died 29 October, 1857, at Simla
Lieutenant D. W. Gordon, killed 8 January, 1857, at Alám Bágh
Lieutenant F. J. Cunliffe, died 22 September, 1857, at Lucknow
Lieutenant R. Currie, drowned 9 June, 1857, River Gogra
2nd-Lieutenant W. T. Somerville, died 5 September, 1857, at Delhi
2nd-Lieutenant S. E. Townsend, killed 19 June, 1857, at Mahoba
2nd-Lieutenant J. H. Shuldham, died 13 February, 1858, at Agra
2nd-Lieutenant J. N. Martin, killed 27 June, 1857, at Cawnpore
2nd-Lieutenant G. M. W. Sotheby, killed 27 June, 1857, at Cawnpore
2nd-Lieutenant F. W. Burney, killed 27 June, 1857, at Cawnpore

Killed in action or murdered	28
Died of wounds	8
Died from other causes	10

Those who died within three days of wound received are set down as killed.

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NOTE D.

Officers of the Madras Artillery who served in the Bengal Presidency during the Sepoy War of 1857, 1858, 1859.

E Troop H.A. (*Native, reduced in* 1862). *Two guns.*

Lieutenant Lionel Bridge	Lieut. Benjamin L. Gordon

A Company 3rd Battalion (*46th Field Battery R.A.*).

Major George S. Cotter	Lieutenant Wm. J. Bradford
Lieutenant Geo. G. J. Campbell to E Troop	Lieut. Stephen H. E. Chamier, dd. from F.H.A.

C Company 5th Battalion (*Native, reduced in* 1862).

Major Sydney Rippon	Lieutenant Fred. E. Hadow
Captain Robert Cadell	Lieutenant S. Penny, A.D.C. to Major-Gen. N. Penny, C.B., Meerut Div.
Captain Chas. Desborough	
Lieutenant Geo. A. Goldingham	

Belonging to Companies not on service.

Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel Wm. A. Orr, Commanding Hyderabad Contingent

Captain J. de Courcy Sinclair, Commanding Artillery Hyderabad Contingent

Captain George G. Pearse, W., Commanding Hariana Cavalry, Assistant Commissioner, Punjab

Lieutenant Lancelot F. C. Thomas, Commissary Ordnance, Lucknow Residency

Lieutenant Elliott M. Playfair, Commanding Artillery, Nagpore Irregular Force

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NOTE E.

Warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers who were granted commissions for good service, 1857-1859.

Ordnance Depart. ...	Asst.-Commy. William Kelly	Lieut. Veteran Est.	12 July 1858
Ordnance Depart. ...	Dept.-Asst.-Commy. James Lamb	Lieut. Veteran Est.	28 Sept. 1858
Ordnance Depart. ...	Dept.-Asst.-Commy. Charles Sheridan	Lieut. Veteran Est.	18 Oct. 1858
Ordnance Depart. ...	Conductor James Leonard ...	Lieut. Veteran Est.	28 April 1860
Ordnance Depart. ...	Conductor John Stotesbury ...	Lieut. Veteran Est.	14 Sept. 1857
Ordnance Depart. ...	Conductor John Buckley, V.C.	Lieut. Veteran Est.	11 May 1857
Ordnance Depart. ...	Sub.-Conductor James Smith	Lieut. Veteran Est.	1 Jan. 1860
1st Brigade H.A. ...	Sergt.-Major Jeremiah O'Brien	Ensign Unattached	20 Sept. 1857
1st Troop 1st Bde....	Staff-Sergt. Michael Lyne ...	Ensign Unattached	18 June 1858
2nd Troop 1st Bde.	Staff-Sergt. James Baxter ...	Ensign Unattached	20 Sept. 1857
2nd Troop 1st Bde.	Sergt. Thos. P. Stevens ...	Ensign Unattached	8 Jan. 1859
3rd Brigade H.A. ...	Sergt.-Major Charles Stroud ...	Ensign Unattached	20 Sept. 1857
3rd Brigade H.A. ...	Qr.-Mr.-Sergt. William Cliff...	Ensign Unattached	20 Sept. 1857
3rd Brigade H.A. ...	Sergt.-Major Thomas Bird ...	Ensign Unattached	16 Aug. 1858
3rd Brigade H.A. ...	Qr.-Mr.-Sergt. J. Norris ...	Ensign Unattached	16 Aug. 1858
2nd Troop 3rd Bde.	Staff-Sergt. Thomas McCarthy	Ensign Unattached	23 July 1858
3rd Troop 3rd Bde.	Sergt. Henry Murray	Ensign Unattached	29 Nov. 1858
1st Battalion ...	Qr.-Mr.-Sergt. John Bray ...	Ensign Unattached	11 May 1858
3rd Battalion ...	Sergt.-Major John McNamara	Ensign Unattached	9 Oct. 1858
2nd Co. 3rd Batt. ...	Staff-Sergt. William Bird ...	Ensign Unattached	24 Feb. 1858
2nd Co. 3rd Batt. ...	Sergt. Patrick Roddy, V.C. ...	Ensign Unattached	24 Feb. 1858
3rd Co. 3rd Batt. ...	Staff-Sergt. John McNally ...	Ensign Unattached	9 Oct. 1858
1st Co. 4th Batt. ...	Sergt. George Masters ...	Ensign Unattached	9 Oct. 1858
4th Co. 4th Batt. ...	Acting-Staff-Sergt. James Milrick	Ensign Unattached	9 Oct. 1858
1st Co. 5th Batt. ...	Staff-Sergt. James Stuart Melville	Ensign Unattached	24 Feb. 1858
4th Co. 5th Batt. ...	Sergt.-Maj. Robert McMeminey	Ensign Unattached	26 Oct. 1860
1st Batty., Oudh Irregular	Farrier-Sergt. James Harrison Bewsey	Ensign Unattached	10 Feb. 1860

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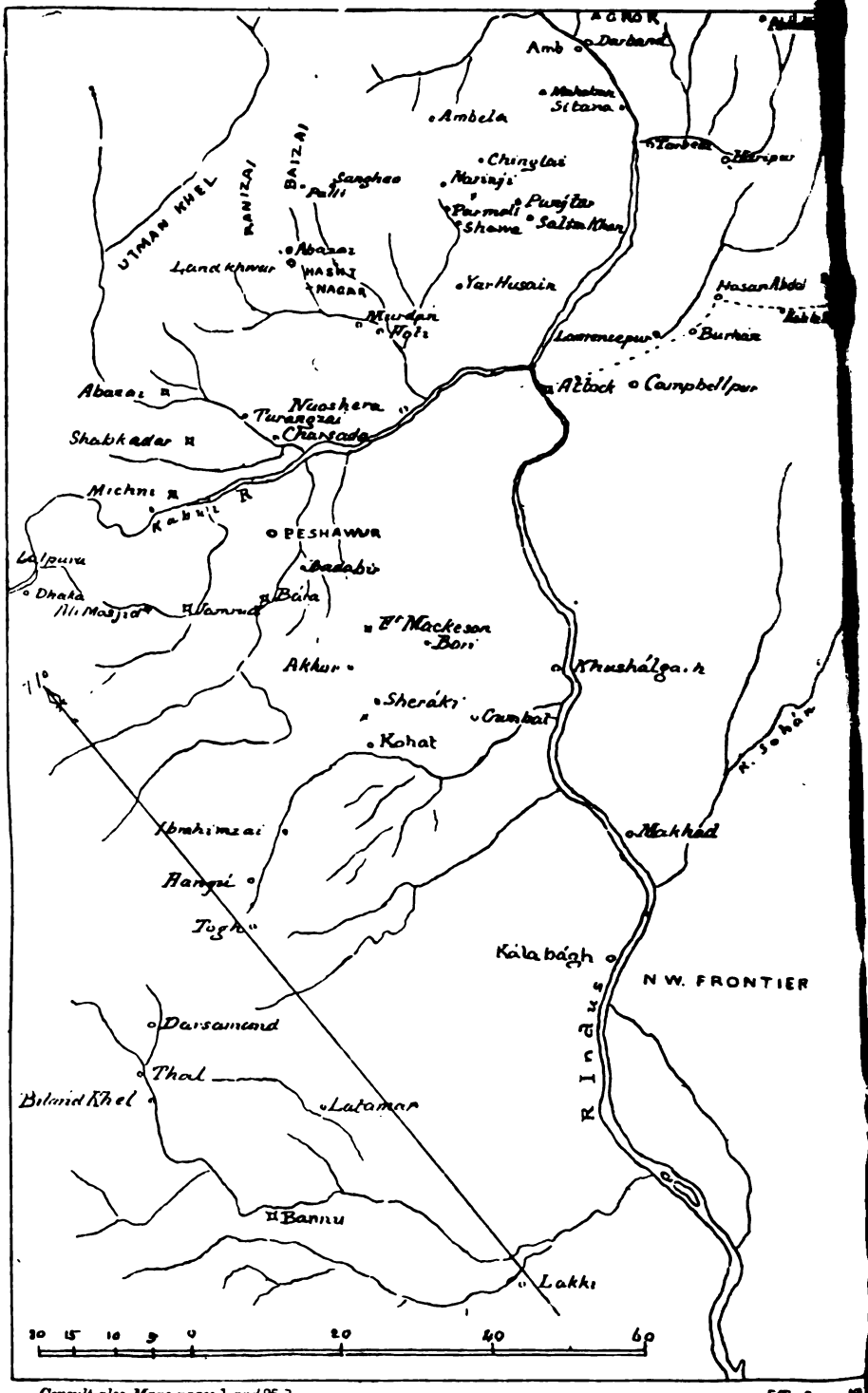

Consult also Maps pages 1 and 25.]

[*To face p.*

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CHAPTER XIV.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PUNJAB FRONTIER FORCE.

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST FRONTIER TRIBES—Swát, December, 1849—Adam Khel, Waziri, February, 1850—Miranzai, October, 1851—Mohmand, October, 1851—Ranizai, March-May, 1852—Hassanzai, December, 1852—Shiráni, April, 1853—Bori Afridi, November, 1853—Michni Mohmand, August, 1854—Bassi Khel, March, 1855—Miranzai, April-May, 1855—Rabia Khel Urakzai, July-August, 1855—Miranzai, October-November, 1856—Miami Waziri, December, 1856—Bozdár, March, 1857—Máhaban, July, 1857—Sitána, April-May, 1858—Kabul Khel Waziri, December, 1859—January, 1860—Mahsud Waziri, April-May, 1860.

THE record of the Bengal Artillery would not be complete without the names—for it can be little more—of those who performed important service on the frontier to the west and north-west of the Punjab since its annexation. The history of the various expeditions up to the year 1884, mainly compiled by Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Paget, and revised and completed by Lieutenant A. H. Mason, R.E., forms a ponderous quarto volume and is most complete in all details, illustrated by most valuable maps and sketches.

Shortly after the annexation of the Punjab, it became necessary to organize a force under the distinct command of a Brigadier-General, and under the orders of the Punjab Government to maintain something like order along the frontier. Three Field Batteries of Artillery were raised in 1851, to which a Garrison Company was added, its commander exercising also the office of a Commissary of Ordnance. A Mountain Train Battery, called the Peshawur M.T.B., was raised in 1854, and subsequently another

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called the Hazára M.T.B.* The force now consists of four Mountain Train and one Garrison Battery.

1849. In December, 1849, a force under command of Lieut.-Colonel J. Bradshaw, 60th Rifles, marched into Swát; Lieut.-Colonel J. Fordyce commanded the Artillery, which consisted of his Troop (2-2). The insurgent village of Dec. 11th. Sangháo was taken and destroyed, and three days afterwards some others. The Baizai Valley, where this occurred, is about 20 miles north by east from Hoti Mardán, at its nearest end. The India medal was awarded to the troops employed on this service.†

1850. Between Peshawur and Kohat lies a strip of Afghan territory. The pass over the hills here was in the country of the Adam Khel Afridi tribe, who were paid for keeping it open. A force had to go against them, 9th of February, under Brigadier Sir Colin Campbell. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier, accompanied it; the 2nd-2nd H.A. again formed part of the force. It had separate elephant transport. Two 5½-inch mortars accompanied. The villages of Akhor and Sheraki were destroyed. After reaching Kohat the column returned to Peshawur. It was again attacked at the pass, but no loss was incurred on our side. One gunner was wounded on this expedition. Lieut.-Colonel Fordyce was thanked in dispatches. The India medal was awarded for these operations.

1851. In October, 1851, Captain J. Coke led a small force against the Miranzai tribe of Zaimukht, between 40 and 50 miles west of Kohat. Captain J. R. Sladen, with three

* These did not belong to the Punjab Irregular Force. The Peshawar Mountain Train Battery was for a time attached to the 2nd Company 2nd Battalion, but after 1851 it was served by a Company of Native Artillery raised on the frontier. It had four 3-pounder guns and four 12-pounder howitzers, Mountain pattern. So also the Hazára M.T. Battery, usually stationed at Abbottabad, which was raised during the Mutiny.

† The India medal was granted in G.O. by H.R.H. the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, No. 71, July 1st, 1869, to all survivors of the troops engaged in certain specified operations on the North-West Frontier between 1849 and 1863. Published in India in G.O.G.G. No. 812 of 1869.

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guns of No. 1 Battery, accompanied it, but the fighting was confined to attacks on the picquets. 1851.

The Mohmand tribes in the hills north of Peshawur and the Khaibar defiles were, for a long time, a source of great annoyance. The chief of Lálpura, Sádat Khan, had given Pollock trouble, and his son, Fateh Khan, followed in his father's steps. A force under Sir Colin Campbell went against him, and with it a detachment of the 3rd Company 1st Battalion No. 17 F.B., under Captain H. A. Carleton.* It was constantly engaged till the end of December, when it returned to Peshawur. The practice of the Artillery was particularly good,† and Lieutenant E. Simeon was highly commended for his conduct on the 8th of December. On that day, the 2nd Troop 1st Brigade H.A., sent out to join the force, marched 30 miles in 24 hours, and took the Mohmands in flank. There were protracted operations, entailing many affairs with the enemy. The thanks of Government were given to the troops employed, but the India medal was not awarded. Oct. 25th. December.

Sir Colin was again out in March against the Swát people of the Ranizai tribe. The 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A.‡ (Major R. H. Baldwin) accompanied this force. It left Peshawur on the 11th. Two heavy howitzers joined at Hashtnagar, and it went on to Shergarh near Skákot, where the Maliks of the tribe were assembled. They tendered their submission, but having refused to pay the fine which was imposed, Sir Colin moved out again on the 15th of May, with a large force of 3,270 men. The same Troop was employed, and a detachment of the 2nd Company 4th Battalion, with two 8-inch howitzers, under Lieutenant Tyrwhitt Pulman, joined a day after by two guns of the 3rd Company 4th Battalion No. 19 L.F.B., under Lieutenant Stallard, and a howitzer of Captain 1852. March. May.

* Subalterns, Lieutenants E. Simeon and W. Wilson.

† "The practice of the Artillery under Captain H. A. Carleton was the admiration of everyone."

‡ Subalterns, Lieutenants S. C. Woodcock and G. Maister.

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1852. Carleton's, under Lieutenant Simeon.* The force first went for Ajun Khan, Chief of Tangi, who had murdered the Tehsildar of Chársáda and plundered the treasury. He was attacked near Abazai, and the Nawadan group of villages destroyed. Thence Sir Colin proceeded to Skákot, where the Swátis had collected from all sides. The heavy howitzers were not taken, but the light guns prepared for the assault, well delivered by the Guide Corps and 66th Gurkhas, supported by the Light Company of H.M.'s 32nd Regiment and Coke's Rifles. They were dispersed with heavy loss, our casualties being 11 killed, 29 wounded. The village and crops were destroyed. The Artillery were highly commended,† and the India medal was awarded for this service.

The murder, in November, 1851, of two Customs Officers, Messrs. Carne and Tapp, near Torbela on the Indus, nearly 40 miles above Attock, called for another punitive expedition. The Artillery employed were four guns of the 5th Troop 1st Brigade H.A., commanded by Captain Augustine Fitzgerald, and the newly-raised Mountain
Dec. 15th. Train Battery. The force concentrated at Shergarh under Lieut.-Colonel J. Mackeson, C.B. It was divided into a Right Column under Lieut.-Colonel R. Napier, Engineers (two M.T. guns); a Centre Column under Major J. Abbott, Commissioner of the district;‡ a Left Column under

* This howitzer is not mentioned in the official account; it is given on the authority of Major-General S. Stallard.

† Sir Colin Campbell in his dispatch attributes the heavy loss suffered by the enemy on the 18th of May to the Artillery and Cavalry, both of which arms had full scope, though the ground was broken and stony and intersected by a steep wide nullah, which the gunners held in a manner that extorted the admiration of the troops. The names of Major Baldwin, Lieutenant S. C. Woodcock, and Lieutenant G. Maister (Acting Assistant Field Engineer), of the Horse Artillery, are included among those thanked; and Sir Colin Campbell wished to mention more especially the Artillery under Major Baldwin, to whom he was indebted for the comparatively slight loss incurred on our side.

‡ Major Abbott, ascending from Panj Galli, met and drove back the main body of the Hassanzais. He also had to supply the force with necessary supplies.

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Captain W. W. Davidson (four M.T. guns); and a Reserve, with which was the Horse Artillery, under Lieut.-Colonel J. Butler. The Black Mountain, where the Hassanzai people had taken post, is a ridge 25 to 30 miles long and 9,800 feet at its highest point. The fort of Shunglai on one of the eastern spurs was taken and repaired. The reserve was sent round by Darband to turn the right flank of the Hassanzai position. The three columns successfully forced their way up the spurs, driving the enemy before them. The Hassanzai villages along the Indus were destroyed. Most of the work fell to the Infantry, but the name of Subadar Mir Sundar Ali, of the M.T. Battery, was mentioned with commendation. The India medal was awarded for this service. 1852. Dec. 15th

The next expedition undertaken was under Brigadier J. S. Hodgson against the Shiráni tribe in the Sulaimán range. The force, a large one, assembled at Dráband, 36 miles west of Dera Ismail Khan, and entered the Shiráni country by the Shaikh Haidar Pass, and after a three-days' campaign, in which, owing to the good arrangements made, not a single casualty occurred, the whole of its object was accomplished. No. 2 Punjab Light Field Battery, under Lieutenant H. Hammond, and a detail of No. 4 Garrison Company, under Lieutenant S. W. Stokes, were on this service, for which the India medal was awarded. 1853. March 30th.

Captain T. Brougham with the Mountain Train Battery and 2nd Company 2nd Battalion was next employed with a force under Colonel S. B. Boileau sent against the Afridis of the Bori Valley, some 16 miles north-east of Kohát. The work accomplished was, as usual, punishment by the destruction of villages, but the service was notable for the manner in which the rear guard, composed of the Guide Corps under Lieutenant Hodson, a detachment of the 66th Gurkhas under Captain C. C. G. Ross, and two M.T. guns under Lieutenant T. Pulman, covered the withdrawal from the heights above the valley of the main body on the 29th. The India medal was granted for this service. November.

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1854. August. The Mohmands having again given trouble, Major C. T. Chamberlain moved out from Peshawur to Michni on the 22nd of August. Two guns of the 1st Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., under Lieutenant C. H. Cookes, were with it, and six pieces of the Mountain Train (2nd Company 2nd Battery) joined it at Michni. Major J. Brind commanded the whole of the Artillery. Colonel Sydney J. Cotton, 22nd Regiment, had another column for the same service with two M.T. howitzers. Major Chamberlain's column worked along the right bank of the Kabul River, while Colonel Cotton moved from Michni, but along the left bank. The Mohmands fell back on Shah Mansur Khel, from which they were dislodged by the fire of Chamberlain's guns. The village was Sept. 2nd. completely destroyed. Colonel Cotton then, having destroyed two more villages, returned to Peshawur. The India medal was awarded.

1855. On the night of the 9th of February, a party of Bassi Khels descended from the hills south-west of Peshawur and attacked the camp of Lieutenant W. Hamilton,* 4th Company 4th Battalion, Assistant Civil Engineer at Badabir, ten miles from the hills and only five from Peshawur cantonments, killing 16 of his people and wounding 30, himself among the latter, and carrying off the treasure-chest, with March. whatever else they could. This entailed a blockade of the Aka Khel border, and several skirmishes with them and others of the Bassi Khel people, followed by an expedition under Lieut.-Colonel J. Halkett Craigie, C.B., in the end of March. Captain T. Brougham and Lieutenant J. E. Cordner, with the Peshawur Mountain Train Battery, went on this service.† The India medal was awarded for this service.

April. The Miranzai country along the Kohát River to the west, and along a confluent of the Kuram River, lay in our territory. An expedition under Brigadier N. B Chamberlain

* Now General Sir William Stirling-Hamilton, Bart.

† The officers of the Peshawur Mountain Train Battery at this time were: Captain Brougham, Lieutenants T. Pulman, J. E. Cordner, and E. Tierney. The last three appointed in 1854. There was no change till 1858.

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marched there in April to enforce, peaceably if possible, the payment of the ordinary tribute money. Three guns of No. 1, P.L.F.B., under Lieutenant J. Sladen, and the whole of No. 3, under Lieutenant H Le G. Bruce, were employed. The force went by Torawári to Darsamand, where it had a spirited engagement with some 4,000 Ghazis from the neighbouring tribes, who were defeated without any aid from the guns, a fact which these hill-men took much to heart. The force went on as far as Thal, and thence returned to Kohát in May. For this expedition the India medal was awarded. 1855. April 30th. May.

Their cousins, the Urakzais, were so troublesome just now that Major J. Coke was prepared with a small force to attack them. No. 3 Battery (Lieutenant H. Le G. Bruce) was with it. It was not desirable to undertake offensive measures at the time, but there was so much excitement among the Urakzais that Brigadier Chamberlain had to bring reinforcements from Peshawur and proceed to administer a thrashing to the Rabia Khel gentlemen who were most active. Four guns of the Peshawur M.T.B. (Lieutenants T. Pulman and Cordner) and five of No. 3 P.I.F.B. (Lieutenant J. R. Sladen) accompanied. The force assembled at Hángu, about 25 miles west of Kohát. Three columns of attack were formed, Lieutenant J. H. Bryce, Artillery, accompanied Major Coke's as Engineer Officer. The four guns M.T. and two of the field guns accompanied the main body in support of the columns of attack; the rest remained with the reserve to cover the retirement after the work of destruction was over. Three villages were destroyed and the force returned; the difficult work of retiring being well performed. Lieutenant Sladen at one time had plenty to do. He was commended in General Chamberlain's dispatch. The thanks of Government were given on this occasion, but not the India medal. July. Aug. 25th.

Next year another expedition set out from Kohát to Miranzai and Kuram, under Brigadier N. B. Chamberlain. The force was a large one, 4,896 of all ranks. A detach- 1856. October.

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1856. ment of the Peshawur M.T.B., under Captain Brougham with Lieutenant J. E. Cordner; a detachment No. 1 Battery (Lieutenant J. R. Sladen), and No. 3 (Lieutenant
October 21st-22nd. R. Mecham) accompanied it. From Kohát it marched to Hángu and continued its progress through Miranzai, now peacefully disposed. At one village, Torawári, some distance off the road, the mountain guns were called upon for a few rounds to compel its Málik* to surrender some criminals in hiding, and the village was disarmed. Thence the force proceeded to Thal, whence it went on to Kuram
November 11th-23rd. by Hazár Pir Ziárat, and there halted. During this halt, the Brigadier and Lieut.-Colonel H. B. Edwardes visited the Paiwár Kotal, taking the Máliks of Paiwár and Lieutenants A. W. Garnett and P. S. Lumsden with them. The latter officers took the opportunity of making sketches from the Kabul side of the pass, which were afterwards of much use when Sir Frederick Roberts, then a subaltern of Horse Artillery at Peshawur, led a force to Kabul by this route. Afghanistan, south of Kabul lay before them as they stood there.

December. On the return it was necessary to inflict punishment of some Miámi Waziris near Biland Khel, below Thal, who had come down and attacked our grass-cutters. Major Coke went round to the rear of the Miámi encampments, cutting off their means of retreat. He had two guns of No. 1 Battery. No. 3 with Punjab Infantry made a front attack; the Gurkhas and M.T. guns turned the south side, and the Cavalry cut off retreat by the plain. These combinations were quite successful. There was no fighting, beyond the exchange of a few shots; one man wounded on our side, one Waziri killed, and the tribe submitted to a penal fine of Rs. 1,200. This force from the 21st of October till it was broken up at the end of the year had accomplished great results with little expenditure of life, yet the India medal was not awarded for this service.

* The head man of a village or tribe.

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The Bozdárs, occupying a county north-west of Dera Gházi Khán, had filled up the measure of their iniquity by 1857, and Brigadier Neville Chamberlain was at Taunsa on the right bank of the Indus, at the head of 2,377 Infantry, 133 Cavalry, with four field guns of No. 1 Field Battery (Lieutenant J. R. Sladen); four mountain guns of No. 2 (Lieutenant G. Maister); and four more of No. 3 (Lieutenant R. Mecham. He marched up the Sangarh Nullah by Mangrota, the only feasible road, for four miles, and there encamped. Barely four miles further on, the dry bed of the Drug Stream (a stream only in the rains) joined the dry channel of the Sangarh, and in the angle formed by both, the Bozdárs took up their position, completely commanding the only access to the open country beyond, which was along the Sangarh Nullah. Next day the Brigadier carefully reconnoitred the ground. He saw that it would be necessary to support an attack on the salient angle by one on the Bozdár left. 1857. March 5th. March 6th.

Captain A. T. Wilde, with the 4th P.I., supported by Sladen's and Mecham's guns, was to attack the angle and ascend the spur from that side; Major Gordon, with the 1st Sikhs, crowning the heights on the east of the Sangarh Nullah. Major Coke, with his Rifles and Maister's guns, to pass up the Drug Nullah, and if possible turn the position on that flank. The Bozdárs, seeing their mistake in allowing the heights north of the Drug to be captured, crossed it and took up a strong position resting on a sharp bend of the channel. Coke, receiving in addition the 2nd P.I. and Mecham's guns, attacked and carried it. He was severely wounded, but continued, notwithstanding, at the head of his command for the rest of the day. March 7th.

Lieutenant Sladen, with his guns, was making the way easier for Captain Wilde while he ascended the spur, and as he went along the left bank, took up successive positions to cover his advance. The Bozdárs were driven from the position they thought impregnable. The work done by the Artillery this day was very creditable and elicited high

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1857. March 7th. commendation. A week after, the two chiefs of the tribe came into camp and made their submission. The India medal was awarded for this service.

The object of these frontier expeditions was not to take life. They were conducted with as little bloodshed as possible. Punishment for outrages was necessary, and was meted out by fines, sometimes by burning villages, or destroying crops, or by what they felt most, prohibition to buy or sell within our borders. But the untamed character of the tribes made the fighting both frequent and severe.

It was not to be expected that the events of this year in Hindustan would not affect the tranquillity of the border. July 1st. Major Vaughan had to march out from Mardán to attack a neighbouring village. He had two of the Peshawur M.T. guns with him. A fortnight after, a body of the Hindustani fanatics from Mahában mountain * crossed our territory, and raised the religious standard at Narinji, close to the border. Major Vaughan left Mardán again on the 18th with about a thousand men and four of Captain Brougham's guns. He went eastwards to Yár Husain, and then north-east to Parmala. Narinji was July 19th-20th attacked the same day, and, in spite of a vigorous resistance, was taken and partly destroyed. The heat was so great that there were forty cases of sunstroke on the 19th, nine fatal; the Farrier-Sergeant of the Battery being one. The enemy were still in great force, and were growing in numbers. Reinforcements were sent out, and by the August. beginning of August amounted to more than 1,300 men with two field howitzers. Narinji was again attacked on the 3rd, and completely destroyed. One of the prisoners

* The settlement of fanatics in the Mahában mountain and Sitána district is of many years' standing. In the time of the Sikh ráj they were troublesome, and when the Punjab passed under our rule, they were largely recruited by fugitives from British justice, and have always been a source of annoyance. Crossing the Indus on mussucks, they raided the villages of the Pakli Valley and all that countryside. One, a noted outlaw, paid a visit even to the dak bungalow at Attock, and carried away what he could. The word Mahában (great forest) is pure Hindi, and takes us back to very early times.

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taken was a Mulvi from that breeding-place of religious fanatics, Bareilly. He was executed. 1857.

We were not done with these fanatics. Major-General Sir Sydney Cotton, K.C.B., now commanding the Peshawur Division, had to take a strong force against them in April. It was formed into three columns at Salim Khán, nearly halfway between Mardán and Torbela on the Indus. The first, under the General, consisted of 1,760 bayonets and 330 sabres, four guns of the Peshawur Light Field Battery,* under Captain Stallard, and two of the Peshawur M.T., under Lieutenant Cordner. Captain Brougham in general command of the Artillery. The second, under Lieut.-Colonel H. Renny, 81st Regiment, consisted of 897 bayonets and 100 sabres. The third, 976 bayonets and 110 sabres, was under Major A. T. Allan, 81st. This was to remain in charge of the camp equipage and baggage at Salim Khán ; the other two proceeding lightly equipped. The first column proceeded into the Chinglái Valley by the Darán Pass, returning to Salim Khán by Panjtár, whither the second column had gone direct. Both the Chinglái and Panjtár villages were destroyed. 1858. April.

From Salim Khán, the General took the first column to Mangal Thána, where the tribal and Syad leaders had their headquarters, in substantially-built and fortified houses. These were blown up, and the column returned to Salim Khán. Thence he went towards the Indus, and, skirting the hills, moved up towards Sitána, near which he was joined by Major Becher from Hazára across the river, with 1,050 Infantry and three guns of the Hazára M.T.,† under Lieutenant F. R. Butt. The fanatics were attacked the same day, their village was destroyed, and its objects having been so far accomplished, the force returned to quarters. For this service the India medal was awarded. May 4th.

* This Battery had been lately raised and attached to the 4th Company 2nd Battalion. It had European, instead of the customary Native, drivers.

† Lately raised.

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1859. The cause of the next expedition was an extremely melancholy one. Captain R. Mecham, Commanding No. 3 Punjab Light Field Battery, very ill, was proceeding from Bannu to Kohat in the hope of going home. For escort he had only two mounted police, having sent on two men of his Battery to the post of Latamar to have his escort
Nov. 5th. increased. When about two miles from that outpost, he was attacked in his doolie by some Kabul Khel Waziris, who were prowling about. The mounted police deserted him, and the bearers dropped the doolie and fled. Captain Mecham tried to defend himself with his revolver, but was overpowered and killed. A force of six regiments of Infantry, detachments of Sappers and Guide Infantry,
December. and a regiment of Cavalry were assembled at Kohát, under the orders of Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain, C.B., and the following guns:—

	Guns.	Horses
Detachment No. 1 Punjab L.F.B., Captain J. R. Sladen ...	1 ...	1
Detachment No. 2 Punjab L.F.B., Captain G. Maister ...	3 ...	1
Detachment Peshawur M.T.B., Captain F. R. De Bude ...	1 ...	3
Detachment Hazara M.T.B., Captain F. R. Butt	1 ...	2

Lieutenant-Colonel W. Olpherts, C.B., V.C., was Orderly-officer to the General.

The force left Kohát on the 15th, and reached Thal on the 19th, where it was joined by frontier levies, 1,216 Foot, and 240 Horse. The Kabul Khels had posted themselves at Maidáni, eight miles west of Biland Khel. The field
Dec. 22nd. guns were left with the camp at Gandiob, the road beyond being impracticable for them. The Hazára M.T., being inured to mountain work in Hazára, were first when the enemy were attacked, and Major Lambert with one column was able to outflank the breastwork with the guns. It was carried with but little loss, and the Waziri camp was burned, after which they returned to Gandiob. The camp was shifted to Shiwa, on the Kuram River, ten miles below Biland Khel.

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1859. While there, Captains H. C. Johnstone and C. Pollard, Engineers, were mapping out the country under strong escorts, and a column under Major Rothney was sent out Dec. 28th. after a party of the Kabul Khels. The Hazára M.T. Battery went with it. It moved about the country, settling matters more by moral than physical means. Captain 1860. Butt's guns were with the General while he moved, and January. Captain De Bude was with a detachment under Major F. W. Lambert, keeping open the communications. The force returned to quarters in the first part of January. Though the gang which had murdered Captain Mecham had dispersed and evaded capture, this object of the expedition was so far accomplished that shortly after, under the influence of Lieut.-Colonel Reynell Taylor, the Ahmadzai Maliks seized Mohábat, one of them, who had been foremost in the attack upon that officer, brought him in, and he was hanged upon the spot where the murder was committed.

For the punishment of the Máhsud Waziris, the most April. incorrigible thieves on the frontier, a force was assembled on the 16th of April at Tánk, forty-five miles north-west from Dera Ismail, under Brigadier-General Chamberlain, 5,196 of all ranks.* This was the last military service on which any part of the Bengal Artillery, under its old name, was employed. The Artillery were:—

	Guns.	Howrs.	Mors.
No. 2 Punjab L.F.B., Captain G. Maister	1 ...	1 ...	1
No. 3 Punjab L.F.B., Captain T. E. Hughes ...	1 ...	1 ...	1
Peshawur M.T.B., Captain F. R. De Bude... ...	1 ...	3 ...	—
Hazára M.T.B., Captain F. R. Butt	1 ...	2 ...	—

The General's plan was to go up the course of the river, which flowed in a south-east direction through the Máhsud Waziri territory, north of Tánk, into the Indus. Shortly April 20th. after entering the hills, a column led by the General went

* Increased by 1,600 levies, Horse and Foot.

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1860. April 20th. up the valley of the Shahur River. The guns of Hughes, De Bude, and Butt went with it. Near the Haidari Kach Valley, the Commissioner, Lieut.-Colonel Reynell Taylor, who was reconnoitring in advance, was attacked by three Waziris, who wounded three of the party and five horses before they fell. The guns of No. 3 Battery were sent back on the 21st, and the column went on. Shahur Kot
April 23rd. was destroyed, and on the 23rd the fort of Jangi Khán, principal chief of the whole Máhsud who had been killed before this in an attack upon Tánk, was reached. It was blown up; the village and cultivation destroyed.

While the headquarter column was away, a large force of 3,000 Waziris made a sudden onslaught upon the camp left at Palosin, on the Tánk River, early on the morning of the 23rd. The picquets along the ridge above the camp were overpowered, and some 500 made their way into the camp, cutting down all in their way, men, camels, or horses. The troops were out at once and lost only a few inside the camp, but the picquets had suffered severely, and the number of unarmed camp-followers killed and wounded was large. The Guide inlying picquet was placed by Lieut.-Colonel Lumsden on the ridge where a large body of the Waziris were assembled. They were soon supported by Major Rothney with the 4th Sikhs and Gurkhas. The 24th P.I., with Maister's and Hughes' guns, were not long in clearing the camp of all intruders, and the Guides joining the other two regiments on the ridge, pursued their main body for three miles, punishing them severely; 92 were slain in and around the camp; 40 more in a nullah further out. Our casualties were heavy—killed: 21 combatants, 26 levies, 16 camp-followers; wounded: 109 combatants, 34 levies, 23 camp-followers. The two batteries had five men and seven camp-followers wounded.

The main column, as it returned, was harassed by the Waziris, but the heights on the flanks were crowned, and there were no casualties. The camp was pitched at Mandána Kach,

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from whence all sick and wounded were sent back to Tánk, and a good supply of shoes for men and horses, with rations, brought up. Some of the Waziri Máliks came in to make terms, but General Chamberlain, though ready to make all reasonable concessions, was determined to proceed on to Kánigoram. The force therefore moved on next day. 1860. April 23rd. May 1st.

The Barára Tangi* was a formidable pass, a narrow cleft cut by the river through the mountains, with perpendicular cliffs 40 to 50 feet high. Lines of sangars,† terraced one above another, flanked on both sides the entrance to the pass, which was closed by a strong abattis, which took the Sappers half an hour's work afterwards before a passage could be made through it. The side on the Waziri right was the most difficult, as the precipitous nature of the hill prevented the attack from cutting off the line of retreat of the defence.

After a careful reconnaissance, the General decided to make his main attack on the right, the left attack being guided by circumstances. This column was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel H. B. Lumsden, C.B., Lieutenant W. P. Fisher leading the advance, Captain De Bude's guns with the support. The right attack was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel G. W. G. Green, C.B., the leading part under Lieutenant A. U. F. Ruxton, and Captain Butt's guns with the support; a reserve to each. Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Wilde, C.B., commanded the centre below with the two Field Batteries. May 4th.

The ground passed over by the right attack was extremely difficult, and Ruxton's party had to encounter, not only the enemy's fire, but showers of stones from above, broken up as they were by its raviny and rocky nature. The Waziris, emboldened by their dispersion, rushed down

* The word "Tangi" (narrow) is applied to a very contracted passage between hills.

† Sangar, or sangah, from "sang," a rock, is a breastwork, open or enclosed, built of stone.

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1860. May 4th. upon them, and for a short time drove them back, but Captain Keyes, with the support, came up as they were coming down on the guns. He cut down their leader. Captain Butt and his men coolly held their ground and fought their guns. Captains Maister and Hughes from below brought theirs to bear upon them, and the Máhsuds were driven back; all the breastworks were carried and the right position won.

All this passed within full view of friend and foe on the left, where Lieut.-Colonel Lumsden carried all the positions, one after another; the defile was passed, and the camp pitched at Bangiwála Kach, three miles beyond it. The names of Captains Keyes and Butt and of Lieutenant Ruxton were specially mentioned in the dispatch.

The force then proceeded to Kánigoram, the principal town of the Máhsuds. After a short halt, during which every effort was made to induce the tribes to submit, it retraced its course, and turned off towards Makin, another important place, where a last effort was made, but it came to nothing. The place was therefore destroyed. Leaving Makin, the rear guard was composed of:—

A Troop of Cavalry.

6th Punjab Infantry, Captain W. P. Fisher.

6th Police Battalion, Captain J. W. Orchard.

One gun, two howitzers, Hazára M.T.B., Captain F. R. Butt.

One gun, one howitzer, No. 3 P.T.B., Captain T. E. Hughes.

After the column had marched a mile or two it was found necessary to reinforce the rear guard, and Captain De Bude was sent back with his guns. The command of the rear guard then devolved upon him. His orders were to withdraw the picquets as they came along. Captain Hughes as senior, next to De Bude, commanded the Artillery. The Waziris were actively engaged with the rear, and got into a patch of jungle, inconveniently close, from

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which the fire of our guns dislodged them. Halting at intervals to allow the picquets along the heights to rejoin the line of march, which sometimes had to be done under cover of the guns, they had plenty to do this day. The main body only fired a few rounds. The column moved out of the hills by Shinwám, and thence to Bannu, where it was broken up. 1860.

So laid, so fought, were the last guns served in action by the Bengal Artillery.

VIVAT REGINA ET IMPERATRIX.

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CHAPTER XV.

ORGANIZATION—1748-1779.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS—The Gun-room Crew—First Company Raised—Second Company—Destroyed at Patna—Re-formed, and Third Company Raised—Organization of 1765—Batta Mutiny—Lieut.-Colonel Martin Commandant—Major Pearse sent out—His Supersession—Major Kindersley Commandant—Succeeded by Lieut.-Colonel Pearse—Organization of 1770—The Officers of the Corps—Uniform—Lascars—Battalion Guns—Ordnance and Stores—Colonel Pearse's Efforts to Improve the Corps—Board of Ordnance—Magazines—First Practice at Dum-Dum—Golandáz Raised for the Oudh Service—Organization of 1778—Regular Golandáz Raised—Ordered to be Disbanded—Colonel Pearse Remonstrates—Organization of 1779.

THE growth of the Bengal Artillery was never commensurate with that of the army produced by the increasing extent of the Indian Empire. In the early period of its history, its development and improvement were retarded by various causes. It was not popular. Not only promotion and command, with the honours they brought, but pecuniary emolument, from whatever source, were confined to a great degree to the other branches of the service.* The improvements which the progress of science at home introduced into this arm were often only known in India by the exertions of officers who had become acquainted with them while on leave at home. Artillery officers were excluded from army commands, and consequently those

* It is a significant fact that Sir George Pollock was the first officer of the Corps who was a Director of the East India Company, and this position he did not win by wealth. Not that a facility for acquiring fortunes would have benefited the regiment in a professional point of view, but the opposite case deterred many from joining it. Even Colonel Pearse, when superseded in the command, applied for an exchange to the Infantry. See *infra*, p. 494, and also Note B in the Appendix.

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in authority understood little of the requirements of this branch long after it had become a very important arm in warfare. There were those living not long ago who could recollect manœuvres performed by the aid of drag-ropes, and horsed Artillery driven by men on foot considered a great improvement on human draught. The difficulties experienced by such men as Colonel Pearse and Sir John Horsford show sufficiently what obstacles had to be encountered in improving the organization and condition of the Corps to raise it even to a comparative level with the rest of the army. For the first of these two distinguished officers the Bengal Artillery had to thank its elder brother of the Royal Service, and the debt incurred was no slight one. 1748.

Before the establishment in 1748 of a regular company of Artillery at each of the three Presidencies, the few pieces of ordnance which were employed on land were served by a gang of European sailors and others, commanded by two or three mates or petty officers. It was located, for the time being, in one of the public naval buildings or sheds, called then, and for a long time after, the "Bankshall," * and its usual appellation was "The Gun-room Crew." And for some time after, midshipmen or petty officers, discontented with a naval life, obtained, without much difficulty from the local authorities, appointments as officers of Artillery; and the habits of the Gun-room Crew continued to prevail in the brigade. From the same source were also derived the terms Serangs, Tindals, Lascars, Classies, and Cossibs, which were in use as the denominations of certain classes and grades in the native portion of the regiment.† The word "Matross," as the gunner was

* The origin of this term is unknown. It is now, of course, obsolete. But not very long ago gun-sheds were known to native Artillerymen by this name. It is still the designation of a street in Calcutta, formerly the site of one of these store-sheds.

† "Serang" is a corruption of the Persian word *sirhang*, a leader. "Tindal" (Hindi, *tandel*) and "Classy" (Persian, *khalási*, a freed man) were terms in use among river boatmen in the time of the Emperor Ak-

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1748. called up to the year 1783, in the Royal Artillery, and to 1818 in India, is, it is needless to say, a German word, which takes us back to those older times when Artillerymen and sailors were nearly related to one another.

In the year 1748 the Court of Directors issued orders (L.C.D., 17th of June) for the formation of a Company of Artillery at each of the three Presidencies. It was to be constituted as follows:—

1 2nd-Captain and Chief Engineer.	Pay	£150	per ann.
1 Captain-Lieutenant Director of the Laboratory	„	100	„
1 1st-Lieutenant Fireworker ...	„	75	„
1 2nd-Lieutenant Fireworker ...	„	60	„
1 Ensign Fireworker	„	50	„
4 Sergeant-Bombardiers	„	2s.	per diem.
4 Corporal-Bombardiers	„	1s. 6d.	„
2 Drummers	„	1s.	„
100 Matrosses			

1749. 2 Mt. Batt. R.A. This order was carried out in the course of the following year. It was intended that a 1st-Captain and Chief Engineer should command the three Companies, and this post was offered to Major John Goodyear,* who commanded a Company of Royal Artillery on board Admiral Boscawen's fleet, but it is not known that he ever assumed it. Mr. Benjamin Robbins was appointed Engineer-General and Commander-in-Chief of Artillery at all the settlements in India, but he seems never to have visited Calcutta, although he was expected there in 1751.† The Gun-room Crew was disbanded on the 15th of April to make room for its successor.‡

bar, as appears from a passage in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. "Lascar" is a misapplication of the word *lashkar* (army); it is not used by natives, its Hindustáni equivalent being *khalási*. Tindals and Lascars still figure among non-combatants upon muster-rolls in the Bengal Presidency.

* No. 37 on Kane's List.

† Unpublished Records, No. 75, p. 29.

‡ Unpublished Records, No. 32, p. 14.

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The first officer of whom we have any record in the Bengal Artillery is Captain Jasper Leigh Jones, formerly of the Royal Artillery,* who commanded it in 1755. He was succeeded by Captain-Lieutenant Witherington, who, with forty-five of his men, perished in the Black Hole when Calcutta was taken by Suraj-ud-daulah, on the 25th of June, 1756. But few of the company could have escaped. Any who did, joined the detail of Artillery which arrived with the force under Clive on the 20th of December. This was commanded by Lieutenant William Jennings, Adjutant of the Madras Field Train, who, with his men, was transferred to the Bengal Establishment, to replace the lost company. It may be as well to state here, at the outset, that the identity of the companies cannot be traced with absolute certainty through all their earlier changes of denomination, as they were, for some years, numbered according to the seniority of the captains who commanded them. But after Colonel Pearse took commmand of the Regiment records were carefully looked after,† and there is good reason to believe that in the organization of 1788 they were correctly placed. Why this order was upset in the subsequent organizations of 1818 and 1824 it is difficult to say. 1755. 1756.

On the 19th of September, 1758, the Artillery was formed into two companies. The second, now the 10th Field Battery, was placed under command of Captain-Lieutenant John Broadbridge, of the Royal Artillery,‡ who seems to have joined from Bombay in March of the previous year, with details of Royal and Bombay Artillery. On his death, in October, 1761, he was succeeded by Captain John Kinch, whose rank dated from September 26th, 1760. Nearly, if not quite, the whole of this company was destroyed with the force under Captain Peter Carstairs, either in action with the forces of Mir Kásim Khán at Mánjhi, near Chaprah, on 1758. 1761 1763.

* No. 145 on Kane's List. † See *infra*, Chapter XVI., page 516.
‡ No. 224 on Kane's List.

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1763. the 1st of July 1763, or between that date and the massacre of the remnant at Patna, on the 5th and 11th of the following October. The company which was raised in the field towards the end of the year to replace it was formed from the 1st Company,* and was given to Captain Ralph Winwood, who had been promoted, *vice* Broadbridge. The promotions which were made from the 2nd of December were probably for this company, though it may have commenced its independent existence before that.

4 Co. S. Div. R.A. A third company was raised by an Order of Council, dated the 17th of September, 1763, which was intended to be stationed in the fort at Calcutta as a garrison company. Several promotions took place in the months of September and December in consequence. Captain Nathaniel Kinders-

1765. ley, of the Royal Artillery,† who afterwards arrived from England, was appointed to it, but he having proceeded upon service, the command was given to Captain Fleming Martin, of the Engineers,‡ who had also been in the Royal Artillery.

In this year, Lord Clive returned from England, and the army was remodelled. The Artillery were formed into four companies by an Order dated the 4th of August, and placed nominally under the command of Major Jennings,§ who had

* The date is uncertain; I have followed Broome's account (p. 376), which is borne out by dates of promotions.

† No. 328 on Kane's List. He had been a 2nd-Lieutenant, and was promoted on arrival in Bengal to the rank of Captain from the 27th of July, 1764.

‡ The reason for this appointment is a curious instance of the unmilitary habits of the time. Captain Martin, who was employed in building the new fort in Calcutta, had applied for the post of Superintendent of the brick manufactory, which he said "was a very considerable post, the perquisites amounting to twice his salary as Chief Engineer." The Council, however, refused him this, but gave him instead the company of Artillery, which doubtless had its own, though very much smaller, "perquisites." Nevertheless, when Lieut.-Colonel Martin resigned in 1768, after a service of five years, he went home with a large fortune. The complaint was not a climatic one. It was not uncommon then at home.

§ Other authorities have held that Jennings exercised more than a nominal command over all the companies. But each was then attached to a brigade of the army, and was practically distinct. The Artillery,

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been promoted to that rank, but who retained, as was then customary, the command of his company, the first. Captain Kindersley was posted to the newly-raised fourth company. The companies were equalised in strength, according to the detail given in Note A in the Appendix to this chapter. 1765. 6 Co. E. Div. R.A.

It was in this year that the Select Committee urged upon the Court of Directors (Note B) the necessity for a regular supply of men for the ranks, and applied for gentlemen from the Academy at Woolwich, in order to secure the services of well-educated officers for the Artillery. But the supply of the latter was very uncertain for a long time afterwards.

The ordnance attached to each of these companies depended much on the nature of the service on which they were employed. Lascars, to assist in dragging them, were entertained, but in no definite number as yet. There were no magazines, properly so called; but there was a depôt at the headquarters of each brigade, under the control of the officer commanding the Artillery with it.

The distribution of the Artillery in this and the following year was as follows:—

1st Company, under Major Jennings, with the 1st Brigade of the Army, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Robert Fletcher. Headquarters at Monghyr. 2 Mt. Batt. R.A.

2nd Company, under Captain R. Winwood,* with the 2nd Brigade, commanded by Colonel Richard Smith. Headquarters at Allahabad. 10 Field Batt. R.A.

3rd Company, under Captain Fleming Martin, in garrison at Fort William. 4 Co. S. Div. R.A.

4th Company, under Captain N. Kindersley, with the 3rd Brigade, commanded by Colonel Sir Robert Barker. Headquarters at Bánkipur near Patna. 6 Co. E. Div. R.A.

in fact, did not as yet form a regiment. Besides, communications were too imperfect to admit of any exercise of such control. The late Sir James Tennant, who had a more intimate knowledge of regimental details than any officer since Horsford, takes this view in opposition to Broome (*Calcutta Review*, Vol., IX., p. 420) and Buckle ("Memoir," 29).

* Transferred to the Infantry about this time.

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1766. The orders brought from home by Lord Clive for the suppression of corrupt practices among the Company's servants, and for the reduction of the double batta, had now to be carried out. The reduction took place from the 1st of January, 1766. Double batta * had been paid to officers serving with troops beyond the River Káramnása; full batta to those marching, or in the field within that river; and half batta to those in garrison or cantonments, except at Fort William, where, being furnished with quarters, they received no extra allowance. As by far the largest portion of the army was in the field, the reduction had an almost universal effect, and as will be seen from the table of pay (Note A), it must have been severely felt by all ranks. And considering the habits of the day, and the slight tie which bound men to a service then in its infancy, we may fairly pass a lenient sentence, and allow that the stain was effaced by subsequent good and faithful conduct in the field.

It is not necessary to enter into the details of this affair. The Brigades under Colonel Smith at Allahabad and Sir Robert Fletcher at Monghyr were the most deeply implicated. The firmness of the first mentioned officer and of Sir Robert Barker at Bánkipur well supported the authority of Government; but the conduct of Sir Robert Fletcher showed that neither firmness nor honesty belonged to his character. His influence at home saved him from the well-deserved sentence of a Court Martial, and his subsequent career showed that a tendency to resist authority was instinctive in him. †

Of the part taken by the Artillery in this business little

* "Batta" is a Hindi word signifying "deficiency," hence by metonomy applied to an allowance given to compensate. It had never been drawn in Madras, which made the reduction a more equitable measure.

† He was Commander-in-Chief at Madras, and one of the Council who, in 1776, arrested and imprisoned in his own house Lord Pigott, the Governor of that Presidency. See also an allusion to this side of his character in Note A, Chapter I., Volume I., "War Services."

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but the names of those implicated is known Note C). 1766.
Captain-Lieutenant Duff, of the 4th Company, was the most prominent, owing to a quarrel between him and the Adjutant of the 3rd European Regiment at Bánkipur. Both were ordered by Sir R. Barker to Calcutta under arrest for Lord Clive's decision in their case, but were shortly afterwards released.

Major Jennings had died in March of this year. Major Winwood was the next senior, and should have succeeded to the command,* but of this there is a good deal of uncertainty, as he appears to have been transferred to the Infantry from October, 1765.

The Court of Directors had now consented to the appointment of an officer as Commandant of Artillery with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel. They were much dissatisfied with the manner in which the works in the new fort at Calcutta were going on under Major Martin, and the expenditure incurred upon them, and sent out Captain Archibald Campbell, of the Royal Engineers, as Chief Engineer; whereupon the Council, by way of recompense to Major Martin, promoted him to the command of the Artillery in March, 1768, which he held till the 8th of November, when he resigned the service and went home. 1768.

But in consequence of an application which had been made by the Court of Directors, Lieut.-Colonel J. Pattison, Lieutenant-Governor of the Royal Academy at Woolwich, had recommended Lieutenant Thomas Deane Pearse, an

* Broome says ("Rise and Progress," p. 620) that he did, and in the list of shares of the Inland Trade Association, which he gives in Appendix Z, Major Winwood is the only Field Officer of the Artillery named. But as Martin and Kindersley, both junior to him as Major, were successively appointed Commandant of Artillery, it is evident that Winwood then was with the Infantry. The General Military Register shows his promotion to have gone on both in the Artillery and Infantry after 1765, and as we know the Court of Directors had prohibited transfers from the Artillery to the Infantry, it is probable that Winwood had been so removed by local arrangement, but that in consequence of the orders from home, he was still retained on the returns of the Artillery, though with junior rank. It is unlikely that Winwood ever reverted to the Artillery after Pearse joined it.

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1768. officer of eleven years' standing in the Royal Artillery,* as a fit person to command the Bengal Artillery, and this officer had resigned his commission on the strength of the engagement. He was promoted to the rank of Major on the 29th of February, 1768, and sailed the next month, arriving in Calcutta the 26th of August. Here, however, he found not only Lieut.-Colonel Martin in command, but that the Council, by giving Captain Kindersley a Majority and ante-dating it to the 1st of April, 1767, had made him the senior. Consequently, when, two months afterwards, Lieut.-Colonel Martin resigned, Major Kindersley succeeded him in the command. As Kindersley had been junior to Pearse in the Royal Artillery, this double supersession was a severe disappointment to the latter. So much
1769. so, that he applied to Brigadier-General Smith, the Commander-in-Chief, to be transferred to the Infantry, but fortunately for the regiment, the Court's orders forbade such transfers. In his letter, written in August, 1769,† he says:—

"The occurrences of the last month have informed me that Major Kindersley was appointed Lieut.-Colonel on the 20th [28th?], and is to rank from the 8th November, 1768. This, sir, is the cause of my uneasiness; not because that gentleman has got that rank, but because that rank to which I aspired is not vacant, and not to be disposed of, but is filled up, and, as far as man can judge, likely to continue so for many years. . . .

"The Infantry points out a very different prospect; assures those who are happy enough to be in it, that they will arrive at rank, by which they may be sure to secure a competency, or at least something sufficient to make their latter days not burthensome to themselves or their friends; and though the chief command of the Artillery may promise as fair a chance of obtaining a competency, yet I can truly say I know it not; and that command is less an object of my wishes than a removal from the corps; and happy should I think myself could I obtain a removal from the Artillery to the Infantry with the rank I have."

Lieut.-Colonel Kindersley, however, died on the 24th of

* No. 303 in Kane's List, and a Fireworker of June 8th, 1757.

† Colonel Martin resigned on the 7th of November. The question of his successor probably went home, which would account for the delay.

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October, and Pearse succeeded to the rank and command, which he held for twenty years. 1769.

From this period dates a new era for the Artillery. Lieut.-Colonel Pearse set himself at once to improve its condition, which by his energy and firmness he succeeded in doing in spite of innumerable obstacles and much vexatious opposition. He had seen some active service in the West India islands, and on the coast of France, but his scientific attainments were of a very high order. His friendship for Warren Hastings, to whom he steadfastly adhered throughout the stormy scenes of his administration, created for him many enemies. This was particularly the case when he was in command of a detachment of Bengal troops in Madras on service under Sir Eyre Coote, in 1781-3. In fact, until the arrival in September, 1786, of Earl Cornwallis as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India, his career was marked by depreciation and neglect, although his enemies could not but acknowledge the value of his services.

On the 4th of March, 1770, a fifth company was added to the Artillery. It was at first a garrison company, as the new fort in Calcutta, together with the works down the river at Budge Budge, where an old fort had been repaired, and three heavy batteries erected, demanded more men for the necessary duties than the other company could supply. In May, the whole were formed into a battalion, to which an Adjutant was allowed. Sir Robert Barker, at this time the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, was an active member of the Special Committee which drew up the details of this organization. The strength of the regiment at this time is given in Notes D and E, Chapter XVI. The number of officers to each company was now, for the first time, definitely fixed. The field officer's company had previously only had a captain-lieutenant attached to it, but no captain; now field officers were debarred from holding such subordinate commands. The rank of 2nd-lieutenant was abolished. 1770. 4 Mt. Batt. R.A.

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1770. The source from which many of the officers had been supplied has already been mentioned. Colonel Pearse, in a letter written in 1775, says of them, "They were almost all of this class,* and their ideas consonant to the elegant military education they had received. But, thank God, I have got rid of them all but seven." He afterwards succeeded in obtaining the services of a mathematical master at headquarters. Mr. W. Burrows was appointed for this purpose on a monthly salary of 500 rupees. He was succeeded in 1794 by the Rev. W. P. Limerick (G.O., June 9th), who retained the office until it was abolished in 1796 (M.C., March 11th), when it was ruled that appointments should only be given to cadets who passed out of, or obtained a certificate of qualification from, the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich.

The uniform of the regiment at this time consisted of a blue coat with scarlet facings; white cloth waistcoat and breeches; gaiters, red leather belt with swivels; black silk stocks and buff gloves. The regimental hat was, it is believed, a plain cocked hat of the time of George the Second. The hair was clubbed into a queue behind, greased and powdered. The officers, who had before this paraded with fusils, were now ordered (R.O., January 9th, 1770) to wear swords when at exercise.

The Lascars were told off into divisions of 100 men, with two Serangs and eight Tindals; five such divisions being intended for each company of Artillery, but as the garrison company in Fort William did not require so many, the greater number of the Lascar details were distributed among the rest. Some facts regarding this hybrid class of soldier are given in the Appendix (Note D).

It was about this time that two guns were first in Bengal regularly attached to each battalion of Infantry, from

* However, Annesley Bailie, Duff, Thelwall, the Deares, Warner Hussey, Robert Bruce, and others, show that men of good family were willing to serve in the regiment. And the officers who had joined from the Royal Artillery generally saved its reputation.

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which details of men were told off to work them; and thus in native regiments, Golandáz, or Native Artillery were virtually, though not nominally, introduced into the service.* Two European Artillerymen were sent to superintend each brigade, and drill the Sepoys, but no officer, except on service, and then not always.† There were none to spare. These gunners, thus left without any control, thrown into the society of natives, and without any of the comparative comforts enjoyed by their comrades in barracks, perhaps for two years or more, naturally fell into drunken and debauched habits. Therefore, as Colonel Pearse remarked to Sir Eyre Coote in 1779, in a letter deprecating the order for disbanding the Golandáz, the guns "only served to ornament the flank on field days, and very little service was to be expected from them." In the same letter he adds :— 1770.

"But I beg leave to give an opinion against battalion guns. Cannon in small brigades, brought to the points necessary, will do infinitely more service than when scattered along the whole line."

The time, however, had not come for general perception of this truth. An instance on record of their employment in a somewhat unusual manner is given in Note E, which shows how far their misuse was carried.

The ordnance and stores were found, as may be supposed, by Colonel Pearse in a very inefficient and neglected state. In 1755 Captain Jasper L. Jones had sent in a strong remonstrance on the subject. Admiral Nicholson had

* The Court of Directors, in a military letter to Bombay dated the 6th of April 1770, directed that European Artillerymen were to be detailed for the service of guns with native regiments, and that no natives were to be entrusted with these duties, unless in cases of absolute necessity.

† The gallopers attached afterwards to the Cavalry were, in Bengal, always commanded by regimental officers. In Madras it was not so. Thus, at Láswári, we find two batteries of galloper guns commanded by Cavalry officers (Vol. I., p. 222), and even as late as the Pindari War, an Infantry officer commanded a brigade of six-pounders at the siege of Mandalah (Vol. II., p. 91).

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1770. brought out 200 pieces of ordnance to Calcutta in 1684, and of these it is probable the greater number were still in use. The affectionate regard in which Government have ever held these old and faithful servants may be seen to the present day in some of the guns still mounted on the ramparts of Indian forts.* Lieut.-Colonel Pearse, in writing to General Desaguiliers, of the Royal Artillery, in 1772, thus speaks of the materials he had to deal with :—

"When I was at practice in 1770, the fuzes burned from 19 to 48 seconds, though of the same nature. The port-fires were continually going out. The tubes would not burn. The powder was infamous. The cartridges were made conical, and if it was necessary to prime with loose powder, a great quantity was required to fill the vacant cavity round the cartridge. The carriage flew to pieces with common firing in a week.

"All this I represented, but my representation was quashed; the contractors still make the carriages; the laboratory is in the same hands, and I have no more to do with it than his Holiness at Rome. Now I have got all the laboratory implements with me at practice, and I am going to teach the officers what they never saw."†

And to General Pattison, R.A., he wrote in 1775 :—

"You ask me about iron guns: we have a great many here; I know not where they were cast, but I know they are very indifferent. Two 12-pounders burst on the ramparts in 1770, in firing the morning and evening gun, and one 12-pounder burst on a rejoicing day in firing salutes. It destroyed seven Europeans and 14 or 15 Natives.

"I excommunicated these iron guns, and substituted brass ones for salutes, and I proved those of the iron guns which were to be used. They would not bear nine pounds of Europe powder; they stood seven pounds only; one out of thirty burst with eight pounds, and three out of five burst with nine; which was for experiment of their real strength, for as they were short twelves, and would be

* There are at the present time several old S.B. guns mounted in forts in India which were taken out of ships of the navy long ago, some with the name of the ship they belonged to or the ship number. And not long ago, in Fort Machi Bháwan might have been seen three 18-pounders of a long obsolete pattern which no one would attempt to serve, and which well might have been condemned in Pearse's time. The words "BACON SOLID" on the breech-ring of one have puzzled many antiquarians.

† "Mil. Rep.," Vol. I., p. 8.

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medium in thickness, eight pounds is the proof proportion, for I do not approve of trial by quantity."* 1770.

Against difficulties such as these Lieut.-Colonel Pearse had to contend; he burst his unserviceable guns; he got rid, as speedily as he could, of those of his officers who, by their want of education or habits of life, were unfitted for their position; and by careful selection and discipline of his recruits, laid the foundation of improvement in the ranks. He drew up instructions for the exercise and management of heavy ordnance, which continued for many years to be the groundwork of the system of drill, going into minute detail of both practical and theoretical gunnery for the use of officers and men. For the latter, and for the non-commissioned ranks, a regimental school was established in June, 1778. General Clavering, the Commander-in-Chief, and one of his particular enemies, reviewed the corps on the 26th of November, 1774, and expressed himself delighted and astonished with its performances, which Colonel Pearse, in writing home, said "would not have been a disgrace to dear old Woolwich." The same officer again, in March, 1777, reviewed the Artillery, and though he only formally and coldly thanked the Commandant, said afterwards that he had reviewed most of the King's regiments, but had never seen any perform better. And in Lord Cornwallis' correspondence we find honourable testimony to the same effect, in the superior quality and discipline of the Artillery soldiers.†

In April, 1775, a Board of Ordnance was established. It 1775
was composed of the Governor-General as President, the Commander-in-Chief, the Members of Council, Commissary-General, Commandant of Artillery, Chief Engineer, Commissary of Stores, and Military Store-keeper. Its institution interfered considerably with the control Lieut.-Colonel

* "Mil Rep.," Vol. II., p. 32.

† Correspondence of the Marquess Cornwallis. To H.R.H. the Duke of York, dated Calcutta, November 10th, 1786. To the Court of Directors, dated November 16th, 1788. To the same, dated August 17th, 1787.

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1775. Pearse had hitherto exercised over his own branch of the service; he considered and complained of it as an intentional attack, by General Clavering, upon his authority. The personal enmity borne to him by Colonel Watson, Chief Engineer, and Colonel Dow, the Commissary-General, aggravated the feeling, and its meetings were occasionally the scenes of violent disputes. One of its first acts was to withdraw the ordnance stores, cattle, and lascars of the field park from the orders of the officer commanding the company of Artillery at the station, and to place them under the Commissary of Ordnance, to be issued again when the company marched on service, thus taking the responsibility of the stores from the officer who had to use them on service, and making it over to a junior officer who was sometimes in the Infantry.*

Magazines were established at the same time at Berhampore, Chunar, and Dinapore under the control of the Board. A commissary, a deputy-commissary, and two conductors were appointed to each. The lascars attached to the Artillery were reduced to two serangs, four tindals, and 100 men per company in cantonments; the remainder, as required, being transferred to the magazines, from which, on occasions of service, the details were to be increased to four serangs, 12 tindals, and 325 men. The Board of Ordnance, or, as it was termed since 1785, the Military Board, was throughout all its changes of constitution, until it was finally abolished by the Marquess of Dalhousie in 1855, always a cumbrous machine, without individual responsibility. But the records of its proceedings contain much valuable infor-

* Although by a resolution of the Military Board dated July 20th, 1783, the offices of Commissary and Deputy-Commissary of Ordnance were ordered to be filled by Artillery officers only, the rule was not carried out, and Sir John Horsford cites an instance during the Nipal War (1814-15), in which the Deputy-Commissary of Ordnance at Berhampore, who was a warrant officer drawn from the Infantry, being ordered to prepare a quantity of shrapnel, informed the Military Board that neither he nor his conductor (also from the Infantry) knew the business, and requested that a laboratory-man or an Artillery sergeant might be sent from Fort William to teach them ("Memoir," 1816).

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mation, and it is greatly to be regretted that those of the earlier years relative to the Artillery should have all disappeared. 1775.

The headquarters of the regiment continued at Fort William. Hitherto it had moved out for practice to Salkiah, on the opposite bank of the River Hughli, but this year Dum Dum, a place for a long time associated with the name of the Bengal Artillery, appears to have been used for the first time. The practice, however, lasted only for a fortnight. Shuja-ul-Mulk, Nawab of Oudh, had died, and a brigade ordered thereupon to Dinapore required all the available camp equipage. No military operation of any moment, however, took place in this and the two following years. The second company had, in the year before, moved up from Monghyr under Captain W. Annesley Bailie to Oudh, and was employed in the action fought with the Rohillas on the 23rd of April, after which it returned to Belgrám in that province.

In August, 1777, the first company of Golandáz, or Native Artillery, was raised at the suggestion of Lieut.-Colonel Pearse. It was intended for the Oudh Brigade which, under arrangements with the Nawáb Vazir, was at the same time formed and officered by us, and it was stationed at Belgrám. Two other Golandáz companies, forming part of the same scheme, were afterwards raised. Their strength was to be one captain-lieutenant, two subalterns, three sergeants, one subadár, three jemadárs, 16 non-commissioned officers and drummers, and 80 privates. Major Patrick Duff was appointed to command them, with Lieutenants C. Davis as adjutant and C. Green as quartermaster. Captains-Lieutenant T. Harris, Justly Hill, and G. Sampson were posted to them. The first company formed part of the force which, next year, marched under Colonel Leslie to Bandelkhand, and thence to Bombay under General Goddard, at which time Lieutenant Robert Bruce* commanded 1777. 1778.

* Lieutenant Bruce had been a Deputy-Commissary of Ordnance at

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1778. it. These companies answered expectations so well that Native Artillery formed part of the augmentation which the necessities of the time now forced upon the Government. This was done at the recommendation of Lieut.-Colonel Pearse, who urged the prudence and economy of substituting efficient artillerymen for inefficient lascars.

In this augmentation (M.C., 13th and 14th July) the Artillery was no longer considered as forming portions of the different army brigades, but constituted a brigade of itself.

It was now to consist of a European battalion of seven service companies and one invalid company, and three Golandáz battalions of eight companies each. A colonel-commandant, with a brigade-major, an aide-de-camp, and a head surgeon comprised the regimental staff. But the rank of colonel was withheld from Pearse until every officer senior to him in the Infantry had been promoted, which occurred the following year. Even then the rank, as to command, was restricted to his own corps; and so strong was the feeling against Artillery officers being placed in a position to command other branches of the service, that Colonel Champion, when Commander-in-Chief, had recorded an opinion that no Artillery officer should be allowed the rank of full colonel, but that the senior officer for the time being might be allowed, as a compensation, *the Bullock Contract*. The force of prejudice could no further go.

The strength of the regiment, as it was intended to be upon this organization, will be found in Notes D and E,

Fort William, and the following letter resigning a lucrative appointment in order to go upon service, is too much to his credit to be omitted :—

"Fort William, 19th March, 1776.

"GENTLEMEN,—It being my turn to proceed to Bombay as the first Lieutenant of Artillery on the roster for a tour of Honour, I should very unwillingly speak it; But being a Publick Officer in the Ordnance Department, I have to beg that you will be pleased to permit me to deliver over the charge of the Magazine to Mr. Vernon, the Oldest Conductor of Ordnance, or to such other person as you may think proper to act for me during my absence."

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Chapter XVI. The companies retained their former strength in officers and men, but company adjutants were abolished. Deputy-commissaries and conductors of ordnance had been placed upon an independent list before this. The Golandáz were raised at the Presidency, Cawnpore, and Fatehgarh; the second and third companies of Oudh Artillery were incorporated with them. The officers belonging to the first, which at this time was on service in Bandelkhand, were made supernumerary. The lascars were all reduced. 1778.

Economical, however, and advantageous to the public service as the system of employing Native Artillerymen then was, it was not destined to remain long in existence. Sir Eyre Coote had succeeded the late General Clavering as Commander-in-Chief, and inherited his animosity for Lieut.-Colonel Pearse. It was shared by many of the Line officers, who were jealous of the position this Lieutenant of the Royal Artillery had attained; jealous too, perhaps, of his abilities, and of the strict principles of honour which he maintained. Battalion guns were withdrawn from regiments, and made over to the Golandáz; with them certain little advantages were lost to the Native Infantry commanders. It was, therefore, discovered that nothing could be so fatal to our interests in India as to teach natives the art of gunnery,* and the alarm spreading to England, established itself in Leadenhall Street. Thirty years before, the Court of Directors had ruled† that no Indian black, or person of mixed breed, or Roman Catholic, of what nation soever, should be admitted into a laboratory or military magazine; they had, yet more recently, forbidden the employment of natives as Artillerymen, unless when absolutely necessary; and it may 1779.

* Both Colonel Pearse and afterwards Sir John Horsford are most explicit in ascribing the opposition to the Golandáz system, to the causes above mentioned. Cf. "Mil. Rep.," Vol. I., p. 68, and Horsford's "Second Memoir" in 1816. Sir J. Tennant confirms this (MS. Notes).

† L.C.D., June 17th, 1748.

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1779. not have seemed to them extraordinary that the cry was raised. In willing obedience, therefore, to their orders, Minutes of Council dated the 23rd of November, 1779, ordered the Golandáz to be disbanded. Although they had only been embodied a year, they had attained a considerable degree of proficiency, and at this time, when we were engaged in hostilities with the Mahráta powers in the west, and with Haidar Ali in the south of India, hard pressed by the latter, the time was singularly unpropitious for such a measure.

Colonel Pearse twice wrote to the Commander-in-Chief to represent that this measure deprived the army of a large body of Artillerymen without affording any chance of the loss being made good. He showed that although the name of Golandáz to the army, yet the Sepoys who served the battalion guns were the same, under a different name, and far less efficient. Sir Eyre Coote's reply was as follows :—

"To Lieut.-Colonel Pearse, Commandant of Artillery,
"Chunar, Dec. 5th, 1779.

"Sir,—I am not more surprised than hurt to find you endeavouring to sap to its foundation that subordination and obedience which every officer ought to feel as so essentially necessary to his profession. I can say no less of your letter to me of the 24th ultimo, enclosing a copy of one addressed by you to the Board.

"The orders issued by me relative to the reduction of the Golundauze corps were clear and explicit, and required from you an exact and immediate compliance, instead of delay and remonstrance; and they were authorised by that very Board which you have applied to, to lay them aside.

"Your urging any plea as an excuse for hesitating to obey them, is both unmilitary and unprecedented. You are not called upon for your opinion, nor are you answerable for any consequences: obedience was the only thing required, and I now demand it from you in the strictest sense of the word.

"I am, &c., EYRE COOTE."

In the new organization of the corps, consequent on these changes, it was formed into two European battalions of five companies each. The invalid company was no longer considered a part of the regular establishment,

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and three companies were ordered to be formed at Fort William to complete the number, which was done in April, 1780. The lascars were re-embodied, and formed into ten battalions of six companies each; one of these battalions, numbering 330 of all ranks, was attached to each company of Artillery. They were to be instructed in, and perform all the duties of ordnance, "with the exception of pointing and loading guns and mortars"*—a very unimportant reservation, which never originated with an Artilleryman. The lascars were now, for the first time, clad in uniform; *angas*, or short tunics padded with cotton according to the weather; *jangiyas*, or short drawers, such as Native Infantry Sepoys then usually wore; and turbans. They were armed with a light pike, so constructed as to form *chevaux de frise* if necessary. 1779.

The Golandáz were disbanded; but, as Colonel Pearse had represented, with very few exceptions, they declined to descend from what they considered the highest and most honourable arm of the service to a low and ignominious class, which they held the lascars to be. Of 2,438 who were on the rolls of the regiment in November, 1,783 took their discharge the following month, and of these, many were found serving an enemy's guns in later campaigns, with marked effect.

The numerical establishment of officers was not much affected by the change. A paymaster was added to the regimental staff. The brigade-major was to be replaced by an adjutant, but Captain C. R. Deare, who had been appointed the first brigade-major, was allowed to hold that position for the present. The battalion guns were not restored to regiments of Native Infantry, but were kept with the field park, to be issued to them on occasions of service, with a subaltern's detail of Artillery, which was not always to be had.

We have now traced the history of the regiment from its

* Proceedings of the Gov.-Gen., August 3rd, 1779.

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1779. first establishment as a regular company of Artillery, for thirty years, during which the colonial possessions of Great Britain on this side of India had extended from a few small commercial factories in the vicinity of Calcutta, to a territory occupied by our troops as far north-west as Fatehgarh; when it comprehended a corps of two battalions. Notwithstanding the difficulties in the way of improvement, it had, under Colonel Pearse, attained considerable efficiency, and was preparing to take its position as one of the distinguished corps in the army of England, virtually, though not as yet nominally, in the service of her Sovereign.

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APPENDIX.

A. Numerical Establishment of a Company of Bengal Artillery in 1765, with rates of pay.

B. Select Committee to Court of Directors, September 30th, 1766.

C. Officers of the Bengal Artillery who resigned their Commissions in 1766.

D. Gun Lascars.

E. A Sporting Feat with Battalion Guns.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Numerical Establishment of a Company of Bengal Artillery in 1765, with rates of pay of the Commissioned and Warrant ranks.

Number.	Rank.	Pay.	Half Batta.	Single Field Batta.	Double Field Batta.
1	Captain	148 ...	93 ...	186 ...	372 ...
1	Captain-Lieutenant	90 ...	93 ...	186 ...	372 ...
1	1st Lieutenant	70 ...	62 ...	124 ...	248 ...
1	2nd-Lieutenant	70 ...	62 ...	124 ...	248 ...
3	Lieutenant Fireworkers	60 ...	46 8	93 ...	186 ...
1	Adjutant, effective	62 ...	62 ...	124 ...	248 ...
1	Quartermaster, effective	62 ...	62 ...	124 ...	248 ...
1	Surgeon's mate	62 ...	62 ...	124 ...	248 ...
1	Deputy-Commissary	50 ...	46 8	93 ...	186 ...
2	Conductors	50 ...	46 8	93 ...	186 ...
1	Sergeant-Major, non-effective				
1	Quarter-Master-Sergt., non-effective				
1	Pay-Sergeant, non-effective				
1	Drill-Sergeant, non-effective				
1	Park-Sergeant, non-effective				
1	Bullock-Sergeant, non-effective				
4	Sergeants				
4	Corporals				
2	Drummers				
2	Fifers				
10	Bombardiers				
20	Gunners				
60	Matrosses				

Besides 3 Camp colour-men and 1 overseer of bildárs (native pioneers), also non-effective.

NOTE B.

SELECT COMMITTEE TO COURT OF DIRECTORS, DATED FORT WILLIAM, SEPTEMBER 30TH, 1766.

"It would be of the utmost benefit to our plan for sending out 600 Recruits every year, that you also send out every year six or seven gentlemen from the Academy at Woolwich for Artillery officers, this being a service that suffers extremely for want of persons properly instructed in the business, since no officer who knows the benefit of the Infantry service here will choose to quit it for any advantages the Artillery affords."

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NOTE C.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who resigned their commissions at the ne of the Batta Mutiny in 1766.

Rank.	Names.	Co.	
ıpt.-Lieutenant	Charles Clifton	2	Resigned 6th May. Nothing further known.
,,	William A. Bailie	?	Resigned 6th May. Readmitted 13th June.
,,	Patrick Duff	4	Sent to Calcutta under arrest. Released subsequently.
,,	Alexander Black	2	Resigned 6th May. Readmitted 4th November.
st-Lieutenant	Archibald Stewart	1	Resigned 1st May. Readmitted 1st August.
,,	William Mason	4	Resigned 1st May. Died 3rd November.
,,	John Downes	1	Resigned 1st May. Nothing further known.
,,	Richard Launder	?	Resigned — May. Readmitted 13th June.
nd-Lieutenant	Matthew Neal*	2	Resigned 6th May. Readmitted 30th June.
,,	Thomas James	1	Resigned 1st May. Readmitted 19th October.
Fireworker	Thomas McDonald ...	4	Resigned 1st May. Readmitted, date not known.
,,	Gilbert Gibson	?	Resigned — May. Readmitted 16th June.
,,	Charles Scott	4	Resigned 1st May. Readmitted, date not known.
,,	William Elliot	1	Resigned 1st May. Readmitted 1st August.
,,	William Heyland (Heylon)	1	Resigned 1st May. Readmitted 19th October.
,,	Henry Liddell (Lidele) ...	2	Resigned 6th May. Readmitted 13th June.
,,	James Clarihue	1	Resigned — May. Readmitted 19th October.
,,	George Strangford... ...	1	Resigned 1st May. Readmitted 19th October.

NOTE.—The General Military Register of 1795 gives the dates of resignation of the officers belonging to the 1st Company as the 14th and 15th of May, but the commissions were given in to Sir R. Fletcher on the 1st (Strachey's "Narrative," p. 153). The names within a parenthesis are spelt as in the signatures to the memorial, but otherwise in the Military Register. The names of W. A. Bailie, R. Launder, G. Gibson, and J. Clarihue, were not attached to any of the memorials.

* Spelt "Nail," he consequently was an Irishman.

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NOTE D.

Gun Lascars.

The lascars were at first entertained to work with the drag-ropes in manœuvring or bringing the gun into action, and to carry ammunition, as well as to perform the less important duties —which soon widened out into an extraordinary latitude —appertaining to ordnance. Their higher ranks were termed serangs and tindals, names derived from the times of the old "Gun-room Crew," and which, in spite of Sir John Horsford's remonstrances, remained in use until 1818. The usual proportion for exercise and on service was two tindals and 28 lascars for a 12-pounder brass field-piece; for smaller calibres, half that number. They took certain posts at the gun, such as carrying the linstock with match, assisting to serve ammunition, and, in case of a casualty among the Europeans, would have been called upon to fill up the number; therefore, they were in fact native Artillerymen, notwithstanding orders to the contrary; and in subsequent changes from lascar to golandáz and back, the alteration was more in the name and amount of pay than in the nature of the work they had to perform. On service they certainly had their full share of hard work, and but few of its rewards. Consequently, they were men of low caste and family. They were looked upon as nothing better than draught cattle, though it was soon found they were more useful. Officers of all departments of the army considered themselves entitled to their services, and took care to indent accordingly, even for the most menial employments. They figured as private servants in all capacities.* The serangs were granted commissions in 1788 (G.O., 16th of June and 18th of September), and ranked along with subadárs, the highest grade of native officer in the Infantry, though with much less pay, but the commissions were taken away in 1792 (G.O., 7th September), on the ground that "their situation and the nature of their duty was entirely different" from that of the rest of the Native Army. Nevertheless, they continued to be placed upon Native Courts Martial, though without commissions, but ranking according to the dates of their appointments. As Sir John Horsford remarked

* Horsford's "Memoir," 1801.

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in his "Memoir" of 1801, this was authorised in the Madras Presidency, where it was laid down that :—

"The corps of gun lascars, like the other native troops, are subject to trial by general and regimental courts martial, and by courts martial as authorised by the 12th Article of the 12th Section of the Articles of War.

"No officer under the rank of syrang shall sit as President, and no officer under the rank of 1st tindal shall sit as a member of any native or Sepoy Court Martial."*

The illegality of such a procedure seems only to have been noticed by Sir John Horsford.

NOTE E.

A Sporting Feat with Battalion Guns.

"In the year 1809, two ferocious or wild elephants made their appearance at the station of the Ramgurh Battalion at Hazareebagh. These animals, which were of an uncommon size, did much mischief, but were at length vanquished and put to death, after having made several furious charges on the two 4-pounder field pieces which were brought out against them. Nineteen 4-lb. cannon-balls discharged from these pieces were taken out of the bodies of the animals after they fell, and it was supposed eight or ten more were buried in their carcases.

"The Commanding Officer of the corps made an official report on the subject to the Commander-in-Chief, and bestowed great praise on the Artillerymen† who served the guns for their extraordinary steadiness and bravery."—Williams' "History of the Bengal Native Infantry," Appendix N, page 383.

The reply of His Excellency has not been recorded.

* The date of this order is not given ; it is extracted from a reprint of some old orders, etc., in the library of the India Office.

† *i.e.*, the Infantry soldier attached to the guns.

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CHAPTER XVI.

1780-1808.

MOVEMENTS OF COMPANIES ON SERVICE—Colonel Pearse sent to Madras—Depreciation of the Regiment—Organisation of 1786—Artillery made a Brigade—Education in the Ranks—Inoculation—Seniority of Companies Arranged—Death of Colonel Pearse—Colonel G. Deare Commandant—Transfers from the Infantry—Detachments sent to Madras and on Naval Service—Discontent among Bengal Officers—Its Causes—References Home—Artillery not Implicated—Regulations of 1796—Reorganization of the Army—Roster of Field Duties—General Duff Commandant—Colonel Hussey—Colonel Green—The "Component Part"—Want of Officers and of Men—Reported by Marquis Wellesley—Six Companies Added—End of the Golandáz Controversy—Colonel Carnegie Commandant—Augmentation of Field Officers—Golandáz Companies Raised—Captain Hay—Order Directing the Employment of Battering Guns in the Attack of Forts—Single Guns prohibited—Its Cause—Uniform.

1780. THE force employed under Colonel Goddard in the Bombay Presidency, 1778-1784, had only the 1st Oudh Golandáz Company attached to it. Major Popham's detachment, operating against the Mahrátas from Cawn-
4 Co. S. Div. pore in 1780, had the 2nd Company 1st Battalion, under Captain J. Mayaffre. It returned to Mirzapore at the end of the year, and in August, 1781, formed part of Major
Red. in 1825. Popham's detachment against Cheyt Singh. The 1st Company 1st Battalion, and the 1st Company 2nd Battalion were also employed the same year.

1781. Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition to Artillery officers holding army commands, Colonel Pearse's acknowledged abilities pointed him out as the fittest person to command a detachment of Native Infantry, which Warren Hastings was sending by land to co-operate in the war against Haidar Ali. Major-General Giles Stibbert objected, but was overruled by Hastings, ever a warm friend

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to Pearse. The 5th Company 1st Battalion (Captain Vere W. Hussey) and 4th Company 2nd Battalion (Captain C. R. Deare) had gone by sea; and the 5th Company 2nd Battalion (Captain W. Elliot) accompanied Colonel Pearse. His ordnance consisted of four 12-pounders, ten 6-pounder guns (two for each battalion of N.I.), and as one company was not sufficient for these, and no more European Artillery could be spared, a second company of Golandáz was formed from the yet undischarged remnants of the former companies, and proceeded with the detachment. 1781. 4 Mt. Batt. 10 Field Batt. 9 Mount Batt.

Lieut.-Colonel Patrick Duff succeeded Pearse in the command of the Regiment during his absence on the Coast, and Captain George Deare replaced his younger brother in the Staff duties, but only with the rank and title of Adjutant. Captain C. R. Deare, on his return in October, 1784, resumed the post as Brigade-Major.

Owing to the urgent demand for Artillery, and the scarcity of European recruits, it was found necessary to form from the Golandáz, who had enlisted in the Native Infantry, three more companies of that branch in 1782. One was raised at Fort William in March, the other two in April at Chunar and Dinapore. They were again reduced, when the pressure had subsided, two in 1784, one in 1785. The two which had performed such good service under Colonel Pearse and General Goddard in Madras and Bombay, Mr. Hastings, before his resignation of the office of Governor-General, recommended strongly in a minute to his Council to be retained on the establishment, not only as a reward due to the men themselves, but also as required by the exigencies of the service. However, no sooner had Mr. Hastings left India, than they were disbanded. And in order to inflict further annoyance and insult upon his friend and supporter, the two battalions of Artillery were, in November, formed into a single one of ten companies, by which Colonel Pearse, although a full Colonel and the Senior Field-Officer in Bengal, being next 1782. 1785.

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1785. in rank to the Commander-in-Chief, was deprived of the position and allowances of a Brigadier. Captain Deare, also, was no longer allowed to retain his Brigade-Majorship, and he resigned the Adjutancy in consequence. It was, indeed, no new thing to depreciate the regiment; the feeling must have been known at home, for we find that of the cadets appointed to it in 1783, no less than six declined to come out. The persistent manner in which the valuable services and high character of Colonel Pearse was ignored and depreciated can only be accounted for by an inferiority of moral principle generally in his opponents.* It is easy to see with what truth he records in his correspondence, communicating the news of Lord Cornwallis' arrival at Calcutta, "Now I can breathe again."

1786. In May, 1786, distinct orders for the reorganization of the whole army were received from home, in consequence of which Minutes of Council, dated the 2nd of June, directed a formation of the Artillery into a regiment of three battalions, each composed of five companies. They were much reduced in strength both as to officers and men (Notes D and E), there being now only five officers to 75 men, instead of the previous allowance of eight officers to 100 men in each.† The proportion of officers was still

* Anyone who reads the Memoirs of Colonel Pearse in the British Indian Military Repository (consisting mainly of extracts from his correspondence, which leave little room for flattery while it discloses the character of the man) will observe the truth of this. The treatment he experienced never once diverted his attention from the well-being and efficiency of his corps.

† Respecting this reduction in the strength of companies, Sir John Horsford remarks :—

"The Honourable Company were at that time [*i.e.*, previous to 1786] guided by the establishment of the Royal Corps [of Artillery], but in later times they reformed their Artillery by means of a Committee of Infantry officers, who, howsoever they might understand their own *métier*, were absolute bunglers in their new business. 'On etoit loin alors d'imaginer qu'un corps consacré au service de l'artillerie, dût avoir une formation *totalement differente de celles des autres corps; et fondée sur la nature particulière du service qu'il avoit à remplir.*' So, with them a Company was a Company, no matter whether it was required to act in a body, as a Grenadier Company, or to be split up into details, as an Artillery Company; they made *their* companies,

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further reduced by the battalion Staff being made non-effective. Consequently, the officers thus rendered supernumerary were placed upon half-pay until absorbed by subsequent vacancies. 1786.

The letter of the Court of Directors was written in ignorance of the abolition of the Brigade-Major, and therefore made no special mention of such an office. The Artillery were not as yet designated a brigade: the Council, therefore, took advantage of this, and refused to sanction the appointment. Colonel Pearse in vain remonstrated, although the oversight was evident. This establishment did not include the invalid company, which still existed, or an independent company at the settlement of Bencoolen, on the south-west coast of Sumatra, or a separate detail at Prince of Wales Island (Note A).

Next year, however, under orders from the Court of Directors, the Artillery was made one of the brigades of the army from the 1st of May (G.O.C.C., 2nd May). This order quoted the letter from home, which stated that a Brigade-Major was to be allowed to the corps, "as at present." A Brigade-Major accordingly was nominated, *but he was an Infantry officer.* The order runs:— 1787.

"Lieutenant Peter Cullen, Brigade-Major to Colonel Macleod, to act as Brigade-Major to the Artillery, with the rank of Captain, conformably to the orders of the Court of Directors, until a vacancy happens in that staff line in the Infantry to which he is to succeed."

A subsequent order explains this:—

"The Honourable Captain T. Maitland, H.M. 72nd Regiment, is appointed Major of Brigade, to do duty under Colonel Macleod, *vice* Lieutenant Cullen."

However, Lieutenant Cullen resigned the post, and was succeeded by Henry Grace, an Artillery officer, in March, 1788.

therefore, nearly all alike."—"Memoir," 1816. Note D. (The italics are Horsford's.)

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1787. Education in the ranks was very defective, and the subject had long occupied Colonel Pearse's attention. In 1770 he had issued some orders regarding it, but, as before noticed,* it was not until 1778 that a regimental school for the men was established. In 1787 he again recurred to the matter in regimental orders, in order, as he said, "that by teaching them to read, he may enable them to learn their duty as Christians from books of their religion, and as soldiers from the orders and regulations laid down for their guidance." He stated also his intention to visit the school from time to time; and to induce the non-commissioned officers to qualify themselves in this respect for their position, directed that a sergeant employing a man to read and write for him, should pay him six rupees, or if only to write, four rupees a month, and the man was not to be excused duty for the purpose, or to be allowed to read on parade.

1788. The method of inoculating men with small-pox virus, was introduced into India at this time. In February of this year, one officer, 20 Artillerymen, 26 Infantrymen, and 53 children (including some natives), were inoculated in the field hospital at Dum Dum, of whom, by a report published in April, all but ten took it and recovered.

By G.O.C.C. of the 4th of September, 1788, the companies of Artillery, which had hitherto been numbered according to the seniority of their Captains, or the order for field duty, which led to frequent and inconvenient changes, were ordered to receive permanent numbers. Colonel Pearse, therefore, examined all the existing returns as far back as possible, to ascertain the exact seniority of each. He had already collected all available records as far back as 1748, in above fifty volumes, which were indexed in 1786, and placed under charge of the Brigade-Major, Captain Grace, than whom no one could have been found better fitted for the task.

1789. Next year, in the beginning of March, a fire broke out

* Chapter XV., page 499.

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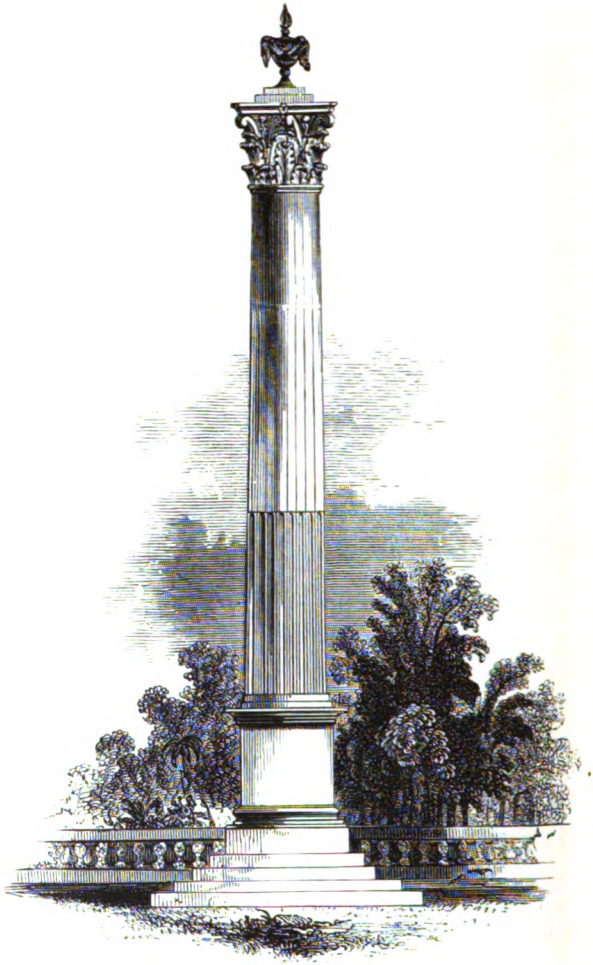

MONUMENT AT DUM DUM, ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF COLONEL THOMAS DEANE PEARSE.

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at night in the arsenal of Fort William, and the workshops with a quantity of stores were burned down. The exertions of Colonel Pearse, who was present, with the officers and soldiers of the garrison, saved a number of the carriages, but his health was not good then, and he was undergoing a course of mercury, of which the exposure to the night air probably increased the injurious effects. He was able, a day or two afterwards, to superintend some experiments at Dum Dum, before Lord Cornwallis, with a fuze invented by Lieutenant-Fireworker Thomas Hill; but early in April he was obliged to make over command of the garrison of Fort William to the next senior officer, and proceeded down the river for change of air. More than twenty years of unceasing exertion and much anxiety had, however, done their work upon his constitution, and he died on the 15th of June, at the early age of forty-seven. After what has been set down in the foregoing pages, with the record of his services in Madras, and given in the slight biographical sketch appended to the former part of this work, it will be unnecessary to dilate on his character. The regiment lost in him an officer of rare professional ability, singleness of aim, and devotion to its interests. Under him it had grown up from a condition of utter inefficiency, to become the most effective arm of the service, under difficulties which very few men could have met as he did. Had he turned aside to fight the battles which so thickly strewed his path, he would have been equally distinguished, and have incurred no blame. But he fought only against those obstacles which lay between him and the one object of his life.* Honour to his name is equally due from the Royal Artillery, in which he commenced his 1789.

* Much as I had always admired the character of Colonel Pearse, the feeling was greatly increased by a perusal of the many minutes of his which are still to be found in Government records in Calcutta, and which show that he was greatly in advance of his time. Nothing connected with the health, comfort, and efficiency of his men seems to have been unnoticed by him. His biography in the Military Repository is worth perusal.

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1789. career, and the Bengal Artillery, in which it was ended. He never forgot the former, and kept up a correspondence with the most distinguished officers belonging to it, as well as with some of the leading men of science at home. Had the same intimate relations been maintained between the Royal and Indian Artilleries in subsequent years, especially during the long peace which lay upon Europe after the restless spirit of Napoleon had departed, valuable results would, doubtless, have accrued to both.

Colonel Pearse's death was announced in a General Order, of which the following is an extract:—

"It is with the utmost concern that Earl Cornwallis has occasion to perform the mournful duties of a last tribute of military honour to the remains of Colonel Pearse, in whose demise the army has lost a zealous and most respectable officer.

"On the corpse being brought into garrison, the colours are to be lowered half staff, and to remain so until the corpse is interred."

Lieut.-Colonel G. Deare commanded the funeral party, and the interment took place in the South Park Street burial-ground. A monument was also erected to his memory at Dum Dum by the Officers of the Brigade.

Colonel Patrick Duff was the next senior officer, but he, being at home, was not, under existing rules,* on the strength of the corps. Major Justly Hill had also gone home in 1788, and for the same reason had been superseded in promotion. Lieut.-Colonel George Deare, therefore, succeeded to the command. He had been commissioned as Fireworker in September, 1768, and was this time commanding the 1st Battalion at Cawnpore. When Colonel Duff returned to Bengal, he went on at once to Madras with Lord Cornwallis, and Colonel Deare continued to officiate. He claimed the command, how-

* Officers obtaining leave to England had to resign the service. By an order of the Court of Directors, dated September 21st, 1785, this was so far modified that those going home on account of their health had half-pay allowed them while so absent from India.

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ever, and it would have probably been allowed, but he appears to have also put forward a claim * to the command of the 1st Battalion, vacant by the death of Lieut.-Colonel C. R. Deare, killed in action in September, 1790, which claim was disallowed at home. Colonel Duff, therefore, after his return from Madras, resigned the Service, and went home. 1789.

In consequence of the difficulty, before adverted to, of obtaining cadets to fill Artillery vacancies, it was found necessary to resort to the Infantry, and we find accordingly that the following transfers were made :—

In 1785 Lieutenant H. Willis, Ensigns R. Brown, J. T. Tilfer,† and Norman Macalister, Cadets Gervaise Pennington, J. Taylor, W. Feade, and R. Douglas.

In 1788, Ensign J. P. Drummond.

In 1789, Ensigns G. Jones, Clement Brown, W. Winbolt, and W. H. Green.

In 1790, Ensigns Arnold N. Matthews, W. Hopper, and Foster Maynard.

In 1793, hostilities with France induced us to undertake the siege of Pondicherry, and the Marquess Cornwallis sent a detachment of Artillery from Bengal to assist 1793.

* Colonel Pearse had been declared (M.C., May 10th, 1786) eligible to hold the command of one of the three battalions, and it was probably upon this that Colonel Duff grounded his claim. But at that time there were only one colonel and two lieut.-colonels for the three battalions ; whereas, after 1788, there were three of the latter grade, which quite altered the conditions. The decision, therefore, in Colonel Duff's case appears equitable. Nevertheless, this precedent was not followed when, in 1800, Lieut.-Colonel Macintyre, to whom Colonel C. Green, on being appointed Officiating Commandant (Major-General Deare being the nominal one, but being precluded by his rank from exercising the command), had delivered over the command of the 3rd Battalion, claimed the superior allowances attached thereto. Lieut.-Colonel Macintyre's request was refused, because "the Commander-in-Chief did not consider Colonel Green's appointment to conduct the regimental duties of the Regiment of Artillery, as removing him from the immediate command of the Battalion to which he was posted while present at the same station with it ; but it might create an inconvenient precedent and expense" (Adjt.-Gen., Aug. 1st, 1800, to Mil. Aud.-Gen.).

† Exact period of transfer is uncertain.

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1793. (G.G.O., July 1st, 1793). It consisted of five companies with 12 of lascars, viz. :—

2nd and 4th Companies 1st Battalion, 1st Company 2nd Battalion, and the 4th and 5th Companies 3rd Battalion.

Staff.*—Major Robert Bruce, Commanding ; Major Edward Montagu ; Lieutenant W. Flemyng, Quartermaster; Lieut.-Fireworker R. Brown, Adjutant ; Surgeon John Henderson ; Assist.-Surgeons John Orr and Adam Mitchell. The names of the Company Officers are given in Note B.

The detachment left Bengal in August, and Pondicherry having capitulated, returned in October.

In November of the same year, another detachment was sent, with Commodore Mitchell's fleet, for service against French cruisers in the Bay of Bengal and Eastern Archipelago. The Infantry consisted of three officers and 67 men H.M. 76th Regiment, three officers and 99 men 3rd and 4th Regiments of the Company's European Infantry. The Artillery, composed of details of different companies, and commanded by Captain Andrew Fraser, with Lieutenants H. Douglas, A. Hind, T. Dowall, R. Tulloh, and R. Humphreys, consisted of 10 Non-commissioned Officers and 98 gunners. They were absent upon this duty for about a year. They were men selected for the service, as "none but trained soldiers and fit for duty" were to be sent.

1794. In pursuance of the same object, the protection of British trade, it was at this time designed to attack the French islands off the east coast of Madagascar, and an expedition was proposed. Three companies of Bengal Artillery were sent to Madras. Lieut.-Colonel Vere W. Hussey was in command of the detachment, which left Bengal in June, but returned again in October, as the design was abandoned. The companies and names of the officers employed on this service will be found in Note C.

* G.G.O., August 1st, 1793.

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The condition of the Bengal Army at this time was not only unsatisfactory, it was alarming. As it gradually attained the form of a National army, and was regulated by a system of administration slowly assimilating to that which prevailed in the army of Great Britain, with which it was becoming more and more associated, certain inequalities in precedence and privilege between the two, some disadvantages, serious in themselves, arising out of the purely local status of the Company's army, began to be felt by the latter, especially the seniors. The East India Company could never have attracted into their service in India a body of educated officers, fitted to command, if they had not offered a higher rate of pay than that which was drawn at home. The pay of the soldier was more closely assimilated to that of the Royal Army, but there were certain contingent advantages which made men not unwilling to take the Company's shilling, and between 1764 and 1859 no general complaints rose from the ranks. 1796.

But it was otherwise with the officers. In the times of Clive and Hastings no settled rule seems to have existed under which Royal officers serving in India were entitled to Indian rates of pay and allowances. When the 73rd, Lord Macleod's Regiment of Highlanders, left England in 1779 for the East, an agreement was entered into that they, as well as the other King's Regiments serving in India, should receive a gratuity which would equalise their pay with that of the local forces. We find them afterwards complaining that this gratuity was issued nine months in arrears, and then by bills on Bengal, which had to be discounted in Madras at a heavy loss.* This unsettled condition of matters was put an end to in Bengal, when it was decided (M.C., June 27th, 1788) "that the pay and stated allowances of His Majesty's troops serving under this Presidency be made exactly equal to the corresponding ranks of the Company's service."

* See Munro's "Narrative," pp. 94, 376, *et seq.*

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1796. On the other hand, there was a rule by which every King's officer took precedence of all Company's officers of the same grade, a rule which was rendered still more unfair by a somewhat indiscriminate grant of brevet rank to the former. As Captain Munro in his "Narrative" confesses, this bore very heavily upon the more experienced of the Company's officers. Colonel Pearse complains bitterly of the way in which he was thus superseded by his juniors. And although it was announced to the army (M.C., August 1st, 1788) that the local brevets were to cease after the 29th of September, 1789, still the general supersession continued, and was for many years felt by those who looked for rank less as a source of emolument than as a means of distinction in their profession.

But there were other causes of discontent arising from the conditions of Indian service.* Promotion was slow; allowances in the junior grades were small; leave home, even for health, could only be obtained by an officer resigning his commission, and forfeiting both pay and service for the time; and no provisions were made for granting pensions or half-pay on retirement. Such were the principal sources of dissatisfaction. Representations from all the Presidencies had been made, and a committee of

* The evidence given by the officers who were examined by the Committee of the House of Commons on the renewal of the Company's charter in 1813 as to the causes of discontent both before and after 1796 is meagre and unsatisfactory. Lieut.-Colonel Sir John Malcolm (Madras) merely says* that Lord Cornwallis, in a letter to the President of the Board of Control, proposed a plan for amalgamating the Company's with the Royal Army; that the regulations of 1796 were more beneficial to the Presidency of Bengal than to the others, and that Sir Alured Clarke, the Commander-in-Chief at Madras then, wrote a strong minute pointing out the evil of this; that no mark of honour or public distinction had within his recollection ever been bestowed upon a Company's officer, except in the instance of Sir John Brathwaite, who was made a baronet because he had been superseded by a Royal officer, his junior, in the command of the Army of Fort St. George.

The only two other officers examined on this point, Major-General Alexander Kyd (Bengal Engineers) and Colonel Thomas Munro (Madras Infantry) corroborate the above.

* "Minutes of Evidence," Vol. I., pp. 105-107.

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officers at home was appointed to urge their claims upon the Court of Directors and the Ministry.* 1796.

Lord Cornwallis had not failed to see that there were just grounds for these representations, and that important changes of system and organization were necessary. On his return home in 1794 he explained his views to the Court of Directors, and submitted to the King a scheme which included a proposal for the amalgamation of the Company's Artillery and Regiments of European Infantry with the Royal Army. Looking back now from a distance of nearly one hundred years, it is perhaps to be regretted that this measure was not carried out, at least with regard to the Artillery.

The Court of Directors, although sensible that improved regulations were necessary, yet hesitated to concur in all the proposals laid before them. The questions of the positions, emoluments, and privileges claimed by their officers were too serious to be hastily decided upon. Promises were made that they would be satisfactorily settled. But the discontent that had been engendered had been increasing year by year, and the temper of the Bengal officers was giving way. The events of 1766 seemed likely to repeat themselves thirty years later. This time, however, the Artillery were not implicated. They had the same evils to complain of as the rest of the army, and even more. But the tone of the regiment was now very different from what Colonel Pearse had found it shortly after 1766. In the mutinous proceedings which occurred, therefore, it not only held aloof, but rendered

* The President of the Home Committee of Indian Officers was Major-General Sir Henry Cosby, Kt., who had been Adjutant-General of the Madras Army, and whose character stood deservedly high, not only as an officer, but also for the manner in which he had conducted the delicate and difficult task of representing the views of so large a body of officers, which elicited the unqualified approbation of Mr. Dundas, then the President of the Board of Control for Indian affairs. Major J. Burnett, Bengal Artillery, was a member of this Committee.

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1796. important aid to Government. Sir John Shore, writing to Lord Cornwallis on the 26th of April, 1796, says :—

"You will be surprised, mortified, and perhaps alarmed, at the accounts which you will hear of the state of the army. Their proceedings exceeded all bounds of decency or moderation . . . and, but for the firmness of the Artillery at Calcutta, and the manly resistance of several officers at Cawnpore, the army would have dictated to the Government their own terms" ("Life of Lord Teignmouth," Vol. II., p. 370).

From the same source (p. 351) we learn that Colonel Sir John Macgregor Murray, who commanded at the Presidency when the excitement was at its height, had, without receiving orders to do so, or communicating his intentions to the Governor-General, placed Fort William in a state of defence, "relying on the unshaken steadiness of the Artillery, which formed a large portion of its garrison." The arrival of the regulations framed by the Court of Directors tended to allay the insubordination, but though the officers of the Bengal Army obtained most of the benefits for which they had contended, questions of precedence between the Royal and Company's services continued for many years after to be made a subject of appeal.

These regulations were contained in the Court's letter dated the 8th of January, 1796. The adjustment of the dates of the Royal Commissions now granted to the Company's officers was a valuable concession, as it placed them more upon an equality with the Royal service, and confirmed to them a status which they otherwise could not have claimed. It was contained in the following paragraph :—

"Having thus detailed the new Peace Establishment for your Presidency, we have great satisfaction in acquainting you that in order to prevent the existence of jealousies between the King's and Company's troops, the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, has engaged to recommend to His Majesty to give every officer of the Company a King's Commission of the same date with that which he

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receives from the Company, with a retrospect founded on the date of the King's Commissions they now hold, so as to prevent supersession by the various recent promotions by General Brevet which have taken place in His Majesty's Army." 1796.

This letter was published to the army in G.O.C.C., May 4th, 1796. The European Infantry were now to consist of three regiments of one battalion each; the Native Infantry of twelve double battalion regiments; the Cavalry, nominally of four, but in reality of only two regiments; the Engineers, one battalion, and the Artillery were formed into a regiment of three battalions.*

By this arrangement, the strength in the ranks of the Artillery was the same as before. A colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major were assigned to each of the three battalions. The rank of captain-lieutenant was restored, but as an equivalent number was deducted from the fireworkers, it was a practical reduction of the real strength in officers of each company. The regiment, however, received extensive brevet promotion; two colonels two lieutenant-colonels, four majors and nine captains, were advanced to the next grade, and one major by an antedate of rank (G.O., September 29th, 1796). And the rule now introduced, by which the rank of brevet-captain was conferred upon all subalterns on completion of fifteen years' service, before long extended to nearly all the lieutenants of the regiment. The nature of the advice under which the Directors framed the establishments for their Artillery has been noticed before (page 503) as stated by Sir John Horsford. It is a proof of the truth of this that in little more than a year after, the paucity 1797.

* It was intended by this arrangement to equalise the proportion of the Field-Officers to the junior grades in the several arms. This proportion now was :—
European Infantry, 1 Field-Officer to $7\frac{2}{3}$ lower grades.
Native Infantry, Cavalry, Engineers, 1 Field-Officer to 8 lower grades
Artillery, 1 Field-Officer to $8\frac{1}{3}$ lower grades.
The ratio which the several arms bore to each other was : Engineers, 1 ; Cavalry, 2 ; Artillery, 3 ; and Infantry, 15. (Broome.)

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1797. of non-commissioned officers and men was so much felt that ten matrosses were added to each company in the field and at Chunar The 1st European Regiment supplied drafts for this purpose, and to complete the companies to their full strength (M.C., October 30, 1797), and the 2nd and 3rd Regiments supplied 170 men to complete the other companies (G.O., November 1st), to which also ten matrosses appear to have been added the following month.

The roster of field duties was laid down in G.O., January 11th, 1797, by which the headquarters of the regiment and of two battalions were fixed at Fort William; those of the 3rd Battalion "in the field." This term included Allahabad and all stations higher up the country, which had always been distinct from those nearer Fort William. But as the requirements of service called for additional companies to the north-west, this involved, for the sake of the official returns, the inconvenient system of temporarily attaching them to the battalion which happened to be in the field at the time. Field-Officers were to serve in turn four years at the Presidency, and two in the field. They were still under the direct orders of the Commandant through the senior officer. The same order directed Major-General G. Deare, who had been commanding the regiment since the death of Colonel Pearse, to hold himself in readiness to proceed to take command of the Artillery in the field, as Major-General P. Duff was expected out immediately from home. The latter officer rejoined on the 13th of March, and was next day gazetted as Colonel of the 3rd Battalion and Commandant of the regiment. His tenure of command was short, for M.C. of June 5th declared general officers incapable of holding a regimental command. Consequently, Colonel Vere Warner Hussey, the senior of that grade, was directed (G.O., June 16th, 1797) to assume command of the regiment. Major-General Duff was appointed to command the troops at the Presidency, but he went home finally on

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the 5th of December, and was succeeded by Major-General Deare. 1797.

In the end of next year Colonel Hussey, having been promoted with effect from the 1st of January, 1798, was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Lieut.-Colonel Christopher Green (G.O., September 18th).* General Hussey returned home on the 15th of February following, and was placed on the senior list from the 1st of January, 1803. Major-General Deare remained in India, commanding at Mirzapur, until he was placed upon the senior list. The order announcing this (G.G.O., April 12th, 1804) mentions him in the following terms :— 1798.

"The Governor-General in Council entertains a high sense of the conduct of Major-General Deare during his service upon the Staff, and in particular during the late contest with the Mahráta chieftains. His Excellency in Council views with just respect the zeal, diligence, honour, and fidelity with which Major-General Deare has discharged his duty to the Honourable Company and to his King and country during a long course of service."

When Lord Mornington arrived in India, the political horizon was everywhere clouded. From Kabul invasion was expected, led by Sháh Zamán Abdáli. The Mahráta powers were almost openly hostile. In Mysore, French republican agents were in active correspondence with "Citizen Tippoo." A further increase to the Artillery became necessary. But European troops could not easily be had,† and

* As the senior officer was, by a curious fiction, supposed to be still Commandant, Colonel Green appears on the returns as "officiating." He was appointed to the nominal status by G.G.O., May 17th, 1804.

† A large number of recruits were drawn from Ireland, which was then in a very disturbed state, and could not furnish many. There was a demand, too, for the home army. Captain Buckle gives the proportion of nationalities as follows (p. 243) :—

	1795.	1801.
English	437	516
Irish	284	484
Scotch	Not stated	74
Welsh	„	19
Foreigners	„	211
No description	„	32

Generally, the number of Irish has been about equal to English. This was nearly the proportion in 1845 and ten years later.

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1798. the difficulty was met by the notable expedient of amalgamating European and Native Artillerymen together in one company. To each were added (M.C., October 15th, 1798) 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, 2 gunners, and 4 matrosses; Golandáz: 1 jemadar, 3 havildárs, 3 naicks, and 40 privates; and next month it was ordered that the establishment authorised by the home letter of 1796 should be carried.

The additions of men in this and the previous year were not accompanied by an increase of subaltern officers. And when the injudicious experiment of mixing up Europeans and natives in the same gun detachments was tried, their discipline was greatly injured. These details of Golandáz were officially termed "the component part." They were to be drilled along with, and in the same exercises as, the Europeans; they were to be clad in the same uniform. But anything like amalgamation was impossible. Discord, recrimination, and hatred between the two were the consequence. The European, disliking his native comrade, diffident of his ability to serve the vent or fire the gun, positively refused to stand at the muzzle, urging, in spite of all reasoning, that "it was hard to be blown away by a black fellow," while the other equally declined to suffer from the carelessness or design of the European.* Proud as they were of the honour of serving a gun, the latter could not but see that they were only so many shreds and patches on the coat of a European company, contemned by their countrymen of the Infantry, and objected to by their own officers. The union was too unnatural, and the representations of Colonel Horsford, backed up by the unanimous opinion of the regiment, procured an order for its dissolution in 1802.

The number of officers now allowed, though greater than in our own times, when a captain and three subalterns was the allowance, was for many reasons far from sufficient. In the system which then obtained, and indeed was necessary, of detaching small details of Artillery with regiments

* Horsford's "First Memoir" enters into this subject at great length.

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of Infantry in the numerous petty occasions which continually occurred, to collect revenue, or to attack a refractory zamindár in his mud fort, officers were required to be everywhere. The companies were broken up into small details, some employed upon such occasions of service, some upon ordinary outpost duty. It was no unusual thing for a subaltern of Infantry to have charge of the guns with his regiment on service. Colonel Horsford, in the Memoir which he submitted to General Lake in October, 1801, goes at length into the subject. He calculates the tactical unit of Artillery as a single gun with its detail of men, and a subaltern as necessary for every two. The four subalterns allowed by the regulations of 1786 were a sufficient proportion for the Infantry as then organized, and this was laid down by the Court of Directors as "an adequate military establishment in time of peace only." The regulations of 1796 deprived each company of a subaltern. This deficiency was further extended by the operation of the furlough rules of that year, and the withdrawal of officers for staff and civil appointments, without filling up their places. The Infantry had, by the new arrangements, been reduced as to the number of battalions, but these were now so strong, that on the petty occasions of service before referred to, only half was often detached, and so, as Horsford remarks, "we have the absurd spectacle of 500 men on service, with only a single field-piece." 1798.

Such being the case when Field Artillery only were taken into consideration, the insufficiency became still more evident when battering trains, however small, were taken into consideration. In March, 1801, four heavy guns were sent from Fatehgarh for the attack of a small fort in the Oudh territory. The provision of details for their service only left for the fourteen field-guns remaining in cantonments a few European and native artillerymen, but not one lascar. Yet they were supposed to be kept always ready for service. The following month a similar case occurred at Cawnpore.

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1798. It was not only as to their own requirements that the Artillery was thus disadvantageously placed. The organization of 1796 had given the Infantry a much superior rate of promotion. That arm had previously consisted of 36 battalions with six lieut.-colonels, six majors, 36 captains, and 324 subalterns, or 10⅛ officers to each battalion. It was now composed of twelve regiments, each of two battalions, with 12 colonels, 24 lieut.-colonels, 24 majors, 84 captains, 12 captain-lieutenants, and 384 subalterns, being 22½ officers to each battalion. Moreover, the Cavalry, formerly officered from the Infantry, were made a distinct service, the result being a great run of promotion, while the Artillery, having only gained two field-officers, and suffering a practical reduction throughout, received a severe check in this respect, which lasted for some years.

The attention of the Earl of Mornington was early directed to this matter, and though "the component part" was raised under his orders, he did not fail to see the necessity of a better system. But considerations of finance limited his action. In a letter to Mr. Dundas, dated the 13th of July, 1800, he says:—

"The Company's European Artillery are everywhere extremely weak. The fixed establishment of this corps is defective at all the Presidencies, and the number wanting to complete even that defective establishment are now so considerable that I intend without delay to reduce one of the Company's European regiments in Bengal for the purpose of augmenting the Artillery of this Presidency, and I shall probably carry into effect a similar measure at Fort St. George and Bombay. . . .

"I have already stated the alarming deficiency of our Artillery throughout India, and the expedient to which I intend to resort for the remedy of this evil. But the best remedy which I may be enabled to apply will be insufficient on account of the great deficiency of officers of Artillery. Some companies have now no more than one commissioned officer doing duty with them. This deficiency proceeds in a great measure from the original inadequacy of the establishment of commissioned officers, and partly from a neglect of a regular supply of cadets. Of the establishment of officers, defective as it is, nearly one-third are either on furlough

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or employed in staff offices which preclude them from the performance of regimental duty. One additional subaltern, at least, should be posted to each company of Artillery, and I must particularly request your attention to the necessity of sending out to India without delay, both an ample supply of private Artillerymen, and of cadets for the Artillery corps." 1798.

But it was not so easy a matter to procure a sufficient supply of cadets* for the corps, though the Directors had consented to make an allowance to the Royal Academy for their education,† for we find that in the five years from 1797 to 1802, only eight cadets joined the regiment, and one‡ of these was, for some reason or other, transferred to the Infantry. The Home Authorities were willing on their part as far as possible to supply the Indian Artillery from the Royal Academy.§ Thus the active opposition which had been brought to bear upon the efforts of Colonel Pearse to improve the corps had borne its fruit, and the Artillery had fallen into disrepute at home as promising less solid advantages than the Infantry, for which cadetships were eagerly sought after.

Before action could be taken at home on the representations of the Governor-General, it was found necessary to strengthen the Bengal Artillery by transfers from the Infantry. Nearly 300 men were received in this way between July and September, 1801, but the vacancies were not all filled up, and it was intended to add two more companies to each battalion. 1801.

Consequently, orders arrived from home for the reduction of the 2nd Regiment of European Infantry, and the six additional companies were directed (G.O.C.C., 14th of 1802.

* Lieutenants W. Richards, H. Stark, E. Graham, R. Monsell, R. Morris, and H. D. Boyle were transferred from the Infantry in 1795.

† L.C.D., January 8th, 1796.

‡ Lieutenant William Procter Anderdon (M.C., August 16th, 1798). Another officer, Lieutenant S. Noble, was transferred to the Cavalry by G.O.C.C., July 1st, 1797, after six years' service in the Artillery.

§ Cadets were either to pass through the regular course at the Academy, or be reported qualified for appointment by the examiners.

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1802. February, 1802) to be formed. The lascars remained at their former strength to be attached to companies in such proportion as the nature of the service might require. Notwithstanding all this, the actual number on the returns in April fell short of the establishment by 820 non-commissioned officers and men. A fireworker for each company had been added, but no more field-officers, and as the Native Infantry had been augmented by 14 battalions, and the Cavalry by two regiments, the Artillery were so much superseded that a memorial set up by the Commandant was forwarded to the Court of Directors, who, in 1805, sent out orders which will appear in their place.

The formation of a battery of Horse Artillery, which was commenced in 1800, further diminished the efficiency of the Foot Artillery, as the officers required for it were for many years retained on the strength of their companies, their places not being filled up. The progressive constitution of this branch will be more conveniently considered by itself.

Thus it was that while the 21 companies should have had each six officers, or 126 in all, there were, on the 29th of March, 1802,* 21 captains, 21 captain-lieutenants and 28 lieutenants; no fireworkers at all; wanting to complete, 56 subalterns. And deducting those who were employed in the distant settlements of Fort Marlborough and Prince of Wales' Island, those who were on staff employ, or who were on leave at home, we find (see Note F) that there were actually present with the 21 companies on the
1803. 1st of September 1803, only 33 officers; viz.: 12 captains, 7 captain-lieutenants, and 14 lieutenants. With this number the Artillery took their part in one of the severest contests which the British power had, as yet, been engaged in in India.

Before the Mahráta War broke out, the weakness of the companies became too apparent to be disregarded, and

* G.O.C.C., of this date gives the names and postings.

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General Lake stopped the reduction of two or three of the "component parts" which were in the field, and determined to make them the nucleus of a third corps of Golandáz, but on a different plan. The war proceeded, and no recruits had arrived from England. Necessity has no law, and so the incongruity of the whole of the measures adopted respecting the native portion of the regiment was crowned by the reception into it of about 400 Golandáz, and a larger number of gun lascars, taken prisoners from the enemy, "whose hands were scarcely dry of the blood of our countrymen,"* but whose management of their guns in action had induced our army to regard them with something like respect. 1803.

This measure was the *coup de grâce*, says Horsford, to all further argument respecting the policy of a Golandáz corps, and in March 1804, a plan was called for of an establishment intended to supply details to all field-pieces attached to regiments of Native Infantry. It was submitted and approved of, but owing to the war, and Lord Lake's departure for Europe after its conclusion, it was not carried out until 1806. 1804.

On the 1st of March the Governor-General again addressed the Court of Directors regarding the great deficiency of Artillery officers, and they having thereupon bestirred themselves, 16 cadets were sent to Bengal in the course of that year, 14 in 1805, and 11 arrived in 1806. The number in this last year would have been much greater but for the melancholy fate of nine. One was killed in an affray with the natives at San Salvador on the way out, the rest were lost at sea.

In 1805 the command of the regiment again became vacant by the promotion of Colonel Green. Owing to the paucity of major-generals he had, in 1804, been temporarily placed upon the army staff, but without relinquishing his position in the regiment. Next year he was promoted, 1805.

* Horsford's "Second Memoir," 1816; Note R.

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1805. with effect from the 1st of January, and was appointed (G.G.O., July 4th, 1805) to the staff, and G.O.V.P., August the 29th,* appointed Colonel Nicholas Carnegie, the next senior present in India, to officiate as Commandant of Artillery, with the usual seat at the Military Board. Major-General Green died in Calcutta a few days after (July 31st).

1806. In consequence of the memorial from the Artillery officers before adverted to (p. 534), regarding their supersession in promotion by the Infantry, and to supply the want of field-officers, orders were received from home (L.C.D., July 10th, 1805) for the addition to each battalion of a lieutenant-colonel and a major. This was promulgated in G.G.O., June 19th, 1806, and by a subsequent order the commissions of all so promoted were antedated to the 21st of September, 1804.

The orders for the formation of Native Artillery were now (G.G.O., August 28th, 1806) carried out. The Golandáz which were still left, except the regular companies † at the Prince of Wales' Island, those upon foreign service, and the irregulars in the City of Delhi,‡ formed the nucleus of five companies, each consisting of one subadár, one jemadár, eight havildars, eight naicks, and 100 privates. The command of the whole not being otherwise provided for, remained with the Officer Commanding. Lieut.-Colonel Horsford, commanding the Artillery in the field, in a letter to the Adjutant-General, dated Cawnpore, June 17th 1808, represented that the number of Golandáz, then

1808. amounting to 588 non-commissioned officers and men,

* G.O.C.C., July 29th, had anticipated this as far as the regimental duties were concerned, but should not have done so, as the appointment rested with the Governor-General in Council.

† Two of these were raised for the particular service of that settlement by G.O., August 25th and September 6th, 1804 (Adjt.-General to Sec. Gov. Mil. Dep., October 30th, 1809.—Jephson).

‡ These were Native Artillerymen taken over from the Mahráta service (p. 32), and were stationed at Delhi by G.O.C.C., February 26th, 1806. Many were alive and drawing their pension when I was there in 1851.

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was not sufficient to afford a single relief for their duties, and that at least three more companies were required. He also represented the necessity for an officer to command this branch, but did not attempt the hopeless request for a full establishment. He recommended Captain-Lieutenant Samuel Sinclair Hay for the post in these terms :— 1808.

"If His Excellency permits me to name this officer, I can safely say that I know of no officer in the Corps of Artillery with more legitimate claims than Captain Hay; for to his ability, ardent zeal, and never-ceasing exertions from the day the Corps was in orders, to the present writing, the State is indebted for the Corps in its present perfection. The command of the Corps placed in his hands would ensure its well-being, and be received as a reward for past and useful services."

They were, therefore, augmented (G.G.O., July 8th, 1808) by three more companies, but though a full battalion was thus added to the regiment, not a single officer was provided for it. Captain Hay received the command, but not as an effective appointment. This anomaly continued for ten years longer, and even then was only partially rectified. In the Infantry, every increase had been attended by a proportionate augmentation of officers, and so the relative disadvantage of the Artillery to that branch still continued. Under the able supervision of Captain Hay, the Golandáz attained a degree of efficiency which was repeatedly eulogised in Orders by the Commander-in-Chief and other Inspecting Officers, but without officers it could not be pretended that they were available for service without disabling the European companies.

It will doubtless be remarked that the Officer Commanding the Artillery in the field, that is above Allahabad, communicated direct with army headquarters on this subject. For some years this command had been practically, though not nominally, withdrawn from the control of the Commandant of Artillery. When Colonel Horsford was appointed to it (G.O., July 29th, 1803), the magazines at Cawnpore and Fatehgarh were desired to comply with

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1808. all his requisitions, a measure rendered necessary on account of the war in those provinces.

The numerous occasions on which small detachments of Infantry were called out for service against petty landholders, or other more lawless characters, has already been alluded to (p. 531). They were not always successful, for the mud forts which everywhere abounded were capable of making a good defence, as we found out at Kamonah. The magazines were but poorly supplied, especially with mortars, and with ordnance and ammunition of the heavier kind, and the necessity of keeping up a supply of these in readiness for service did not present itself to the Military Board. Lord Lake, in a General Order, dated the 8th of November, 1806,* directed that a proportion of battering pieces should be taken upon all occasions when fortified places were to be attacked, and also that less than two field-guns were not to be detached upon any service.† Yet, notwithstanding the decided wording of this Order, the force which was sent against Kamonah at the end of the next year was only provided with two small mortars.

The dress of the regiment remained as it had been, with little alteration until 1808. In 1801 officers were

* Given *in extenso* in Note G.

† The immediate cause of this Order having been issued I find in the following extract of a letter from the late Major-General Sir Henry Worsley, K.C.B., then the Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army, to the late Colonel James Nicol of the same department, written in January, 1812 :—

"Fie upon that fantastic old fellow Tetley, again leading one of the best Battalions in the service, to wanton Havoc and Repulse (at Burdie,* where I was in 1783), that very Battalion too, in the case of which the particular G.O. was issued, forbidding any attack without battering guns ; in consequence of a similar mishap and failure and loss, which happened to a detachment from it under Lieutenant Ramsay in Allygurh District."

Lieutenant Ramsay's detachment consisted of a detail of the 21st N.I. and two field guns under Lieutenant George Payne of the 1st Company 3rd Battery (21st Fd. Batt. R.A.), detached from Cawnpore, October 15th, 1806. Lieutenant Payne was brought back badly wounded a week afterwards, and died on the 26th of the same month.

* Kaimur Hills, South of Benares.

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permitted (G.O.C.C., Oct. 16th) to "wear long uniform coats," and on the line of march, or on regimental duty, a plain Swiss jacket without embroidery, and blue cloth pantaloons. Round hats cocked continued to be the usual headdress, till replaced by the shako. In 1808 some alterations proposed by Colonel Carnegie were authorised.* Plain double-breasted jackets with buttons of a pattern adopted by Lord Lake, epaulettes or wings as before, were ordered. The sword and sword-knot were to be the same as for the Infantry, both for mounted and dismounted officers; waistbelts with frogs for mounted officers being discontinued. Crossbelts were worn over the jacket, and over these a sash with the ends tucked in. The arms and accoutrements for the Golandáz were the same as those for the European Artillery (G.G.O., Dec. 24th, 1806). 1808.

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Carroll's "Code of Bengal Army Regulations." 1 Vol. folio. Calcutta, 1816.

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Muster Rolls in the Office of the Examiner Pay Department, Calcutta.

* A.R.O., March 11th, 1808—Adj.-Gen. to Commandant of Artillery, March 10th, and G.O., March 4th.

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M.S. General Orders, 1786-1808, in the Office of the Controller Military Accounts, Calcutta.

General Military Register, 1795-1810.

M.S. "Records of Colonel Grace's Command in the Field."

M.S. "Memoirs on the Bengal Artillery in 1801 and 1816," by Major-General Sir John Horsford, K.C.B.

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East India Military Calendar.

APPENDIX.

A. Establishments of Artillery not on the regular strength.

B. List of Companies and Officers sent to Madras in 1793.

C. List of Companies and Officers sent to Madras in 1794.

D. Successive Establishments of Officers up to 1806.

E. Successive Establishments of European Companies up to 1802.

F. Numerical Statement of Officers present with Companies, 1st September 1803.

G. G.O.C.C., 8th November, 1806.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

ESTABLISHMENTS OF ARTILLERY NOT ON THE REGULAR STRENGTH.

ARTILLERY INVALID COMPANY.

Captain	1	Corporals	6
Subalterns	3	Privates	100
Sergeants	6		

Residency of Bencoolen, in Sumatra; stationed at Fort Marlborough, as laid down in M.C., April 14th, 1788, one company of Artillery; one company of lascars. The officers at this settlement were incorporated with those of the Bengal Army by this Order. A Captain was provided for the Artillery Command, and a draft of Madras Artillery transferred to the Bengal Company by M.C., February 11th, 1795. G.O., December 9th, 1796, directed that the company was to be considered in future as composed of details on command furnished by the companies in Bengal.

Prince of Wales' Island as laid down in M.C., January 15th, 1787.

This detachment was commanded by a Captain, who with a Deputy-Commissary of Ordnance, was furnished from the Bengal Presidency.

Sergeants	2	Fifer	1
Corporals	2	Gunners	4
Drummers	1	Matrosses	20

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NOTE B.

List of Companies and of Officers of the Bengal Artillery who were sent on service to Madras in August, 1793.

Former Designation		Present Designation		
Co.	Batt.	—		
2	1	10 Field Batt.	Captain N. Carnegie.	
			Lieut. P. Cranch	Died at Madras, Sept. 17th, 1793.
			,, G. Mason	Transferred temporarily from 5th Co. 2nd Batt.
			,, C. Gale	
4	1	6 Co. E. Div.	Captain Andrew Fraser.	
			Lieut. A. Hind	Transferred temporarily from 5th Co. 1st Batt.
			,, Fireworker, R. Brown	Doing duty. Adjutant.
			,, ,, C. Sealy	
1	2	8 Co. S. Div.	Captain J. Horsford*	
			Lieut.-F. Worker, W. Parker	Doing duty.
4	3	10 Co. S. Div.	Captain A. Glass*	
			Lieut. F. Worker Clem. Brown	
			,, ,, A. N. Matthews	Transferred temporarily from 4th Co. 2nd Batt.
			,, ,, W. Sloane ...	Doing duty.
5	3	23 Field Batt.	Captain C. Wittit.	
			Lieut. John Wittit ...	Transferred temporarily from 3rd Co. 1st Batt.
			,, J. D. Sherwood ...	Transferred emporarily from 3rd Co. 1st. Batt.
			,, A. Caldwell ...	Had volunteered for this service
			,, Fireworker, W. H. Green	
			,, ,, W. Wardlaw	Doing duty.

* Captain Horsford was transferred from the 3rd Company 2nd Battalion, *vice* Elwood, reported sick, and Captain Glass from the 2nd Company 2nd Battalion, *vice* Holland, also sick, G.O., July 1st. On the return of the detachment in October they, with the other officers temporarily doing duty, were retransferred to their own companies. The officers in Horsford's company do not appear to be complete.

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NOTE C.

List of Companies and of Officers of the Bengal Artillery who were sent on service to Madras in June, 1794.

Former Designation		Present Designation		
Co.	Batt.	—		
2	2	Reduced in 1825.	Captain A. Legertwood*	
			Lieutenant G. Constable.	
			,, G. Pennington.	
3	2		Captain T. M. Elwood†	
			Lieutenant J. D. Sherwood ...	Adjutant
			,, J. Nelly.	
			,, F. Worker S. Noble	
4	2		Captain J. Robinson.	
			Lieutenant J. Collier.	
			,, E. W. Butler	
			,, F. Worker W. Grant	Died at Madras, Sept. 26th, 1794.

* Transferred from the 5th Company 2nd Battalion by G.O., June 16th, *vice* Glass, under orders for Prince of Wales' Island.

† Transferred from the 1st Company, *vice* Horsford, who was unable from sickness to proceed on service.

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NOTE D.

SUCCESSIVE ESTABLISHMENTS OF OFFICERS TO 1806.

Date.		Colonels.	Lieut.-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Capt.-Lieutenants.	1st-Lieutenants.	2nd-Lieutenants.	Staff. Lieut.-Fireworkers.	Staff. Brigade-Major.	Staff. Adjutants.	Staff. Quarter-Masters.	
1748	First Formation—1 Company	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	
1758	Second Company added—Total	...	...	...	2	2	2	2	2	...	...	...	
	2 Lieut.-Fireworkers added to each Company about this time.												
1763	Third Company raised—Total	...	...	...	(a) 3	3	3	3	9	...	...	...	(a) Capt. F. Martin, one of these at this time, belonged to the Engineers. He commanded the 3rd or Garrison Company.
5 Aug. 1765	Fourth Company raised—Staff to each Company added about same time—Total	...	...	1	4	4	4	4	12	...	4	...	2nd-Lieuts. converted into 1st, and the rank abolished about this time.
— Mar. 1770	Fifth Company added, and the whole formed into a Battalion	...	1	1	5	5	15	...	15	...	6	...	1 Regimental and 5 Company Adjutants (non-effective).
— Sep. 1778	Three Companies added. Garrison Company not supplied with Officers—Total for 7 Companies	...	1	2	7	7	21	...	21	...	1	1	An Aide de Camp (non-effective) allowed to the Commandant. A Pay-master also added; generally a civilian. The Golandáz were all reduced next year: the Officers had not apparently been increased for this portion.
	Three Golandáz Battalions	...	...	1	3	...	24	...	...	1	1	1	
	Total	...	1	3	10	7	45	...	21	1	2	2	
1779	Reorganization. Each European Company ...	...	...	...	1	1	3	...	3	...	...	...	The Regimental Adjutant became again a Brigade-Major in April, 1781, Adjutant in 1785, and finally a Brigade-Major in 1787, when an Infantry Officer, Lieut. P. Cullen held the office.
	Each Battalion=5 Companies... ...	...	1	1	5	5	15	...	15	...	1	...	
	Two Battalions	1	2	2	10	10	30	...	30	...	3	...	
30 Jan. 1786	Reduced to one Battalion of 10 Companies ...	...	1	1	10	10	20	...	30	...	1	1	
2 June 1786	Minutes of Council ordered each Company ...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	
	Each Battalion=5 Companies	...	1	1	5	...	10	...	10	...	1	1	
	Three Battalions	...	3	3	15	...	30	..	30	...	4	3	Colonel Pearse retained rank as full Colonel
8 Jan. 1796	L.C.D. ordered addition of three Colonels and 15 Capt.-Lieutenants, the latter number taken from the junior grade	3	3	3	15	15	30	...	15	1	3	3	
14 Feb. 1802	G.O.C.C. ordered. Each Company	...	...	...	1	1	2	...	2	...	...	...	The separate posts of Adjutant and Quarter-Master disallowed, both duties to be performed by one individual. G.O.C., 4 August 1809
	Each Battalion=7 Companies ...	1	1	1	7	7	14	...	14	...	1	1	
	Three Battalions	3	3	3	21	21	42	...	42	1	3	3	
10 July 1805 15 May 1806 12 June 1806 20 Nov. 1806	L.C.D. } One Lieut.-Colonel and one Major G.O.C.C. } added to each Battalion, with effect G.O.C.C. } from the [illegible] 1806 G.O.C. }	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

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NOTE E.

SUCCESSIVE ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE EUROPEAN COMPANIES OF BENGAL ARTILLERY TO 1802.

Authority.	Detail of Changes.	European Artillerymen.						Non-Commissioned Staff.						Lascars.				
		Sergeants.	Corporals.	Bombardiers.	Gunners.	Drummers and Fifers.	Matrosses.	Sergt.-Major.	Quar.-Mas.-Sergt.	Pay-Sergeant.	Drill-Sergeant.	Park-Sergeant.	Bullock-Sergt.	Serang-Major.	Serangs.	Tindals.	Lascars.	
L.C.D., 17 June, 1748	1st Company raised in 1748-49. Destroyed in the Black Hole, 20 June, 1756. Reformed next year.	4	4	4	...	2	100	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	2nd Company raised 19 Sept., 1758. Destroyed at Patna, July and Oct., 1763. Reformed Dec., 1763, 3rd Company raised 17 Sept., 1763 ...	The	exa	ct st	reng	th n	ot k	now	n		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	ORGANIZATION OF 1765. Artillery formed into 4 Companies	Each	4	4	10	20	4	60	1	1	1	1	1	1	an	inde	finite	
		Total	16	16	40	80	16	240	4	4	4	4	4	4	num	ber	atta	ch'd
																each	Co.	
	ORGANIZATION OF 1770. A 5th Company added in March, and the whole formed into a Battalion— Lascars formed in Sept. into 28 Companies, 7 to each of the 3 Companies in the field, and to one Company in Fort William	Each Co.	4	4	10	20	4	60	1	1	1	1	1	1	...	2	2	100
		Total ...	20	20	50	100	20	300	5	5	5	5	5	5	...	56	56	2800
M.C., 13 and 14 July, 1778	ORGANIZATION OF 1778. Three Companies raised. Formed into 7 Field and 1 Garrison Co. Lascars all reduced ...	Each Co. ...	6	6	8	24	3	53	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Total 7 Cos. ...	42	42	56	168	21	371	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		1 Garrison Co.	6	6	8	24	3	53	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
		Total	48	48	64	192	24	424	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	ORGANIZATION OF 1779. Formed into 2 Battalions of 5 Companies each ...	Each Co.	6	6	8	24	3	53	...	...	1	...	...		...	1	2	50
															1	6	12	300
		Each Batt. of 5 Cos.	30	30	40	120	15	265	...	...	5	...	...	...	5	30	60	1500
		Total 2 Battalions ...	60	60	80	240	30	530	...	...	10	...	...	...	10	60	120	3000

Lascars reduced in 1775 to

	Peace Estab.	War Estab.
Serangs ...	2	7
Tindals ...	4	16
Lascars ...	100	400

This establishment is taken from Buckle's History. Garrison Company Strength assumed.

[men. Besides 2 Cossibs or Work- Constituting a Battalion of 6 Companies.

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NOTE E—*continued.*

Authority.	Detail of Changes.	European Artillerymen.					Non-Commissioned Staff.						Lascars.				Golundauze.				
		Sergeants.	Corporals.	Gunners.	Drummers and Fifers.	Matrosses.	Sergt.-Major.	Quar.-Mas.-Sergt.	Pay-Sergeant.	Drill-Sergeant.	Drill-Corporal.	Drum and Fife Majors.	Serangs.	1st Tindals.	2nd Tindals.	Privates.	Jemadar.	Havildar.	Naicks.	Privates.	
M.C., 2 June 1786	ORGANIZATION OF 1786. Formed into 3 Batts. of 5 Cos. Five Cos. raised. Lascars formed into 30 Co.s ... Each Co ...	4	4	8	2	56	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	2	2	56	...	...	...	...	Two Cos. of Lascars were assigned to each Company of Artillery.
	Each Batt. of 5 Cos. ...	20	20	40	10	280	1	1	5	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Total 3 Batts.	60	60	120	30	840	3	3	15	3	3	6	30	60	60	1680	...	...	...	...	
	Added in Dec., 1797, 10 Matrosses to each Company	...	...	...	...	150	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
M.C., 15 Oct., 1798	Added 4 N.C.O. and 4 Matrosses. Also a detail of Golundauze called "the Component part" to each European Company ... Each Co.	1	1	2	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	3	40	
	Total ...	15	15	30	...	60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	45	45	600	
M.C., 31 Dec., 1798	Added 14 Lascars to each Company ...	...	...	...	...	...	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	...	...	...	420	...	...	...	...	
	Strength of the Corps on this Establishment ... Each Co. ...	5	5	10	2	70	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	2	2	70	1	3	3	40	
	Each Batt. of 5 Cos. ...	25	25	50	10	350	1	1	5	1	1	2	10	20	20	700	5	15	15	200	
	Total 3 Batts.	75	75	150	30	1050	3	3	15	3	3	6	30	60	60	2100	15	45	45	600	
G.O.C.C., 14 Feb., 1802	ORGANIZATION OF 1802. Golundauze details reduced. Strength of Cos. augmented and 1 added to each Batt. Each Co. ...	5	5	10	3	8	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	NE	1	2	2	70					
	Each Batt. of 7 Cos. ...	35	35	70	14	560	1	1	7	1	1	2	10	20	20	700					
	Total 3 Batts.	105	105	210	42	1680	3	3	21	3	3	6	30	60	60	2100					

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NOTE F.

Numerical statement of Officers Present or Doing Duty with Companies of Bengal Artillery on the 1st September, 1803, when the Mhráta broke out.

Battalions.	Captains.	Captain-Lieutenants.	Lieutenants.	Company where stationed or employed.	Names of officers present or doing duty with.
1	1	...	1	Grand Army, Camp Koel, det. in Oudh?	Present, Capt. T. Greene. On command, Lieut. W. H. Green, Oudh.
...	1	1	...	Grand Army, det. at Etawa	Present, Capt. G. Raban. On command, Capt.-Lieut. W. Winbolt.
...	1	...	...	Grand Army	Present, Capt. J. Nelly.
...	1	...	...	Fort William	Present, Capt. A. Fraser.
...	...	...	...	On service in Ceylon, Columbo	Capt.-Lieut. R. Humphreys and detacht. at Kandi missing since June 1803; Capt. E. Clarke, 5-2, comg.
...	1	1	1	Midnapore, det. at Jellasore	Present, Capt. A. Hind, Capt.-Lieut. G. Fuller (d.d. from 7-1). On com. Lt. C. Parker (d.d. from 4-3) at Jellasore.
...	1	1	1	Ganjam, det., Col. Harcourt's force	Present, Capt. J. F. Paschaud. On comd, Capt.-Lieut. R. Hetzler (d.d. from 4-3). and Lieut. E. Faithful with Col. Harcourt's force.
2	1	...	...	Grand Army, Camp Koel ...	Present, Capt. G. Constable.
...	1	...	1	Grand Army, det. at Bareilly	Present, Capt. C. Hutchinson. On command, Lieut. F. Beaghan, at Bareilly.
...	1	1	2	Grand Army, det. at Chandausi	Present, Capt. W. Shipton, Capt.-Lieut. R. Best, Lieut. R. Morris. On command, Lieut. W. Parker, at Chandausi.
...	1	...	1	Grand Army	Present, Capt. J. Robinson, Lieut. A. N. Matthews.
...	1	...	1	On service in Ceylon, Colombo, det. at Galle	Present, Capt. E. Clarke. On command, Lieut. E. Graham, at Galle.
...	...	...	...	Fort William	
...	...	1	1	Fort William	On leave, Capt.-Lieut. R. Brown, Lieut. G. Swiney (rejoined 24th Sept.). Capt. H. Grace, Brigade-Major, comg.
3	...	1	1	On service in Bandelkhand ...	Present, Capt.-Lieut. W. Feade, Lieut. W. Richards
..	...	...	1	On service in Bandelkhand ...	Present, Lieut. Hopper (d.d. from 1-2).
..	...	1	2	Dinapore, with Gen. G. Deare's force	Present, Capt.-Lieut. G. Mason. On command, Lieut. H. Faithful, at Mirzapore, with Gen. Deare.
...	...	...	...	Fort William	
...	...	1	...	On service in Bombay, Tanna	Present, Capt.-Lieut. A. Dunn (d.d. from 6-2).
...	...	...	...	Fort William	
...	1	...	...	Fort William	Present, Capt. A. Watkins.
	12	8	13		

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NOTE G.

General Orders by the Right Honourable Lord Lake, General Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, dated 8th November, 1806.

"The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to direct that it be considered as a standing regulation of the service, that on every occasion where forts, groves, towns, or other fortified places or strongholds of any description whatsoever are to be attacked, either in the Vizier's or the Honourable Company's territories or any other situation where hostilities may prevail, battering guns, mortars, and howitzers, or a proportion of each, according to the service in prospect, shall be invariably employed; and in order to give complete effect to this order, officers who may have been previously detached without battering guns, etc., but which may become eventually necessary in the performance of the duty in which they may be employed, are to report and forward requisitions accordingly to the officer by whose orders they may have been detached, but on no account is any such service to be undertaken without a suitable equipment of the kind above directed, and which is therefore to be supplied, in the first instance, where there may be a probability even of its being required.

"On all occasions of field service that a gun may be deemed necessary, two guns are invariably to be sent."

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CHAPTER XVII.

EQUIPMENT OF BATTERIES.

HORSE ARTILLERY.—First Galloper Guns—Experimental Brigade—Its Equipment—Detail sent to Egypt—Ordered to Cawnpore—Joins Lord Lake's Army—Returns to Agra—Formed into Three Troops—Rocket Troop—Galloper Guns Formed into Three Native Troops—Organization of 1824—Riding Establishment—Howitzers, 12 Substituted for 24-pounders—First Troop Raised Again—Shah Shuja's H.A. made into a Native Troop—Uniform.

FIELD BATTERIES.—Experimental 12-pounder Battery—17 Mixed Calibre Batteries—Three Horsed—Number of Gun Lascars Reduced—Jorawala Grass-cutters—Reduced to 12 all Horsed—Unwillingness to Supply Horses—Ordnance Reduced to Six—Establishment of Horses—Number Gradually Increased to 21—Camels Tried—and Elephants.

STUDS.—First Formed—Entire Horses—Geldings Tried—Inferiority of those Supplied to Field Batteries—Australian Horses Introduced.

HEAVY FIELD-BATTERIES.—Used in the Second Sikh War—Broken Up—Called for again During the Mutiny.

MOUNTAIN BATTERIES.—Ordnance used in Nipal War—In Afghanistan—Committee of 1844—Peshawur Mountain Train—Hazára Battery.

ORDNANCE AND MANUFACTURING DEPARTMENTS.—Board of Ordnance—Military Board—Supply of Gun Carriages—Agency at Cossipore—Removed to Fatehgarh—Foundry at Cossipore—First Gun Carriages—Committee of 1792—Colonel Duff's Carriages—Elevating Screws—Committee of 1801—Fuzes—Horse Artillery Guns—Siege Carriages—Committee of 1836—Efforts to Abolish the Pole—Recommendations not Carried Out.

IT will be convenient now to detail the organization and equipment of batteries in Bengal. The first notice we have of the employment of Horse Artillery in India is in 1781, in the first Mysore War, when the regiments of Native Cavalry, brigaded together under Colonel H. C. M. Cosby, had each two field-pieces, drawn by horses attached to them. Both Cavalry and guns, however, appear to have belonged to the Nawáb of Arcot, guns to have been served by men on foot,* and as they are nowhere noticed in any of the descriptions of the actions fought during the war, it may be concluded they were of little use.

* Innes Munro's "Narrative," pp. 191, 235.

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In the second Mysore War, 1790-1792, galloper guns, under the command of Lieutenants C. Donaldson and J. Neilson of the Madras Artillery, were attached to the Cavalry brigade of Major-General Medow's army. With these the care of the horses, as well as the duties of cleaning, etc., the guns, were entrusted to lascars, who were exempted from all line duty; one lascar being allowed for each horse, to see him regularly cleaned, watered, and fed.* And in the third Mysore War, 1799, we find that Lieutenant J. Limond commanded the galloper guns then attached to the 19th Light Dragoons. These were naturally more efficient than the first-mentioned, but nothing has as yet been discovered as to the details of their equipment. They probably differed in no important respects from the ordinary field-pieces, except in being furnished with horses.

The question of horsed Artillery had been brought forward at home, in 1792, by the Duke of Richmond, Master-General of Ordnance, but it was at first in a very rudimentary condition. In India the experience of the Mysore campaigns in the south, and of the Rohilla campaign of 1794† in the north, had shown with what comparative impunity the numerous Cavalry maintained by the native powers could inflict loss on our troops, and how much the guns were a drag on the movements of our Infantry. That useful and well-abused animal the bullock, though, when well cared for, capable of more work than he gets credit for, never satisfied the requirements of Artillerymen. These considerations hastened the introduction of Horse Artillery in India. But for seven years after its introduction at home, little seems to have been known in India of its equipment there.

Opinion, too, was divided as to the best mode of conveying the gunners. The detachment system and shafts had been adopted in England; but the vicious propensities of country-bred stallions, geldings being unknown, pre-

* Artillery Brigade Orders, Camp Coimbatore, 27th August, 1790.
† See Note B, Chapter V., first part of this history.

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judiced opinion in Bengal against it, though neither in Madras nor Bombay had this reason the same weight.* The changes which the genius of Bonaparte had already introduced into the tactics of war, and the increased energy he was throwing into field movements, naturally turned attention to the French systems of equipment. In that country they had discarded the method of mounting all the gunners on the draft horses for another, only adapted to the broad roads of Europe, and then only for slow movement, by which the eight men required to man the gun were carried on the wurst, a cumbersome ammunition carriage, hung on springs. Notwithstanding its unfitness for rapid movement, this plan had many advocates, some arguing that mounted gunners would postpone their duties as Artillerymen to the care and management of their horses.†

The alluvial plains of Northern Hindustan, untraversed by made roads, showed great varieties of surface, generally, from their level nature, affording greater facilities than existed in Europe for the movement of weighted carriages. For these reasons it was finally determined in Bengal to adopt a system founded on the first French establishment, in which all the draft horses were mounted, the near riders dismounting to serve the piece. This necessitated the use of poles. In both Madras and Bombay the detachment system, and in Bombay shafts also, were adopted. The Madras gunners for some time called their Brigade "The Squadron of Horse Artillery."

In Bengal, towards the end of 1800, orders were given for the formation of an "Experimental Brigade" of two guns. The command of it was given, 4th December, to Brevet-Captain Clement Brown, well known as a good rider and judge of a horse. He was Adjutant of the 1st 1800.

* Minute by Colonel Whish. Proceedings Sp. Bd. Arty. Off., 1836, p. 18.

† Colonel Horsford, in his first "Memoir," proposed putting two men on the axle-tree seats and two on the limber boxes of each piece.

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1800. Battalion, which post, with its allowances, he retained in addition to the Cavalry rate of pay authorised for the brigade.* A riding-master†, a European, and a native farrier, 42 European and 28 Native Artillerymen, with lascars, formed its strength.

1801. Colonel C. Green, commanding the regiment, submitted a proposal for a brigade of two guns to the Commander-in-Chief, 30th August, 1801, who authorised its adoption. It had small detachments, and the ordnance were to be light brass guns of 4½ cwt., the carriages 5½ cwt., with beam trails and wheels only 4½ feet in diameter. But the carriages were too light; charges had to be reduced, and range of fire lessened. Colonel Horsford afterwards, when Captain Pennington was in command of the Brigade at Cawnpore, took measures to remedy this.

For the two guns, a sergeant, a corporal, four gunners, and eight matrosses were given. There was but one tumbril with two drivers, who might be troopers to assist in working the guns. The 20 horses were disposed thus:—

	2 guns	1 Tumbril	Total
In draft mounted	8	2	10
1 N.C.O., 2 gunners as detachment	6	—	6
Spare unmounted	2	2	4

Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, was about to send a force to Egypt to co-operate there with Sir Ralph Abercromby, and was very anxious that some Horse Artillery should accompany it.‡ He placed some value on the ad-

* Sec. Gov. Mil. Dep., Feb. 26th, 1801, to Adjt.-Gen.

† G.O.C.C., Jan. 7th, 1801. John Allen, with the rank of Conductor of Ordnance, as superior to that of non-commissioned officer. This anomalous position he retained till 1809, when he was struck off the Ordnance Establishment. He did not go to Egypt, but remained to drill the H. A. details left at Dum Dum. Sergeant-Major John Jones, 1st Native Cavalry, was sent in his place, and on his return went back to the 3rd N.C.

‡ Brigadier-General Robert Lawson, commanding the Royal Artillery with Sir R. Abercromby's force sent to Egypt, was, about the same time, obliged to improvise, under extreme difficulties, the equipment of a part of his Field Artillery, including 3-pounders for the Cavalry as gallopers (Duncan's "History Royal Artillery").

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vantage arising from effect, and this was probably his reason for sending on service a battery of mounted Artillery, incompletely formed, and before the men could have learned the special duties of their branch. So, to avoid delay, he supplemented its deficiencies with guns, horses, and men from his Body Guard. 1801.

Captain Brown was directed (G.O., February 12th 1801) to proceed on foreign service with the following detail:—*

	European N.C.O Rank and File.								Native Officers N.C.O., Rank and File.				Lascars.				
	Captains.	Assist.-Surgeon	Conductor.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Farrier.	Gunners.	Matrosses.	Jemadar.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Privates.	1st Tindals.	2nd Tindals.	Lascars.	Horses.	Mules.
Horse Artillery ...	1	1	1	3	3	1	6	14	...	...	...	...	1	2	40	36	2
Native detail ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	20	...	...	...	...	...
Body Guard ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	2	22	...	1	11	...	...
Total ...	1	1	1	3	3	1	6	14	1	4	4	42	1	3	51	36	2

Assistant-Surgeon Charles Wake was in medical charge (G.O.C.C., March 6th, 1801).

It does not appear that any casualties occurred among the horses on the voyage, but the very scanty supply of water and forage diminished the number so much that the guns at last were transported on camels. Conductor Jones'

*Adjutant-General to Mil. Aud.-Gen. March 4th, 1801, gives the H.A. and Golandáz details only, the Body Guard being under the direct orders of the Governor-General. See Distribution Returns, Appendix No. 30 Walsh's "Journal of the Campaign in Egypt," and "E.I.U.S. Journal," Vol II., p. 504. The writer of the article in the last says the ordnance sent consisted of two 3-pounders and four light 6-pounders. The 3-pounders belonged to the Body Guard, as Captain H. C. Montgomerie commanding it applied (March 4th) for two more to replace them. Captain Montgomerie requests that these might be cast two calibres longer than the previous ones, the additional weight of ½ cwt. to be *behind* the trunnions. The Board order accordingly, but make no remark as to how the previous preponderance of these pieces could have been so faulty.—Proc. Mil. Board, April 10th, 1801.

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1801. charger, being put into a team, died on the eighth day's march. Captain Brown, however, succeeded in replacing them, for in the frequent reviews which General Baird held of his force, the Horse Artillery were placed a half-battery in each flank of the line.* The conductor had to act as subaltern. Cornet James Lumsdaine, 4th Bengal Cavalry, was directed to join them in Egypt,† an order subsequently countermanded.

That portion of the experimental brigade which remained behind at Dum Dum was placed under command of Lieutenant Marmaduke W. Browne, Quartermaster 2nd Battalion, who was to carry on the necessary instruction and testing of details. On his being sent to Cawnpore to take over the staff duties there, Lieutenant James H. Brooke was (G.O., Oct. 29th) appointed to do duty. He had not long before returned from service in the south of India, and having been wounded at the battle of Málávelli, was obliged to go home for his health as soon as Captain Brown returned from Egypt in August, 1802.

Next year the Horse Artillery was thought so far per-
1802. fected in equipment and drill that it was ordered (G.G.O., June 30) up by water to Ghazipur in order to prosecute its exercises in brigade with the Cavalry regiments there. The 8th Royal Irish Dragoons had been ordered to the same station. But before it reached that place it was ordered on to Cawnpore, as a force was being assembled for service against Sindiah.

1803. The establishment authorised for the Brigade now was one captain, two subalterns, four sergeants, four corporals, 10 gunners, 40 matrosses, with native gunners and lascars as before.‡ Horses 86. Bullocks were added for the line

* Condr. Jones to Adjt.-Gen., Oct. 25th, 1802, asking for compensation for loss of his charger. The Military Auditor-General passed the bill "for a horse *killed in action*" at Sonat rupees 800.

† G.O., May 6th, 1802.

‡ The establishment for the Quartermaster and the artificers was fixed G.O.C.C., 18th August, 1803, but it is hardly necessary to give it in full.

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of march, reserving horses for action; but as this was found very inconvenient the number of horses was, in October, 1804, increased to 120. Lieutenant Harry Stark was appointed (G.G.O., July 13th), and Lieutenant James Young about the same time; Assistant-Surgeon G. Ballard by G.G.O., July 7th, 1803. In 1804 a trial was made of the detachment system, and the number of horses was increased to 156, the number of men remaining as before. This does not appear to have lasted long. 1803.

In January of this year the Brigade joined General Lake's army, when he was encamped at the Biána Pass, near Agra, after the conclusion of the first campaign, and returned in June with the 8th Light Dragoons to Cawnpore.

In September it again moved up with General, now Lord, Lake, to Agra and Delhi, and after the siege of Bhurtpore, accompanied him in his pursuit of Holkar across the Sutlej into the Punjab. Lieutenant Warren H. L. Frith joined it in February, 1805, at Bhurtpore, and served with it till promoted in April, 1808. Lieutenant James Young was transferred as Adjutant to the 3rd Battalion in July, and H. Stark promoted to a similar post in the 2nd Battalion in December, being succeeded by Lieutenant J. P. Boileau, who joined at Muttra in April on its way to Agra. 1804-5.

The Brigade remained in the field above Delhi till the beginning of 1806. Captain Brown, in January, was appointed Commissary of Ordnance at Fort William, and Captain Gervaise Pennington replaced him. For nearly all the rest of his service this officer was connected with the Horse Artillery. He diligently applied himself to study its requirements, and was the author of the first drill-book promulgated for it in Bengal. In this he was greatly assisted by Lieutenant H. L. Playfair, his Adjutant in 1809, to whom it owed much of its efficiency in drill and discipline. To the mature experience of Colonel Horsford he was indebted for much of its equipment.

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1806. At Agra they were again quartered with the 8th Royal Irish Dragoons. On arrival there, the armament, which appears to have been increased in the field, was reduced to four 6-pounders and two howitzers (G.O.C.C., April 7th, 1806).

As yet the method of mounting the draft-horses had not been definitely fixed. G.O.C.C., November 24th, under orders from Government, reduced the gun lascars, and directed the entertainment of native drivers, two N.C.O., and 24 men with pay as in the Golandáz.

In addition to the Experimental Brigade, G.O.C.C., July 2nd, 1801,* attached two 6-pounder guns to every regiment of Cavalry as "gallopers," a sergeant and a corporal being "turned over" from the Artillery for each pair.

1809. The value of horsed Artillery, in comparison with the other field trains, appeared so evident that the Commander-in-Chief submitted a proposal for its augmentation to six brigades or batteries, which was sent to the Military Auditor-General for report.†

F., R.H.A. Now K., R.H.A. Now L., R.H.A. The result was an order (Aug. 4) directing the formation of three batteries, to be named the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Troops of Horse Artillery. They were raised at Agra, and the command of the two last was given to Captains Harry Stark and James H. Brooke; Lieutenant Hugh Lyon, Playfair was, a few days after, appointed Adjutant to the Corps. The names of all the officers are given in the Appendix (A). But as they were still retained on the strength of the companies of Foot Artillery, to which no augmentation had been made, the injury done to the efficiency of the latter was, as before remarked, very great.

By this arrangement native drivers were abolished, and every horse was mounted (Note B); there were two sets for each gun, but only one for the wagon, which having but

* The 27th Light Dragoons was the only Royal regiment named in this Order; the 8th Royal Irish declined to receive gallopers, as an incumbrance and hindrance to their legitimate work.

† Sec. Gov. Mil. Dep., March 20th, 1809.

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four horses, could not keep up with the former in any prolonged or rapid movement. 1809.

Captain Pennington had protested against the scanty number of horses, which had been since July, 1808, 163, more especially as to the single allotment for wagons. Colonel Horsford had recommended 120 men and 185 horses, but advised him to take what was offered, and leave the remedy to time, lest the whole plan should fail, as the Auditor-General strongly objected even to the number now sanctioned on account of the expense.

A change was also made in the ordnance, which now consisted of three calibres: two 12-pounders on the right, two 6-pounders on the left, and two 12-pounder howitzers in the centre.* About 1818 the right division had 6-pounders given them instead of 12-pounders.

The uniform authorised in 1801 consisted of a helmet, a jacket, leather breeches and gloves, cloak, boots and spurs; but so much delay took place in the issue of these articles, that the men had to supply themselves with all except helmets and leathers, which do not seem to have been furnished till 1809.

The next event in this branch was the formation of a Rocket Troop by G.G.O., Sept. 13th, and Nov. 8th, 1816, and July, 1817. Its strength is given in Note C. The rockets were 12-pounders, case or shell, carried mostly on camels. The four cars, each carrying 24 rockets, were provided also with tubes; and the total number which could be carried into action, including those on the reserve camels, was 960. 1816. 1817.

The command of the Rocket Troop was given to Captain W. S Whish, and the subalterns were Lieutenants Gabriel N. C. Campbell, G. Brooke, and Fireworker J. Cartwright.

* As might be supposed, this arrangement gave rise to certain social distinctions. In barrack slang the right details were known as "The Picked Men," the centre as "The Tin Pots," and the left as "The Grabbies" ("E.I.U.S. Journ.", Aug., 1837, p. 216). In later times it was considered promotion to be moved from centre to lead and from lead to pole, the horses in the last being the most difficult to ride. "Sir, I have been in the pole for five years" was considered an unanswerable argument as to character for sobriety at least.

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1817. A further addition was now made to the mounted branch by the withdrawal of the galloper guns from the Cavalry and their formation into Native Troops (G.G.O., July 21st and Sept. 22nd). The first, which as the Rocket Troop was not then included as Horse Artillery, was numbered the 4th Troop, and was formed from the brigades of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Regiments of Cavalry, which marched to Meerut in the latter part of August, when Captain G. E. Gowan (appointed G.O.C.C., Sept 1st) took command. In October it proceeded to join the Grand Army assembled for service against the Pindári.

I.-C., R.H.A. Red. 1882.

D-2, R.H.A. Red. 1862. The second, formed from the details of the 4th, 7th, and 8th Cavalry, united at Cawnpore under Captain J. A. Biggs, and immediately after marched to join General Marshall's division of the army. It was numbered as the 5th Troop.

K-C., R.H.A. Red. 1879. The 6th Troop was at first composed only of the galloper details of the 5th and 6th Cavalry, then stationed on the River Nerbuddah (G.O.C.C., 3rd Oct.). The command was given to Captain John Rodber, who joined in December, before which time Lieutenant G. Blake was in charge. Under the latter two guns took part in the attack on Nagpore, the other two were with Fireworker* G. Twemlow. All the galloper details had been provided with the best horses in their respective regiments, and were therefore well off in this respect. For details of strength see Appendix, Note B.

1818. The organization of 1818 was mainly for the Foot Artillery, but it added a colonel, two lieut.-colonels, and two majors, to the Horse Brigade, with which the Rockets were incorporated as the 7th Troop.

1824. The year 1824 saw the most important change that had yet taken place in the whole regiment. Besides the in-

* This designation was now changed (G.G.O., Oct. 17th, 1818) for 2nd-Lieutenant: the Gunner became a Bombardier, the Matross a Gunner, the Serang Major a Subadar, the Serang a Jemadar, 1st and 2nd Tindals, Havildar, and Naick (G.G.O. Sept. 1st) as in the Native Infantry.

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crease of officers in the Foot, five additional Troops of Horse were ordered to be raised, and the whole formed into three Brigades with Field and Staff Officers, each of four Troops (L.C.D., Nov. 25th, 1823, and G.G.O., May 6th, 1824). This arrangement was not put in force till the following year (G.G.O., June 24th, 1825), when the following was ordered :— 1824. 1825.

1ST BRIGADE.	F., R.H.A.
1st Troop, formed by the 1st Troop.	56 Field Batt.
2nd Troop, formed by the 8th Troop.	58 Field Batt.
3rd Troop, to be raised.	Red. 1862.
4th Troop, formed by the 4th Troop (Native).	
2ND BRIGADE.	
1st Troop, formed by the 2nd Troop.	K., R.H.
2nd Troop, formed by the Rocket Troop.	52 Field Batt.
3rd Troop, to be raised.	2 Co. 2 Dep.D.
4th Troop, formed by the 5th Troop (Native).	I-C., R.H.A. Red. 1882.
3RD BRIGADE.	
1st Troop, formed by the 3rd Troop	L., R.H.A.
2nd Troop, to be raised.	57 Field Batt.
3rd Troop, to be raised.	S., R.H.A.
4th Troop, formed by the 6th Troop (Native).	K-C., R.H.A. Red. 1879.

Changes had taken place in the Rocket Troop. Horses were substituted for camels in August, 1822. Six years later it ceased to be distinctively a Rocket Troop. G.G.O., June 13th, directed that it was to be placed on the same footing as to ordnance and men as the others. It was afterwards, and for some years, supplied with the heavier equipment of the Field Batteries. 1828.

The 2nd Troop 1st Brigade was formed at Cawnpore ; Captain Roderick Roberts, Lieutenants R. B. Scrope Morland, R. G. Roberts, D. Ewart, and 2nd-Lieutenant W. E. J. Hodgson, being posted to it. 1825.

The 3rd-2nd, at Meerut with effect from the 1st of July, Captain G. Blake, Lieutenants C. H. Wiggens, J. B. Backhouse, and 2nd-Lieutenant F. Grote were posted to it.

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1825. The 2nd-3rd at same place and time. Captain Jonathan Scott, Lieutenants C. McMorine, J. W. Wakefield, and James Alexander, were its officers (G.O.C.C., July 8th).

1826. Want of men prevented the embodiment of the other two Troops, until the arrival of the recruit drafts of 1826. Captain E. Biddulph took up to Cawnpore those for the 3rd-1st, to which he, Lieutenants W. Anderson, W. C. J. Lewin, and 2nd-Lieutenant F. B. Boileau, were posted. The draft for the 3rd-3rd marched up to Meerut, under Captain G. Blake, who made them over to Captain W. Bell. Lieutenants G. S. Lawrenson and J. Hotham were the subalterns (G.O.C.C., May 23rd). Many of the names just now recorded were long associated with the Horse Artillery.

In the year 1825, a Depôt and Riding Establishment for the H.A. recruits was formed (G.G.O., June 24th), at Dum Dum, under Brevet-Major W. Geddes; but the acts of retrenchment in Lord W. Bentinck's hands soon deprived (G.G.O., December 19th, 1829) the Commandant of the valuable services of this officer, of which Sir Alexander Macleod recorded his sense in R.O., January 29th, 1830.

In 1835, 12-pounder were substituted (G.G.O., January 26th) for 24-pounder howitzers in all the Troops, except the 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade. This was the only change in matériel up to the date of amalgamation. Just before the outbreak of the 2nd Sikh War, the 3rd-2nd received an additional supply of horses to experiment upon the detachment system, but it came to nothing as the exigencies of war soon took them away.

1843. To take the place of the 1st-1st, destroyed in Afghanistan, Major Geddes was ordered to form one at Meerut. Drafts from troops and companies with recruits from Dum Dum were sent for the purpose. On his promotion to the regimental rank, Captain F. Dashwood was (G.O.C.C., November 16th, 1843), appointed to command it.

And on the return of Major W. Anderson, C.B., with the two troops of Horse Artillery, raised for Shah Shuja's

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service, they were formed into one which was added to the 1st Brigade as the 5th Troop. No officers were ever added to the regiment to provide for this. Major Anderson being appointed to the Powder Agency at Ishapore, Major J. B. Backhouse, C.B., was (G.O.C.C., June 4th) placed in command. He was succeeded (G.O.C.C., February 27th, 1844), by Captain E. F. Day. 1843.

The uniform remained as it had been: the handsome helmet with red horse-hair plume, the richly-laced jacket, pouch and pouch-box with silver mountings, sabretasche and shabracque, with the sphinx, Egypt, Ava, and Bhurtpore devices, a crimson and gold girdle, leather breeches and high boots. The leathers were discontinued in 1847 (G.O.C.C., February 16th). The Commandant, strongly supported by Major Day, tried to have this reversed but Lord Gough was obdurate. The girdle was altered for a Hussar sash in 1849.

The fame which the Bengal Horse Artillery acquired was, perhaps, if one who belonged to it may say so, not undeserved. The best recruits were picked out for it. If interest had a hand in the selection of the officers, so also had a good record on service. The custom of remanding, generally to a reserve company, those who were found unfit, benefited the Troop, if it did not improve the Company. Sir C. Napier said of it, "Second to none in the world," but he also said they were too numerous, and kept complete at the expense of the Field Batteries. They had the reputation of being fearless riders. It was "the red men" whom the Afghans most dreaded, when they seemed to be triumphant over our arms at Kabul, as in later days the Royal Horse Artillery were in Afghanistan. So felt the Sikhs. Matched against far heavier metal they more than held their own. The names of Pennington, Playfair, Brooke, Lumsden, Geddes, C. Grant, J. Alexander, Lane, George Campbell, Murray Mackenzie, C. V. Cox, and Sir Henry Tombs, with many others, must ever be associated with the Bengal Horse Artillery.

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1843. But in one point they were not quite equal to their brothers in Bombay. The horses there, though smaller, were of a better class than the Bengal stud-bred ones, and had, under the detachment system, less weight to carry. This was seen in Afghanistan, and still more in Sir Walter Gilbert's pursuit of the Sikhs after Gujarát, when the Bombay Troop, under Major Blood, had the best of it in staying power. If Captain Rodber's remarkable march of ninety miles in the Pindári War be cited on the other side (see Chapter XII. in the former part of this work), it should be recollected that he had the best horses of the Cavalry regiment, from which his gallopers were withdrawn; that his natives were lighter men, and, if I am not greatly mistaken, the teams were driven, as they had not then completed their equipment. The fame of the Bengal Horse Artillery will not be lessened in the eyes of any gunner by such an admission.

Field Batteries.

For many years there were no Field Batteries. Guns lived in magazines, and were drawn from thence as occasion required. Then there were "Post guns" located at certain stations, generally two, sometimes four, some of which survived till 1857, when the mutineers found them very useful.

The Horse Artillery Batteries having fulfilled all the expectations its advocates formed of them, an experimental Field Battery was ordered in 1817, and placed under Captain W. Battine. It was equipped with 12-pounder guns (G.O.C.C., December 29th, 1818).

But the reorganization of 1818 authorised 17 Field Batteries, and of these three were ordered next year to be horsed. They were of "mixed calibre," two 12-pounders, two 5½-inch howitzers and four 6-pounder guns, each to have a team of six horses, wagons the same; total 96 horses (G.G.O., October 16th, 1819), which continued for some time to be the number for draft purposes. The other 14 batteries were furnished with bullocks.

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Next year some guns ordered for service at Mhow were formed into an additional battery with bullock draft (G.O.C.C., July 29th, 1820).

The abolition of the old system of manœuvring guns by the drag-rope followed necessarily, and the large establishment of gun lascars was broken up. The European had, like the Horse Artillery, 1 havildar, 2 naicks, and 24 privates, the rest were formed into 16 companies for magazines (G.G.O., August 28th, 1822). It was at first intended that the Syces should lead the battery horses on foot, but by G.G.O., September 2nd, 1824, 16 horses and 24 drivers were added to each battery, and the latter were ordered to be mounted when necessary. They then received the name of Syce drivers; and they were formed into companies, with distinctive letters. G.G.O., November 27th, 1823, permitted the substitution of "Jorawala" for half the number of "single" grass-cutters. Each of the former received double pay, kept a pony and did the work of two men. This enabled them to forage to a considerable distance, and keep up a good reserve supply of grass. It applied to the Horse Artillery also.

In 1826, one of the batteries at Dum Dum was ordered to be horsed* (G.O.C.C., June 7th), and another was next year to be raised at Cawnpore (G.O.C.C., May 24th), but in the revised organization which followed (G.G.O., June 23rd) the number was reduced to twelve; all to be horsed and stationed permanently at certain stations. But only five received horses, and of these two at Dum Dum (G.G.O., March 14th, 1828), and those at Karnal, Nasirabád, and Nimach (G.G.O., November 19th, 1830), were relegated to bovine draft. The Commandant of Artillery in vain lifted up his voice; in vain did a General Officer remonstrate on his force being deprived of moveable artillery. The order had been given, "not only from motives of economy, but

* With undersized stud horses, which previously had been sold. Better than receiving cast ones from other Corps, as was afterwards the custom.

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from a conviction that the number and efficiency of the Horse Artillery rendered the maintenance of Horse Field Batteries unnecessary."

These changes of opinion did not originate at home. The Court of Directors had directed the gradual substitution of horses for bullocks, orders repeated in 1834. Some influence induced the Governor-General and Council to set them aside. "We won India with bullocks, why should we not keep it with bullocks?" The same influence led Lord Auckland to pay a slow and partial obedience to home orders in 1841.

The ordnance for Field Batteries was reduced by G.G.O. 2nd and G.O.C.C., 27th May, 1828, from eight to six pieces, and by G.O.C.C., 5th June following, the establishment of horses was laid down at 84, being teams of six for each gun and wagon, with twelve spare. This number was increased (G.O.C.C., 12th February, 1842) for Nos. 7 and 10 Field Batteries by five. The staff-sergeant and buglers were mounted, and two more spare made up this number.

The latest establishment of horses for Field Batteries was laid down in Adjutant-General's letter, No. 1382, dated 15th May, 1842, to the General Officer Commanding the Sirhind Division, as follows :—

For six gun teams, at eight each	48
For six wagon teams, at six each	36
For Outriders, Staff-Sergeant, two Farrier-Sergeants, two Buglers	5
For spare one-tenth	9
	98
To which were afterwards added for the Native Officers of Native Companies	3

This order was promulgated on the reorganization of Nos. 7 and 9 Light Field Batteries. It also laid down for the Company of Syce Drivers two havildars, two naicks, and 54 drivers; and it also created for all Field Batteries

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the appointment, as belonging to them, not to the companies to which they might for the time be attached, of farrier, and assistant farrier, and saddler-sergeants, with a staff allowance of 14 rupees monthly, in addition to the pay of their rank. The Syce drivers were armed with a Hindustani tulwár (sword of a pattern furnished to magazines), carried in a frog-belt. The officers serving with Field Batteries were desired to provide themselves for both parade and review order with the undress horse furniture of Horse Artillery officers.

The number of horses for a war establishment was fixed by Adjutant-General's letter, No. 910, 2nd June, 1845, to General Gilbert, commanding the Sirhind Division as follows:—

For six gun teams at eight each	48
For six wagon teams at eight each	48
For Outriders	6
For Forage Cart	6
For spare horse, per team	12
For additional temporary to supply casualties ...	10
	130

But this order was not fully acted up to either for the war which ensued immediately afterwards, or subsequently. It was intended to apply to Nos. 7 and 9 Field Batteries then at Umballa, and to No. 19, at Ferozepore. The latter was then commanded by Captain J. Trower, who was transferred to No. 7 just before the war broke out, and fell at the head of it in the first action at Mudki. Captain J. Fordyce was appointed to No. 19, but as it was not supplied with trained horses, he was obliged to go to Feroze-shah with bullocks, and the battery proved of little use—certainly not the fault of its commander.

Six batteries, Nos. 13 to 18, had been added in 1842, and Nos. 7, 9, and 10 were horsed. No. 6 had exchanged

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its camels for horses in Afghanistan. No. 19 was formed in 1844, No. 20 ten years later, and No. 21 a year after that. So slowly had the orders of the Court of Directors been carried out even after the Afghan and Gwalior campaigns, that when the first Sikh War broke out and our resources were strained to a dangerous extent, we had in Bengal two camel, one elephant, eleven bullock and only four horse Field Batteries.

Major P. L. Pew, in 1835, first endeavoured to introduce the camel for draught, and he succeeded in inducing Government to equip a battery at Delhi according to his ideas. The animal is sufficiently manageable to be steady under fire, and on certain ground their powers of traction are good. They trot about seven miles and walk four in an hour. Captain F. B. Boileau, who for some time commanded No. 14, thought highly of the animal. He marched with it from Nasirabád across the desert to Multán, in 1850, travelling sometimes more than 30 miles in a day. Lieutenant Cordner tried the camels with an 18-pounder over sandy ground at Multán, and they dragged it without much difficulty. But the animal is not suitable for rocky or broken ground. In wet or slippery places they are liable to sprain or dislocate the shoulder and hip-joints. Major Boileau's battery was horsed by G.O.C.C., 2nd October, 1852.

The elephant was tried at Dum Dum for No. 3 Battery in 1842, but discontinued in 1845, when the battery was more usefully employed in teaching young officers mounted drills.

Studs and Supply of Horses.

The records of the Military Board in Calcutta contain a voluminous report, going into minute particulars upon the breeding stud maintained by Tipu, Sultan of Seringapatam, prepared when the Government of India were considering the establishment of their own in Bengal. The first stud was formed in 1808 at Púsa, in the district of

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Darbhanga. Mr. Moorcroft,* a veterinary surgeon sent out by the Court of Directors, was appointed superintendent (G.G.O., November 14th), on a yearly salary of Rs.20,000. Other studs were afterwards at Ghazipur, Buxar, and Karantadi in the lower, and at Hápar and Saharanpur in the north-west provinces, which were all in existence in 1857.

The system followed was borrowed from France and other countries in Europe, of maintaining selected stallions, which were put to the country mares about, and the produce when approved of purchased at a fixed sum. Commissariat agents also purchased from Kabul dealers and others horses passed by a committee of Artillery and Cavalry officers.

In 1794 a Board of Superintendence for improving the breed of cattle was formed, and kept up for a long time. Bullocks of a superior kind were easily obtained. At Hissar, a Supervisor of the "Hariána establishments" was appointed (G.G.O., May 19th, 1815), chiefly for the supply of camels of the superior Rajputána breed, but afterwards for bullocks. Camels for transport of baggage were hired by the Commissariat as required.

Castration was not usually practised. With entire horses, especially country-bred ones, noted for their fighting propensities, mares could not be used. The loss to the service this involved was early brought to notice. A letter from the Board of Superintendence, dated 31st July, 1816, contains some remarks from Captain Dickson at Pusa, recommending the castration of horses and camels. His arguments, since often repeated, may be found in Sir Charles Napier's "Defects of Administration." Captain Walter Raleigh Gilbert was then junior member of the Board, and his opinion to the same effect is given in that work. There was no sounder authority than his in India.

* The well-known traveller. After resigning his appointment in 1819, went through Ladakh, Kashmir, Cabul, and as far as Bokhára. He died in August 1825 at Andkhoi, west of Balkh.

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In 1816 the left Troop in every Cavalry regiment was mounted on geldings (G.O.C.C., September 18th). This was discontinued in 1820. They were introduced again in 1847, first in the 11th, afterwards in the 2nd Light Cavalry, and from this time entire horses began to disappear from our ranks, though slowly.

The best horses from the studs at first were given to the H.A. In 1817 H.M. Cavalry had an equal choice. When Light Field Batteries were horsed, the cattle supplied were undersized and inferior. It was even directed (G.O.C.C., March 30th, 1827) that such of the *cast* horses of Cavalry regiments as might be deemed suitable, should be made over to them. Captains of a rebellious disposition objected, and presented them to the next casting committee; others meekly tried to make the best of a bad bargain. Brigadier-General Tennant was obliged in the second Sikh War to transfer 65 horses of No. 6 F.B. (Captain Miles) to No. 10 (Captain E. G. Austin) in lieu of an equal number condemned. He had convened Casting Committees on other batteries, and brought to the Adjutant-General one of No. 11, which he said was inferior to those used in a Calcutta Karánchi. In 1851, at Delhi, Captain Sissmore, on whom it would have been very difficult to palm off a caster, brought up 44 before a Committee, which were all rejected. Sir C. Napier notices this in his book.

It was at last ordered (G.O.C.C., August 2nd, 1853) that horses passed into the service should be divided into four classes: 1st, chargers; 2nd, Horse Artillery; 3rd, H.M. Dragoons; 4th, Light Cavalry and Field Batteries.

To Sir Walter Gilbert, when member of Council, we were indebted for regular supplies of Australian horses, and it was found before long that they were much cheaper and better than stud-breds, which he estimated to cost nearly 1,000 rupees by the time they joined their corps. Under Imperial rule the studs were abolished.

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HEAVY FIELD BATTERIES.

Batteries of position, as they sometimes have been called, did not exist on any regular footing in the days of the Bengal Artillery. Artillery officers saw and pointed out the necessity for the employment of heavier pieces than those of the Field Batteries, Horse and Foot, but partly from motives of economy the Foot Artillery Field Batteries were never kept in a state of real efficiency, and Heavy Batteries were altogether left out.

When Colonel Tennant was appointed to the command of his arm in the army being formed for service in the Punjab, in July 1848, the recollection of the manner in which he and the heavy guns were altogether ignored in the battle of Máharajpur did not prevent his making every effort to bring them again into use for field purposes. In a memorandum sent to Colonel A. Abbott, the Principal Commissary of Ordnance in November, he arranged for three batteries to be drawn by elephants,* each of three guns and one howitzer (two of 18-pounders, one of 24-pounders), with four ammunition wagons drawn by bullocks for each piece. These arrangements were somewhat modified, and Colonel Tennant's object in assigning a battery to each division of the army was not carried out. Nevertheless, their utility, imperfectly organized as they were, was sufficiently proved at Chiliánwála and Gujarát. Colonel Tennant also succeeded in obtaining horse allowance for officers attached to these batteries.† At the conclusion of the war they were broken up, and no attempt was made to revive them. Had Colonel Tennant been Commandant of the regiment this would not have been the case.

So when the Mutiny broke out in 1857, and the demand

* As elephants alone were not to be depended on under all circumstances, the regular teams of bullocks were also ordered.

† Officers attached to bullock batteries did not draw horse allowance. They had to stump it.

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arose for heavy ordnance with the various columns, which after the capture of Lucknow were required to clear the country of rebels, and reduce forts in which they might hold out, Lord Clyde issued an order (April 1st, 1858), which was partly a repetition of Lord Lake's order of November 8th, 1806, directing two heavy pieces at least, and mortars if possible, to be taken with each column. But no table of equipment had been laid down; the "happy-go-lucky" system was in force. So with the guns some 400 rounds per piece were sent on "hackeries," and the battery was expected to keep its place in line of battle or in column of route. But magazine officers readily supplied whatever was required to supplement deficiencies, and time was only necessary to make these batteries capable of performing what was required of them. They were regularly established and equipped with improved ordnance, ammunition wagons and double draft of elephants and bullocks after the amalgamation.

Mountain Batteries.

Till the war with Nipal broke out, the Bengal Army had no experience of mountain warfare, except the expedition in 1772 of Captain J. Jones into the Bhután country. In September, 1814, the Marquess Hastings wrote to Colonel Grace, commanding the Artillery in "the field" to have some howitzers made up for hill service. The latter was a good Artillery officer, and perhaps more easily managed than the Artillery Commandant, Major-General Horsford. The Marquess in his journal, Cawnpore, on the 11th of October, says that Colonel Grace had caught his conception so exactly, that he found the carriages exactly as he wished them to be. The wheels detached from the carriage, the separate parts slung on bamboos, could be carried by coolies; the pieces were 12-pounders. The elephant, however, was employed chiefly for the transport of Artillery, and as Colonel Tennant afterwards (in 1844) wrote, was able to ascend very difficult ground.

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In 1840 Captain J. B. Backhouse returned from Afghanistan to prepare a Mountain Battery for service there. He had been in Spain under Sir De Lacy Evans, and had seen the light guns used there with mules. The carriages supplied to him by the Ordnance Department had cheek trails, which he altered for beam ones. He remodelled the shafts, and, indeed, most of the equipment. "He had considerable mechanical aptitude and judgment, and was not likely to commit error in anything of the kind he undertook."* This battery was broken up at the conclusion of the war (G.G.O., June 16th, 1843).

Shortly afterwards a Committee was convened (G.G.O., June 8th, 1844), at Jatogh, near Simla, to report on the proper equipment and mode of transport for Mountain Train Batteries. Two valuable minutes by Colonels J. Tennant and G. Brooke, who both had served in the Nipal campaign, formed part of the report. It was mainly on this that the Mountain Battery raised for service on the north-western frontier was formed. The days of rifled ordnance had not yet come. So this battery was equipped with four 12-pounder howitzers and four 3-pounder guns of the pattern then laid down, carried by mules on wooden saddles. The *personnel* consisted of a subadar, a jemadar, 2 European staff-sergeants, 6 havildars, 6 naicks, 2 buglers, and 88 privates, 36 Sirdar syces, 132 syces, 2 native farriers, 120 grass-cutters, 168 mules.

The native part of the battery was raised in August, 1854, and the command given to Captain T. Brougham. Previous to this, the ordnance and mules had been attached to the 2nd Company 2nd Battalion at Peshawur. Captains Stallard and Pulman at different times belonged to it, and in December, 1854, Lieutenants J. E. Cordner and E. Tierney were attached as subalterns.

Another battery, termed the Hazára Mountain Battery, was formed during the Mutiny. It was commanded by Captain F. R. Butt and stationed at Abbottabad.

* Colonel C. Douglas.

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ORDNANCE AND MANUFACTURING DEPARTMENTS.

The first body in whom the control of matériel and manufacture was vested was the Board of Ordnance, formed by General Clavering, Commander-in-Chief, in 1775. It met first in 1776. By L.C.D., September 21st, 1785, it consisted of the Commander-in-Chief, Senior Officer at Calcutta, Senior Artillery Officer, Chief Engineer, Adjutant-General, Quartermaster-General, and Military Auditor-General. It was then called the Military Board. Reorganised by G.G.O., November 26th, 1830, when it consisted of the Chief Engineer, Commandant of Artillery, a civilian, and two stipendiary military members. Besides the ordnance, it took cognizance of the Public Works, Canals, Commissariat, and Stud Departments. So that the preparation of the whole of the matériel for the Artillery was placed under the control of a board of which only one member knew anything about it.* What the object of making the chief magistrate of Calcutta the *ex-officio* civilian member was it would be difficult to say, unless it were that he had little else to do and might smoke his hooka in better company than his kutcherry officials. The Governor-General, as supreme authority in all matters of expenditure, sanctioned all important changes; and these, as far as the army was concerned, came under the cognizance of the Commander-in-Chief.

In 1821, the Marquess of Hastings directed (G.G.O., 27th January) that no alterations in ordnance carriages or articles of equipment pertaining to Artillery or Magazine equipment were to be adopted into the service till they had been previously considered and reported upon by a Committee of Artillery officers, termed the "Permanent Select Committee," of which the Commandant was senior member, assisted by the Principal and Deputy Commis-

* This was purposely done at first, in order that Colonel Pearse might be excluded from any control over matériel. Sir J. Tennant, a most reliable authority, corroborates what Colonel Pearse in his letters says about this.

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saries of Ordnance, the Agent for Gun-Carriages, and the Superintendent Tangent Scale Department. The last was abolished by G.G.O., 14th October, 1829. It acted as a useful check on the Military Board, but was not able to initiate any important measures, its chief duty being to report.

The Military Board was abolished by the Marquess of Dalhousie by G.G.O., 9th February, 1855, all the departments having been previously and successively withdrawn from its superintendence.

In April, 1782, a Mr. Thomas Powney was appointed * an agent for supplying gun-carriages for garrison service (wooden) at fixed rates. Field gun-carriages were supplied by the Commissary of Stores in Fort William.† Mr. Powney dying the following November, Lieut.-Colonel P. Duff, of the Artillery, received the charge.‡ He on going up country made it over to Major C. R. Deare, the Commissary of Stores.§

In the year 1800, Captain A. Glass was appointed agent for garrison gun-carriages and powder-barrels. The field carriages were next year transferred from the Commissary of Stores (Captain Anbury, Engineers) to his charge. Major Glass proposed that Government should purchase from Mr. Cuthbert Thornhill, Master Attendant in the Marine Department, a piece of ground near Cossipore for storage of half-wrought materials. It was bought for 20,000 rupees.‖ The charge of these materials was kept separate from the gun-carriage agency at Fort William, till the latter was transferred to Cossipore in 1807 (G.G.O., November 6th), when Captain J. Young was Superintendent.

* "Proc. Board of Ordnance," May 17th, 1782.

† "Proc. Board of Ordnance," July 17th, 1787.

‡ Not from Government, but from Mr. Powney's executors! A curious instance of public work subservient to private interest, characteristic of these times of trade.

§ The Commissary of Stores had charge of the arsenal and military stores (Garr. Ord., Ft. Wm., July 25th, 1791) and supplies from home (Res. Mil. Bd., March 7th, 1789.)

‖ "Proc. M.B.," March 6th, August 7th, 1701.

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The climate of Bengal being found unsuitable for seasoning timber properly, storage-yards were formed at Allahabad and Cawnpore. In 1814 Major Clement Brown was appointed to an agency for carriages at the former place, which was next year removed to Fatehgarh.

In 1823 the two departments at Cossipore were amalgamated (G.G.O., November 21st). In 1825 the timber-yard at Cawnpore was annexed (G.G.O., November 11th) to Fatehgarh, and in 1829 the Cossipore establishment also was removed to the same place, which thenceforward became the sole manufactory for gun-carriages and storage place of material.

The Cossipore yard then became a foundry. Previously any castings had been carried out in Fort William, but the appliances and means were very imperfect, and the only really serviceable iron guns were those cast at Carron; the rest being ancient, many belonging to the period when boring was unknown.* For Cossipore a new set of machinery was ordered out from England, with the best appliances then in use for the casting, boring, turning, and finishing processes necessary for bronze ordnance. Iron guns continued to be supplied from home. Captain George Hutchinson, of the Engineers, was entrusted with the setting up of all the machinery, and was the first Superintendent in charge of the foundry. He was succeeded (G.G.O., March 5th, 1839) by Lieut.-Colonel D. Presgrave, an Infantry officer. Then Captain Archdale Wilson, after officiating for more than a year, was appointed. Captain G. Hart Dyke, who succeeded, died at Dum Dum, May 13th, 1840, and Captain Arthur Broome was (G.G.O., November 16th) appointed. Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel H. H. Maxwell, C.B., was the last Superintendent.

To return to the subject of carriages. After the first Mysore War a committee of officers who had served in it was (G.O., December 18th, 1792) convened in Fort William to consider what improvements should be introduced.

* Colonel Deare's Report, "Proc. M.B." 178-.

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Major D. Woodburn * was President; Major Montagu, Captains Horsford, Howell,* and A. Glass were members. It sat till 1796.

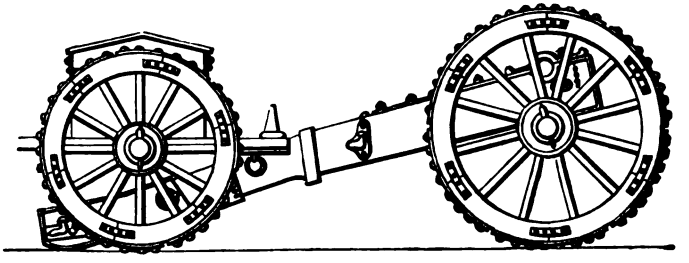

FIG. 1.

The field gun-carriage previously in use is shown in Fig 1. It was clumsy, even for those days. It had a wooden axle, strengthened by an iron bar, which, owing to the extreme badness of the metal used, had been considered by some officers† as preferable to iron ones. The Committee went carefully into the construction of both field and siege carriages. They condemned the Bengal 6-pounder one as too heavy and unwieldy, and the limber as most objectionable, recommending the adoption of

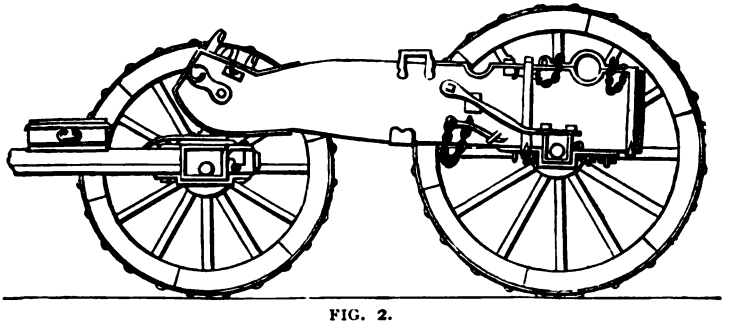

FIG. 2.

those used in Madras, except as to the wheels, of which the Bengal pattern was considered preferable. The pro-

* These officers went home afterwards. Major Montagu became President, Captains Rattray and Barton members G.O., Jan. 31st, 1794).

† Captain Montagu to Mil. Board, Feb. 27th 1789.

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jection of the centre bar of the limber bearing the pintle unduly lengthened the draft, and this they recommended should be shortened. This was not fully carried out.

When preparing the train for Seringapatam at Bangalore in 1792, Colonel Duff made some alterations in the siege carriages. He placed the pintle on a bolster on the limber axle-bed, carried the draft chain back to the gun-carriage, relieving the pintle of a severe strain, and cut travelling trunnion beds in the cheeks, shifting the weight of the piece to between the carriage and limber as shown here (Fig. 2). The wheels were afterwards reduced to 4 feet 10 inches. This, with some changes, continued to be the pattern till 1823.

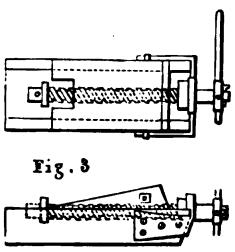

Fig. 3

The mode of elevating the gun was formerly by a horizontal quoin and screw, which in 1790 was superseded by a capstan-headed screw; this, after some changes, in which for guns the head was united with a loop under the lascable, continued to be used till later times.

A great number of experiments were made by the Committees of 1787 and of 1792-96 as to ranges obtainable from different lengths of bore from the Indian short and H.M.'s long 3-pounder and the 6-pounder. The latter they recommended as the best calibre for battalion guns. The 12-pounder to be disused with Infantry.

Another Committee sat in 1801 to consider the same question, principally with regard to the Horse Artillery, then being equipped. Lieut.-Colonel J. Macintyre was President. It retained the old pattern 6-pounder, but with some alterations. The iron axle-tree was equally thick between the shoulders, and perforated for the bolts. The elevating screw-box moving on small trunnions, which worked in gudgeons fitted to the cheeks, placed a little in front of the centre transom. An experiment was also tried of making a carriage with iron cheeks for the H.A.,

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but the difficulties of manufacture caused it to be dropped.

An improvement in fuzes was tried in March, 1789, before Lord Cornwallis, who was "pleased to desire Colonel Pearse to communicate to Lieutenant Hill that his lordship has received the utmost satisfaction from the experiments this day carried on before him, and from the successful endeavours of Lieutenant Hill to fire the powder within the shells the instant they touched the ground." The only clue we have of their construction is an account in the E.I. Military Repository, describing the invention of a Mr. Wilton tried at Woolwich five years before. The wood of a common fuze was cut away on each side to admit two small wedges of brass and two washers of leather next the wood. Through these and the fuse composition a hole was drilled into which a brass or copper wire was passed and secured in their place by rivets.* The wire, becoming brittle by the heat, broke on impact with the ground, and the wedges, followed by flame, fell into the shell.

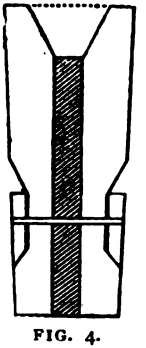

FIG. 4.

The only other move in this direction was a bronze fuze, proposed in 1848 by Lieutenant W. Olpherts. An inner cylinder furnished with a vertical row of holes at half-tenth distances, leading to the fuze composition, was fitted into an external cylinder which had a spirally arranged row of holes to correspond, and which was intended to screw into the shell. A dial at the top, graduated and figured, enabled the inner cylinder to be set, by means of a spanner, to any required length in the outer one. It was tried at Dum Dum, before a number of officers, of whom the writer was one, and was successful. But its expense, and the necessary

* The Model Room at Dum Dum formerly contained a specimen of Mr. Wilton's fuse, with others said to have been the invention of Colonel Hill, so it is probable that the latter was experimenting with something like Mr. Wilton's idea.

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adaptation of the shell, was considered prohibitive, so the good old beechen fuze, surviving much abuse, outlived the Mutiny.

On its first formation, the experimental Horse Artillery were armed with two 3-pounder and four 6-pounder guns. In 1806 the former were replaced by two 5½-inch howitzers. In 1809 two of the sixes were replaced by 12-pounders, forming a battery of mixed calibres. The 6-pounder

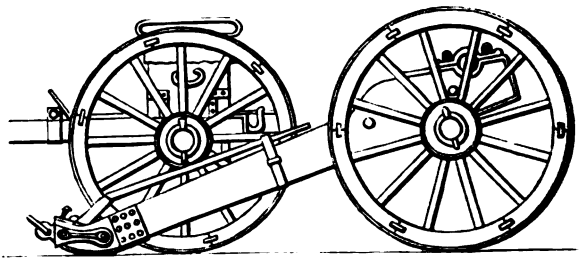

FIG. 5.

carriage was of this pattern. Colonel Horsford, in going over the Berhampore Magazine, found an old English 12-pounder gun of 8¾-cwt. and this was the pattern at first adopted,* but it was too light for efficiency.

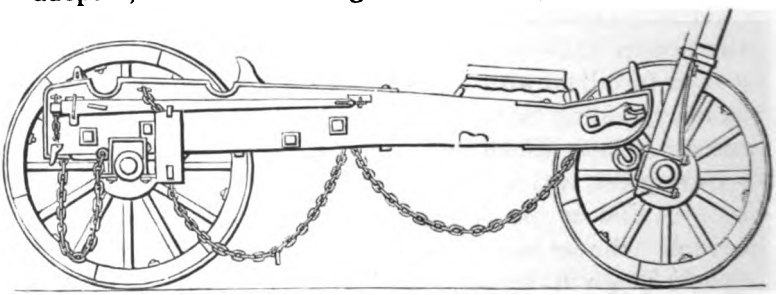

FIG. 6.

In 1823 new pattern siege gun and howitzer-carriages were introduced with an improved ammunition-carriage. The block trail in use with the Royal Artillery was also adopted.

* Sir J. Tennant.

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The separation of the three Presidencies caused numberless and great discrepancies in all matters of Artillery equip-

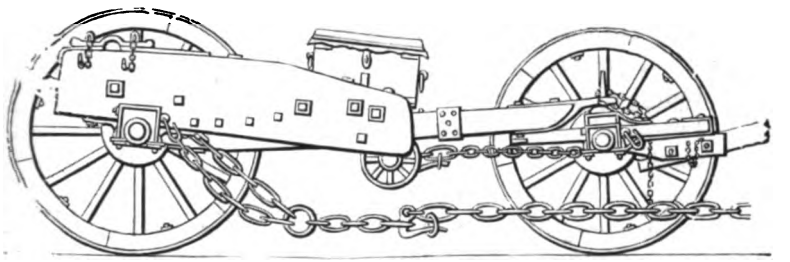

FIG. 7.

ment—as in everything else, productive of much inconvenience and useless expense whenever the different regiments were associated on service. Consequently, at the recommendation of Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, a special board of Artillery officers was convened in 1836 to consider the question of uniformity. It was composed as follows: President, Colonel W. S. Whish, C.B., B.H.A. Members—Lieut.-Colonel T. Stevenson, Bo.H.A.; Major J. Tennant, B.F.A.; Major G. Conran, M.H.A.; Captain R. S. Seton, M.H.A.; Captain W. T. Whitlie, Bo.H.A. Captain J. Cartwright, A.A.G., Bengal Artillery, was Secretary. It met in Government House, Calcutta, June 6th, and concluded its work in 1838. During its sitting, Colonel Whish vacated, on being appointed Commandant of the Regiment, when Colonel Stevenson became President, and Major C. Graham, C.B., B.H.A., a member. Its reports and the minutes of members contain much valuable information; and the late Emperor of the French thought it of sufficient importance to be noticed in his work on Artillery. The question of poles and shafts was discussed from opposite sides, and the majority decided in favour of detachments; the Bengal officers dissenting. Sir Henry Fane sided with the majority. The only recommendation which took effect was the establishment of depôts of instruction for officers and men at their regimental

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headquarters, and in Bengal that the ordnance for each battery should consist of five guns and one howitzer. Other recommendations were:—

Carriages with cheek and contracted trail.

Swivel-pattern limbering loop.

Madras iron axle-tree, without perforations.

Madras wheels, with metal naves.

Abolition of axle-tree seats on gun.

Colonel Tennant alone advocated heavier ordnance for Horse Artillery as long as Field Batteries were drawn by bullocks, quoting Colonel Pennington's evidence before the House of Commons in 1832,* that "the cattle of the Foot Artillery are perfectly inefficient, and that guns dragged by bullocks can never be brought into action."

Before the proceedings were returned from England the Afghan War had broken out, and the experience of service showed that the Bengal carriages stood the test of rough work better than those of Bombay. Captain Abbott thought the latter clumsy, though the superiority of the horses to ours made up for that. In 1842 the Supreme Government directed that the royal block trail carriage, as used in Bengal, was to be adopted in Madras and Bombay, together with the limbers and ammunition wagons. Since then, and till the introduction of rifled ordnance, no alterations of importance took place.

* In Committee on the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company.

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APPENDIX.

A. Officers posted to H.A. in 1809.

B. Successive Establishments of H.A.

C. Strength of Rocket Troop.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Names of Officers who were posted to the Horse Artillery on its augmentation, by G.O.C.C., October 4th, 1809.

1st Troop.

Captain Gervaise Pennington, to command of the Corps of H.A.
Capt.-Lieutenant Warren Hastings L. Frith.
Lieutenant William McQuhae.
Lieutenant George E. Gowan.
Lieutenant Charles Pratt Kennedy.

2nd Troop.

Captain Harry Stark.
Capt.-Lieutenant John Peter Boileau.
Lieutenant Hugh Lyon Playfair, appointed Adjutant and Quarter-Master to H.A. by G.O.C.C., Oct. 22nd.
Lieutenant John Curtis.
Fireworker Thomas Lumsden.

3rd Troop.

Capt.-Lieutenant James H. Brooke.
Capt.-Lieutenant John Rodber.
Lieutenant Samuel Parlby.
Lieutenant James Chicheley Hyde.
Fireworker John Bellamy Bowes Luxford.
Asst.-Surgeon William Thomas, doing duty with H.A.

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NOTE B.

Establishment of a Troop of Bengal Horse Artillery—European.

	1809.	G.G.O. Jan. 20 1818.	1824.	G.G.O. June 23 1827.	G.G.O. May 23 1845.
Captain	1	...	...	...	...
Captain-Lieutenant ..	1	...	...	...	...
Lieutenants (1st & 2nd)	3	...	...	...	...
Staff-Sergeant	...	...	...	...	...
Sergeants	6	...	...	...	...
Corporals	6	...	...	...	...
Bombardiers (Gunners)	10	...	...	...	...
Gunners (Matrosses) ...	80	...	...	...	...
Farrier	1	...	...	...	...
Rough-Riders	...	...	...	...	...
Trumpeters	2	...	...	...	...
Trumpeters (Half Pay)	...	...	...	...	2
Native Farrier	1	...	...	...	...
Native Doctor	1	...	...	...	...
Havildar (Serang) ...	1	...	...	...	...
Naicks (Tindals) ...	2	...	...	...	...
Privates (Lascars) ...	24	...	...	...	...
Syces	145	165	...	169	...
Grass-cutters	145	165	...	169	...
Horses	145	165	...	169	...

Establishment of a Troop of Bengal Horse Artillery—Native.

Staff Sergeant	1
Farrier-Sergeant ...	1
Subadar	1
Jemadar	1
Havildars	6
Naicks	6
Farriers	2
Rough-Riders	2
Trumpeters	2
Privates	90
Havildar	1
Naicks	2
Lascars	24
Syces	165
Grass-cutters	165
Horses	165

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NOTE C.

Strength of the Rocket Troop as finally laid down in G.G.O., 7th July, 1817.

Officers		4	
Non-Commissioned Officers		10	
Trumpeters		2	
Rank and File		85	60 Troopers mounted on Camels. 16 for Cars. 9 Spare.
Native Artificers		8	
Gun Lascars ...	Serang	1	
	N.C.O. and Privates ...	26	
Horse Attendants		74	
Camel Attendants		76	
Horses	N.C. Officers	10	
	Trumpeters and Farrier	3	
	Cars	16	
	Spare	9	
Camels	Troopers	60	Each with 8 Rockets.
	Reserve Ammunition	10	Each with 24 Rockets.
	Native Doctor and Farrier ...	2	
	Spare	9	
Rocket Cars		4	Each with 24 Rockets.
Bouches à feu		20	
EFFECTIVE STAFF.			
Assistant Surgeon		1	
Deputy-Commissary		1	
Conductor		1	
European Farrier		1	
Native Doctor		1	
Native Farrier		1	

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CHAPTER XVIII.

1809-1862.

COLONEL HORSFORD COMMANDANT—Golandáz raised—Corps of Ordnance Drivers—Headquarters moved to Dum Dum—Reorganization of 1818—Field Command Abolished—Hardwicke and Macleod Commandants—Pollock and Tennant Assistant-Adjutants-General.

REORGANIZATION OF 1824—Reductions of 1829—Clement Brown Commandant—Block in Promotion—Succession of Commandants and Staff.

CHANGES IN UNIFORM—Reorganization of 1845—A Superfluous Battalion of Golandáz—Succession of Commandants and Staff—Headquarters removed to Meerut—Reserve Companies.

OUTBREAK OF THE MUTINY—Its effect upon the Native portion of the Regiment—Commandants after 1857—Transfer of the Regiment to Her Majesty's Service—Congratulatory Orders.

IN May, 1808, Colonel Carnegie resigned the command of the regiment and went home. He was succeeded by Colonel J. Horsford. The character and abilities of this officer have been mentioned in the former part of this work. The four officers who came after Colonel Pearse had not left any great marks of their command behind them. That which distinguished Colonel Green's, the creation of the Horse Artillery, owed a great part of its efficiency in matériel to Colonel Horsford, who commanded in the field under Lord Lake, and until 1808. An enthusiastic admirer of Napoleon and French systems, he adopted them in most of the plans he laid before Government for his Corps. Possessed of more than common information, he early acquired a high character, which enabled him to gain the ear of the Commander-in-Chief before he became Commandant, and he did not fail to profit by it. Thus accustomed to have a good deal of his own way, he became sensible of his own importance, and being rather haughty in manner, made those who stood in his

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way feel it. This was not confined to his own Corps, which he ruled strictly in command,* but even the Staff of the army and the Council of Government were overawed by his reputation, and the Military Board submitted to his dictatorship as infallible.

But not only the Government in India, but the Court of Directors at home had to be won over before any great changes could be introduced. On the first he would sometimes force a plan piece-meal, sometimes carry it per saltum. Generally, he intended to carry out his system as opportunity offered.

This will account for much of the imperfectness of the measures sanctioned in his time. Of those left unfinished at his death many fell to the ground from want of ability and perseverance in his successors. So the Golandáz Corps without officers was multiplied; the Horse Artillery likewise, with officers merely borrowed from the Foot, were augmented on an imperfect system; he took all he could get, asking for more, especially for officers, the most difficult of all to obtain.† The first Memoir he laid before Lord Lake in 1801, a copy of which in his own handwriting, now in the Library of the Royal Artillery at Woolwich, contains a great quantity of information regarding the early condition of the regiment, which has been largely used in this work. The orders of the Court of Directors for reducing it called forth, at Lord Hastings' request, a second Memoir in 1816, containing proposals which he pronounced to be "gigantic, but impracticable." It was not, however, thrown away, for the reorganization of 1818 placed the regiment upon a better footing than it had been, though still not what it should have been.

* Up to the time when Colonel Hardwicke held the office, promotions of non-commissioned officers were made by the Commandant, and Captain Pollock, A.A.G.A., had some difficulty in persuading him to leave this to Battalion Commanders.

† This sketch of Sir John Horsford is almost entirely taken from a letter, now before me, from Sir James Tennant, written from personal knowledge of its subject. The letter is addressed to Captain (now Sir N.) Staples.

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During the years between 1808 and 1818, the only changes which took place in the regiment, besides the formation of three troops of Native Horse Artillery in 1817, were the embodiment of Companies of Golandáz amounting at last to fifteen in number. Their strength and dates of raising will be found in the Appendix (Note C).

In 1810 twenty-six Companies of Ordnance drivers, each of five sirdars and 105 drivers, was raised (G.G.O., December 22nd, 1809), rendering the Artillery independent of chance supply. The gun lascar Companies amounted in that year to 42; two years afterwards to 45. Their number in 1818 amounted to eight native officers, 712 N.C. officers and privates for each European Battalion; for the 15 Companies of Golandáz to 15 native officers, 1,125 privates. The discontinuance in that year of the use of drag-ropes as the ordinary means of moving guns on parade and in action, rendered them unnecessary, and they were reduced to small details attached to each Company.

In 1813 the headquarters of the regiment, which had previously been in Fort William, were moved out to Dum Dum, seven miles from the fort, where it remained forty years.* It is surrounded by swamps, and for that cause has been considered unhealthy in later years, but during the time we speak of there was not any unusual sickness. 1818.

The reorganization of 1818 added 57 officers and 330 N.C. officers and men to the regiment. The most important point gained by it was the separate provision of officers for the Horse Artillery, and a small addition for the Golandáz, which, insufficient as it was, was still a gain.† All the captains-lieutenant were promoted (G.G.O., January 9th, 1819) and the rank absorbed. Fireworkers became 2nd-lieutenants; gunners, bombardiers; and matrosses, our last naval term, were turned into gunners. The regimental brigade-major became (G.G.O., February

* See Note E.

† For details of this organization see Notes A, B. The designation of five Companies was changed by it.

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13th, 1819) Assistant-Adjutant-General of Artillery, and
1820. the office was tenable by a regimental major. In 1820 a small department which had just been formed for careful graduation and adjustment of Tangent Scales was increased by one for the preparation and preservation of models of guns, carriages, etc., and placed (G.O.C.C., March 6th) under charge of Captain Samuel Parlby, an officer of considerable ability and skill in all mechanical appliances. A Military Savings Bank also was set on foot for the army (G.G.O., December 23rd)—a great boon to the soldier.

1823. In 1823 the separate command of the Artillery "in the field," or above Allahabad, was abolished, and the different stations were formed into Artillery Divisions, corresponding with those of the army. Brigadier Hardwicke vacated the command of the Regiment in December, and was succeeded by Colonel Alexander Macleod, C.B.

1824. Next year Major Pollock vacated the office of Assistant-Adjutant-General, which he had held, first as Brigade-Major, since 1819. His abilities in the discharge of the important duties of this office pointed him out as eminently fitted to command the Artillery sent to Burmah soon after. He was succeeded by Captain Tennant, whose scientific attainments were of a very high order, and who was better acquainted with the details of his profession than perhaps any officer in the regiment. He never served in the Horse Artillery, but had it been his fortune to have commanded the regiment, would have been counted perhaps the ablest of those who held that position in later years.

The reorganization which took place this year, by increasing the number of battalions, increased the number of officers altogether by eleven; but diminished the strength by four companies and 396 non-commissioned officers and men (Appendix, Notes A and B). But the order of seniority of the companies of the Foot Artillery was completely upset; why it is difficult to say. As will be seen in reference to the table given as Note E, the companies as they stood in 1787 were arranged as to the first fifteen exactly in the

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order of seniority. This was altered as to three in 1818-19, perhaps to suit a temporary convenience, but now three of those raised in 1778-9 were reduced, and of the twenty-five remaining only one retained its original number. The Horse Artillery received a considerable augmentation, being formed into three brigades of four troops each, and the Golandáz Battalion of twenty companies got three field officers. Three years later the Golandáz lost four of the companies but were divided into two battalions with a better supply of officers, of which there were now 230, an increase of 23. 1824. 1827.

The Brigadier-Commandant this year received the honour of knighthood for his services in command of the Artillery at Bhurtpore (Whitehall, August 29th).

The year 1829 was one of reductions. At all stations within a certain distance of Fort William, the officers' pay was reduced by one-half the allowance termed "batta." Allahabad, Benares, Dinapore, and Dum Dum came within these limits. Lord William Bentinck had come out with orders to reduce expenditure in every way, but no measure could be a more unpopular one than this. It pressed severely upon Artillery officers, the Regimental Head-quarters being included. The reductions in the several ranks were— 1829.

	1829			1835		
Lieut.-Colonels ....Rs.	279	6	0	204	6	0
Majors ..... „	208	4	6	208	4	6
Captains ..... „	78	13	0	41	5	0
1st-Lieutenants..... „	55	16	0	30	14	0
2nd-Lieutenants ..... „	45	10	6	20	10	6

The memorials sent up from every portion of the army caused the regulation of 1835, and by G.G.O., December 6th, 1844, the operation of the "half batta order was limited to stations within 200 miles of Fort William." This included Dum Dum, and seriously affected its welfare.

The Tangent Scale and Model Department and the Riding School were also abolished.

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1830. Sir Alexander Macleod died at Dum Dum on the 20th
1831. of August, 1831, at the age of 64. He was a good, though not a brilliant, officer, courteous and unassuming, but not undecided in character or manner. Colonel Clement Brown, C.B., succeeded him and retained the command till appointed to a division of the army in August, 1836.

1829. Another unpopular measure was carried out in the army under orders from the Court of Directors in 1829. This was the reduction of two troops or companies in each regiment, brigade or battalion, thus causing in the Artillery twenty 1st and ten 2nd Lieutenants to become supernumerary. The rank of the eight Cadets from Addiscombe of June 12th, 1829, as 2nd-Lieutenant actually was cancelled (G.G.O., May 31st, 1830), and they were reduced to that of cadet, a very harsh and, indeed, illegal measure, but one which continued till seven of them were promoted to be acting 2nd-Lieutenants by G.G.O., February 27th, 1832, one, Lieutenant T. Gray, having died in the meantime. The block in promotion thus caused lasted for many years. Lieutenant H. A. Carleton, had been nine years and three months in the service before he got his first step in promotion. In the Infantry one officer was looking forward to the possibility of being a brevet-captain while yet an ensign. After the Afghan War had been more than two years in progress the exigencies of the service compelled the restoration of the three subalterns (L.C.D., March 31st, 1841) while the Government of India were feeling a far heavier burden of debt than they had ever incurred before.

The command of the regiment in 1836 devolved on Colonel H. Faithful, who was succeeded in 1838 by Colonel W. S. Whish, C.B., and he, in 1842, by Colonel W. H. L. Frith. Captain J. Cartwright had succeeded Major Tennant in May, 1835. He died June 9th, 1840, at Dum Dum, and Captain E. Buckle was appointed Assistant-Adjutant-General in his room.

1842. The next change in the regiment was the addition in

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1842 (G.O.C.C., March 17th and April 12th) of one company to each battalion of the European Artillery by reduction of one-fifth of the strength of the other four, thus causing no difference in numerical strength of the whole. Two companies of Golandáz were added to each native battalion, but the number of officers was not affected by these changes. 1842.

A change in the uniform of the regiment took place in 1817. The dress jacket was assimilated to the pattern which had been sanctioned for the men. It had embroidered button-holes and scarlet facings, the undress jacket embroidery of narrow cord lace, scarlet facings and white linings. Officers of Foot Artillery wore cross buff leather belts with sash and sword. The cap of black goatskin with short feathers was discarded for the shako (G.O.C.C., January 16th, 1817). 1817.

In 1827 the horse furniture of Field Battery officers (horsed) had stripped saddles, etc., Cavalry pattern, and steel scabbards, but in the bullock batteries horses were not allowed. 1827.

In 1828 further alterations took place; officers of H.A. took off their jack-boots and leathers while the men retained them. In full dress dismounted they wore a cocked hat, but the helmet with red mane on all other occasions. Mess waistcoat scarlet with lace edging; in hot weather white (R.O., October 13th). 1828

The Foot Artillery uniform next year was published in R.O., February 5th.* The coatee with swallow-tails, and two epaulettes for field officers; two for all in 1833. The trousers of blue, which replaced grey for both branches, with a single broad lace stripe for the Foot, double for the Horse, Artillery. The broad white buff shoulder-belt worn over the right shoulder with slings for field and frog for lower ranks (the frog discontinued afterwards) was replaced in 1829.

* The Gorget worn by the F.A. (but not with ordnance) was abolished by G.O.C.C., April 14th, 1831.

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1829. 1851 for a waist-belt and slings. The undress jacket or "raggy" with scarlet cuffs and collar, had shoulder scales added to it in 1841. Instead of the old goatskin shako was one of the bell-shaped pattern as worn by the R.A., of goodly diameter at top, with a ten-inch feather above in front (G.O.C.C., September 20th, 1833), and this was replaced in 1846 by one of the modern shape without the gold lace edging top and bottom. In 1851 Horse Field
1851. Battery officers were directed to provide themselves with Hussar saddles and bridles, H.A. undress shabracque, and a drooping instead of the upright plume. The scales on shell-jackets were done away with and replaced by H.A. shoulder-straps. These were the last changes which were introduced.

1845. The reorganization of 1845 introduced important changes. The officers were increased by 46; non-commissioned officers and men in the European battalions reduced by 75. Horse Artillery as before. Half-pay trumpeters and buglers were introduced: a certain number of boys at the age of fourteen being entertained two for one on full pay. It was a good opening for boys, and saved them two or three years of idleness before they enlisted. The Golandáz were made three battalions, the 7th, 8th, and 9th; which, as far as officers were concerned, was a gain of 23; but a loss of 230 native officers, N.C.O., and men. The 9th Battalion was stationed at Dum Dum. Part of it was employed in the Burmese War, but it was, as far as regimental efficiency was concerned, an utter delusion. It never was, as an inspection of any Army List from 1846 to 1857 will show, anything else but a row of official pegs whereon to hang the names of officers on furlough or on extra regimental employ. The Adjutant and the Quartermaster at Dum Dum commanded the companies, which took duty in Fort William by roster where they fired a salute for a coming or departing Governor-General, or a victory.

Brigadier Frith held the command of the regiment for a long time, from January, 1842, till May, 1851, when he went

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home. Regimental Order of May 2nd directed all reports to be made to Colonel Farrington, who acted till Colonel Shaw relieved him (G.G.O., May 24th, 1851). Brigadier Shaw, on being appointed to a divisional command, was succeeded by Brigadier G. E. Gowan, C.B. and A.D.C. to the Queen, July 1st, 1852. On him also being appointed to the Army Staff, Brigadier George Brooke, C.B., was nominated to the regimental command. Hitherto the senior officer in India had held it, but to avoid the displacement of anyone who had been appointed by a senior coming out from England it was ruled by the Court of Directors (G.G.O., January 11th, 1853) that the post should be a five years' command like other brigade ones. The Assistant-Adjutants-General during this period were Lieut.-Colonel G. S. Lawrenson, C.B., who succeeded Captain E. Buckle in September, 1846; and Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Swinley in April, 1849. Captain Buckle had collected a quantity of material for a regimental history, which, had he lived to complete it, would have been a very valuable record, but the state of his health did not allow of his arranging and correcting the papers. The late Sir John W. Kaye, whose great literary abilities peculiarly fitted him for the task, published the history in one volume, but the India Office had not then the means of authenticating or correcting such materials, as has been stated in the preface to the first part of this work. Indeed, a considerable part of the present work has been compiled from records which have never come home. 1845.

The position of regimental headquarters and its distance from Simla, where the Commander-in-Chief and his Staff Departments lived a great part of the year, forced itself into notice as one campaign after another was fought beyond and near the north-west frontier of India, and increased facilities of communication with England developed a tendency to centralise. It was proposed to add to the Headquarter Staff an Assistant-Adjutant-General of Artillery. Colonel Tennant, then at home, pointed out to

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1845. the Secretary Military Department at the India House that such an appointment would seriously lessen the utility and influence of the Commandant and produce friction. In the end this project did not go further. When Brigadier Brooke became Commandant the order went forth and headquarters were moved to Meerut in 1854.

At the same time that this was decided upon by the Court of Directors, that body had consented to adjust a long-standing grievance of the Artillery, not so well officered as the other branches of the army, by adding a captain and a lieutenant to each brigade and battalion, which was carried out G.G.O., March 24th, 1853.

Officers were indeed needed, for after the annexation of the Punjab a frontier force was formed for the special duty of keeping the wild Patan tribes on its western border in order. Three Field Batteries formed a part (G.G.O., February 15th, 1851), to which was added a Garrison Company. And when the province of Oudh was annexed, three Field Batteries and a Garrison had to be supplied from the already depleted corps.

One great defect of the Bengal Artillery was, doubtless, the neglected condition of its reserve companies. The regiment had never known, except in its Horse Artillery branch, what it was to be properly officered, and while on the one hand the reserve were indented upon to supply officers to the rest, they were often called upon to receive into the ranks the incapables and impracticables of the more favoured portion of the regiment. Almost every month the following order emanated from the office of the A.A.G.A., "No. 500 Gunner John Smith, having been reported unfit for the mounted branch, is transferred to the 4th Company 2nd Battalion." This 2nd Battalion, quoted as an instance, was for many years a reserve one, and its 2nd Company obtained the unenviable title of "the devil's own." At the same time it must in justice be said that, unruly as they often were in quarters, on

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service they never disgraced the fair fame of the regiment. The 4th Company in Afghanistan (see the defence of Kalat-i-Ghilzai) and "the devil's own" at the siege of Multán in 1848 did right good service, and showed as clean defaulters' sheets as could be desired. But they were usually left in charge of a very junior officer, changed every few months. When a Field Battery was transferred to a reserve company the officers were, as a matter of necessity, also transferred, and its discipline returned to it. 1845.

Brigadier George Brooke vacated the command of the Regiment on the 14th of March, 1856, and was succeeded by Colonel Archdale Wilson. The former had seen more service than most men of his time, and had acquired a high character for ability, especially in matters connected with the mounted portions of the regiment, and in 1867 he was made a K.C.B. His period of command had not been marked by any unusual changes or improvements. Lieutenant E. B. Johnson had succeeded Lieut.-Colonel Swinley as Assistant-Adjutant-General, the first time this office had been held by so junior an officer, but for which his abilities well fitted him.

Next year the outbreak of the Mutiny called every British soldier to arms. Of the part taken by the native portion of the regiment in this deplorable rising it is fortunately easy to tell. The native troopers and Golandáz were not, as a rule, of the higher caste among the Hindus, but the Musalman portion differed not from their co-religionists. However, it was only the following which took any prominent part in the rebellion, and none took the lives of their own officers in cold blood :— 1857.

4th Troop 1st Brigade H.A. mutinied at Nimach, June 3rd.

2nd Co. 7th Batt. No. 6 F.B. mutinied at Nasirabad, May 28th. This was the battery which had done such good service at Jalálabád. The guns bore the Mural Crown, of which they were very proud. The Jemadar of the syce drivers

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1857. was the only man of his class who ever attained commissioned rank. He fell at Delhi in the first action they fought there, and the last two guns of that battery that fell again into our hands were, it is believed, those captured at Daudpur by Brigadier Horsford on the 20th of October, 1858, after a chase of six miles with Lieutenant Strange's and Lieutenant F. Lyon's guns.

3rd Co. 7th Batt. No. 5 F.B. mutinied at Delhi, May 11th.

5th Co. 7th Batt. No. 13 F.B. mutinied at Faizabad.

6th Co. 7th Batt. mutinied at Cawnpore.

6th Co. 8th Batt. No. 15 F.B. mutinied at Bareilly.

The Subadar of this Company, Muhamad Bakht Khan, took a very leading part at Delhi. He was killed afterwards in Oudh.

4th Company 9th Battalion No. 18 F.B. mutinied at Newgong, June 9th. If this Company had been supported by the neighbourhood of European troops it would probably have remained faithful.

The 5th Troop 1st Brigade, as already mentioned in a previous chapter, rendered an unshaken loyalty to the State. G.G.O. No. 34 of 1858, and A.R.O., 14th July, announced that the following special rewards for their gallantry had been conferred on them, besides a step in rank to the five seniors:—

1st Class Order of British India, Subadar.

2nd Class Order of British India, Jemadars (2).

1st Class Order of Merit, Havildar (1).

3rd Class Order of Merit, 1 Jemadar, 1 Havildar, 5 Naicks, 1 Trumpeter, 2 Rough Riders, 2 Farriers, 53 Troopers, Gun Lascars, 1 Havildar, 3 Naicks, 15 Privates.

The 4th Troop 2nd Brigade remained steady throughout, but as it was considered advisable to replace the natives by Europeans, Major C. V. Cox was ordered to march it in July, 1857, to Attock, where the native troopers were left and the guns were taken on to Peshawur, where Sir Sydney Cotton called for volunteers from the 70th.

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27th, and 24th Regiments. They were taken over by the Troop, August 4th, 1857, and brought on the strength of the regiment in A.R.O., May 10th, 1860.* 1857.

The 4th Troop 3rd Brigade deserves some notice. It had made the famous march to Bamián in 1839, under Lieutenant M. Mackenzie. It was stationed at Multán, in 1857, under Lieutenant F. R. De Bude, Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie being on sick leave at Simla. It took part in the disarming of the mutinous Sepoy regiments, supported only by the European 4th Company 3rd Battalion and Crawford Chamberlain's Irregular Cavalry. But it was thought right, as in the case of the Rawál Pindi Troop, to put European soldiers in charge of the guns. Volunteers came from the Reserve Company and the 1st Bombay Fusiliers, and the Native troopers still continued fulfilling any duties they were called on to perform. But when Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie went into the district with his Troop they were ordered by the Cantonment Authorities to camp out along with the mutinous Sepoys, whose comrades they had lately been blowing away.

The result was that when the 62nd and 69th rose in mutiny and attacked the cantonment, murdering Lieutenant Mules, Adjutant of the Bombay Fusiliers, they were implicated in this, and, having fled, were set down as mutinied. "It is," says Colonel De Bude, who communicated these facts, "a cruel story. . . . It was not till the Government had deserted it, that it deserted the Government."

The 1st Company 7th Battalion, under Captain W. K. Fooks, was sent to escort the siege train from Phillour to Umballa on the 22nd May, 1857. This was done in five days, a service brought to the notice of Government

* In the first competitive shooting practice throughout the regiment, held in accordance with G.O.C.C., December 24th, 1860, Gunner W. Holmes of this Troop got first prize in the 2nd Brigade with nine points; Gunner C. O'Brien, 5th Troop, won first prize in the 1st Brigade with the same number; Bombardier J. Forsyth, 2nd Troop, in the 3rd Brigade with eight.

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1857. (No. 980, May 29th from the Q.M.G.). Captain Fooks was in charge of the Ordnance Depôt formed at Umballa. His men retained their carbines, and assisted him in every way; and on two occasions carried out capital sentences on mutineers.

Of the other native companies, the 4th-7th; 4th and 5th-8th; 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th-9th Battalions were allowed to take their discharge or be transferred to other native regiments.

In the end of 1857, Colonel Augustus Abbott, C.B., was appointed Commandant, and all reports were ordered to be made to him from March 18th, 1858, after the capture of Lucknow. Had the separate existence of the regiment lasted, his high character as an Artillery officer would have ensured good results to it. But he went home in October, 1859, and was succeeded by Brigadier Horsford, who after a brief tenure made it over to Brigadier J. Fordyce, whose health obliged him to make over the command to Colonel G. Swinley, the last commandant.

The Queen's Proclamation of August 2nd, 1858, assuming the direct Sovereignty of the Indian Empire, of itself transferred the Company's army to the Crown, but the omission of precise legal form and some measures which afterthought showed might have been adopted obliged the Government to permit (G.G.O. No. 883 of 1859) soldiers enlisted under the East India Company to take their discharge or re-enlist with a fresh bounty. It is hardly necessary to refer to this further; it concerns not this history.

It was not until the year 1861 that measures for the amalgamation of the Indian and Royal Artilleries were put in action. Much had to be considered before the way was made clear. With regard to the officers, it was notified by G.G.O., April 10th, that those who were willing to serve out of India and were permitted to do so would be commissioned in the Royal Artillery; and G.O.C.C. same date directed that the names of all who were, should be sent

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in to Headquarters. The result was as we expected. Finally only three elected for local service, and the Brigadier-Commandant published in Regimental Orders of May 21st, 1861, the following telegram from Sir Hugh Rose to him :— 1857.

"I congratulate you and the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of your noble corps on the fine military feeling which has prompted them to volunteer, almost universally, to serve the Queen anywhere."

And perhaps this imperfect record of a regiment which has tried to do its duty cannot be more fitly closed than by the following extract from G.O.C.C., Her Majesty's Forces, October 28th, 1861 :—

"The Commander-in-Chief in India experiences great satisfaction in obeying the orders of His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief to convey to Brigadier Swinley, and the officers of the late Bengal Artillery, the expressions of the heartfelt gratification which His Royal Highness has derived from the high military feeling which prompted them to come forward, almost in a body, and declare their readiness to serve our Most Gracious Sovereign the Queen everywhere.

"The Duke of Cambridge feels the conviction that the spirit of devotion and gallantry which has gained renown for the Bengal Artillery in so many Indian fields of honour will distinguish them as Royal Artillery wherever their duty may call them."

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Letters from various officers.

APPENDIX.

A. Successive Establishments of Officers.
B. Successive Establishments of European Companies.
C. Successive Establishments of Golandáz.
D. Dum Dum.
E. Successive Changes in the Designation of Companies.

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Date.		Colonels.	Lieut.-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	2nd-Captains.	1st-Lieutenants.	2nd-Lieutenants.	Staff. Assis. Adjt. Gen.	Staff. Adjutant & Q.M.	Staff. Interpr. & Q.M.	
1 Sept. 1818	G.G.O. Reorganization. Each Company	...	...	...	1	...	2	2	...	...	...	
	Each Battalion=8 Companies	1	2	2	8	...	16	16	...	1	...	
	Three Battalions, European	3	6	6	24	...	48	48	...	3	...	
	One Battalion Golandáz	...	...	1	13	...	4	4	...	1	...	
	Horse Artillery, each Troop	...	...	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	...	
	One Brigade=7 Troops	1	2	2	7	...	28	...	1	1	...	
	Total Horse, Foot, and Golandáz	4	8	8	44	...	80	52	1	6	...	
25 Nov. 1823	L.C.D. 3 Brigades H.A. of 4 Troops, each	3	3	3	15	...	30	15	...	3	...	
6 May 1824	G.G.O. 5 Battalions European F.A. of 4 Companies each	5	5	5	25	...	50	25	...	5	...	
	1 Battalion Golandáz of 20 Companies	1	1	1	5	...	10	5	...	1	...	
	Total ...	9	9	9	45	...	90	45	1	9	...	The Regimental Staff are Non-effective throughout.
28 Sept. 1827	G.G.O. Horse Artillery as before	3	3	3	15	...	30	15	...	3	...	
16 Nov. 1827	G.G.O. European Foot Artillery as before	5	5	5	25	...	50	25	...	5	...	
	2 Battalions Golandáz of 8 Companies each ...	2	2	2	10	...	20	10	...	2	2	
	Total ...	10	10	10	50	...	100	50	1	10	2	
5 May 1829	G.G.O. 2 First and 1 Second Lieut. in each Brigade and Battalion reduced	...	...	...	...	...	20	10	...	...	...	
	Revised establishment	10	10	10	50	...	80	40	1	10	2	
31 Mar. 1841	L.C.D. Reduction of 1829 restored	...	...	...	...	...	20	10	...	...	...	
28 May 1841	G.G.O.											
	Revised establishment	10	10	10	50	...	100	50	1	10	2	
3 July 1844	L.C.D. 3 Brigades H.A. of 4 Troops each	3	3	3	15	...	30	15	...	3	...	The supplemental Troop raised from Shah Shuja's Horse Artillery, and numbered 5th Troop 1st Brigade, was not included in the calculation of officers.
23 May 1845	G.G.O. 6 Battalions of European F.A. of 4 Companies each	6	6	6	30	...	60	30	...	6	...	
	3 Battalions of Golandáz of 6 Companies each ...	3	3	3	15	...	30	15	...	3	3	
	Total ...	12	12	12	60	...	120	60	1	12	3	
12 Jan. 1853	L.C.D. Addition of 1 Capt. and 1 Lieut. to each Brigade											
24 Mar. 1853	G.G.O. and Battalion	...	...	...	12	...	12	...	...	...	...	
18 Mar. 1858	L.C.D. Addition as above	...	...	...	12	..	12	...	...	...	...	
28 Apr. 1858	G.G.O.											
8 July 1858	L.C.D. Assimilated to Royal Artillery	12	24	...	72	72	168 Lieuts	...				
27 Aug. 1858	G.G.O.											

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NOTE B.

SUCCESSIVE ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE EUROPEAN COMPANIES OF BENGAL ARTILLERY.

Authority	Detail of Changes.	Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.							Battalion Staff.							Gun Lascars.					
		Staff-Sergeants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Bombardiers.	Buglers.	Gunners.	Pay-Sergeants.	Sergt.-Major.	Q.M.-Sergeant.	Drill-Sergeant.	Drill-Corporal.	Drum-and-Fife Major.	Schoolmaster-Sergeant.	Hospital-Sergt.	Subadar.	Jemadar.	Havildar.	Naicks.	Privates.	
G.G.O. 1 Sept. 1818.	ORGANIZATION OF 1818.																				
	Formed into 3 Battalions of 8 Companies each							N.E.													
	Each Co. ...	1	5	5	10	2	80	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1		3	2	84	
	Each Batt. of 8 Cos.	8	40	40	80	16	640	8	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	7	24	16	672	
G.G.O. 28 Aug. 1822.	Lascars reduced to these details attached to each Company, etc. With each Co.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	24	
	With each Battalion ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	16	192	
	ORGANIZATION OF 1824.																				
G.G.O. 6 May 1824.	Formed into 5 Battalions of 4 Cos. each. Each Co. ...	1	5	5	10	2	80	N.E. 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1		2	2	40	
,, 22 July 1824.	4 Cos. reduced. Each Batt. of 4 Cos. ...	4	20	20	40	8	320	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	8	8	160	
,, 24 June 1825.	Gun Lascars augmented.																				
	ORGANIZATION OF 1842.																				
G.O.C.C. 17 Mar. 1842	One Co. added to each Battalion by the reduction of 1-5th of the strength Each Co. ...	1	4	4	8	2	64	N.E. 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1		2	2	31	
,, 12 Apr. ,,																					
R.O. 7 ,, ,,	Each Batt. of 5 Cos. ...	5	20	20	40	10	320	5	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	5		10	10	155	
	ORGANIZATION OF 1845.																				
G.G.O. 23 May 1845.						HP. FP.		N.E.													Attached to Reserve Cos.
G.O.C.C. 9 June ,,	Formed into 6 Battalions of 4 Cos. each. Each Co. ...	1	6	6	6	2 2	60	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1		2	2	31	
,, 24 July ,,	Each Batt. of 4 Cos. ...	4	24	24	24	8 8	240	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	1			1	2	24	Attached to Cos. with Horse Field Batteries.
G.G.O. 2 July ,,	One Co. reduced.																				

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NOTE C.

SUCCESSIVE ESTABLISHMENTS OF GOLANDAZ.

		European Officers.						Native Officers.		N.C.O. and Men.				European Staff.						Native Staff.				
		Colonels.	Lieut.-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	1st-Lieutenants.	2nd-Lieutenants.	Subadars.	Jemadars.	Havildars.	Naicks.	Drummers or Buglers.	Privates.	Adjutants.	Quarter-Masters.	Sergt.-Majors.	Qr.-Mr.-Sergeants.	Drill-Sergeants.		Havildar-Majors.	Qr.-Mr.-Havildars.	Drill-Havildars.	Drill-Naicks.	Drum-Majors.
G.G.O. Aug. 28, 1806	Each Company	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	8	8	...	100	...	...	..	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
	Total 5 Companies	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	40	40	...	500	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
	Independent Golan.																							
G.G.O. Nov. 7, 1809	2 Companies ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	4	10	10	4	240	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
G.G.O. Feb. 18, 1812	3 Companies ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	5	5	2	120	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
G.G.O. April 9, 1814	4 Companies ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	5	5	2	120	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
G.G.O. Sept. 1, 1818.	Each Company ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	8	8	2	100	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
	Total 15 Companies	...	...	1	13	4	4	15	30	120	120	30	1500	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
G.G.O. Feb. 5, 1824	5 Companies added	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	10	40	40	10	500	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
G.G.O. June 24, 1824	4 Privates added ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	80	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
G.G.O. Oct. 15, 1827	Each Company	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	8	8	2	104	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
	2 Batts. of 8 Cos.	2	2	2	10	20	10	16	32	128	128	32	1664	2	2	2	2	2		2	2	4	4	4
G.G.O. March 17, 1842	Each Company ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	6	6	2	88	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
	2 Batts. of 10 Cos.	2	2	2	10	20	10	20	40	120	120	60	1760	2	2	2	2	2		2	2	4	4	4
G.G.O. May 23, 1845	Each Company	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	6	6	2	88	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...	...
	3 Batts. of 6 Cos.	3	3	3	15	30	15	18	36	108	108	36	1584	3	3	3	3	3		3	3	6	6	6

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NOTE D.

Dum Dum was first used as practice-ground for the Artillery by Colonel Pearse. His tent was pitched in the grounds of a house long known as Fairy Hall. Dum Dum House, a hunting seat of Suraj ud Daulah, was taken possession of by Lord Clive. Captain C. Green, when Brigade-Major, purchased it from a Colonel Home or his heirs. It is mentioned in the "Life of Sir Philip Francis" as being "monastic, but dreary, both retired and cool." The practice-ground was obtained from the Brahmins of some temples in Calcutta, in exchange for other lands, east of the salt-water lake, who afterwards laid claim to it, and appear to have abstracted the documents proving the purchase from the Magistrate's office while the case was pending.* Lieutenant E. Montagu, when Adjutant, laid out the native lines on the ground afterwards occupied by the New Bazar, which retained his name till late years.

The Mess-House was a very handsome and commodious building. The dining-room, with its two rows of Scalioglia pillars, was well fitted for the State dinners frequently given in it. A model-room was added after that department had been broken up by G.G.O., October 14th, 1829, in which many regimental trophies and curious relics were kept. The silver spear, Lieutenant Matheson's trophy of the Nipal War, and captured standards were there. Models of old guns, carriages, etc., and many an article the history of which was at last only known to the old billiard-marker, De Mello, came to Meerut, and there, after the Mutiny, when the new Mess-House was being built, neglected and thrown aside, they all disappeared. A coat of mail from the field of Sobraon, found years after in an outhouse, is now in possession of the writer.

Dum Dum was shorn of much of its glory by the Half Batta

* M.S. Notes of Sir J. Tennant.

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Order of 1829. Perhaps it was the unpopularity of Lord W. Bentinck which about that time induced some young Artillery officers to perpetrate a joke on his Lordship. A handsome carriage and four, with postillions and two outriders, in the scarlet livery of Government House, drove rapidly along "the course" by the river, at the time when Calcutta turned out "to eat the air," and back, disappearing while the city was yet wondering at the unwonted display. It was known to have gone on the Dum Dum road, so the Brigadier-Commandant got in due course a sheet of foolscap which caused another to circulate in the station, but nothing further was said about it, not, at least, to Lieutenant Sissmore, one of the audacious subalterns.

Sir Charles Napier would have removed Regimental Headquarters to Delhi, but the expense would have prevented it had the idea ever gone further. There are not many now left of those who dispensed, and who enjoyed, the pleasant hopitalities shared with Calcutta and Barrackpore. The regimental band, carefully selected, was, as it should have been, an unusually good one. The two last bandmasters, Messrs. Wymer and Van Maanen (the latter not long ago Bandmaster of the Royal Irish Constabulary in Dublin), were musicians of no mean reputation. But time goes on, and so must we.

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NOTE E.

Successive changes in the Designation of Companies of the Bengal Artillery.

	Year raised.	1748-1779.	1779-1785.	1785-1787.	1787-1818.	1818-1819	1819-1824	1824-1842.	1842-1862.	Present Designation.
1	1748	1	4-1	5-1	1-1	...	3-1	1-4	...	2 Mount. Batt.
2	1758	2	4-2	3-1	2-1	...	...	2-1	...	10 Field Batt.
3	1763	3	2-1	1-1	3-1	...	6-3	2-5	...	4 Co. S. Div.
4	1765	4	2-2	2-1	4-1	...	...	4-4	...	6 Co. E. Div.
5	1772	5	5-1	4-1	5-1	...	...	2-4	...	4 Mount. Batt.
6	1778	6	3-2	1-2	...	...	...	1-3	...	8 Co. S. Div.
7	...	7	1-1	4-2	2-2	...	...	Reduced	...	...
8	...	8	1-2	2-2	3-2	...	...	Reduced	...	...
9	1779	9	3-1	3-2	4-2	...	...	Reduced	...	...
10	...	10	5-2	...	...	...	...	2-2	...	9 Mount. Batt.
11	1786	...	...	1-3	...	6-3	1-1	...	...	21 Field Batt.
12	...	...	...	2-3	...	...	...	4-1	...	22 Field Batt.
13	...	...	...	3-3	...	...	...	3-4	...	6 Mount. Batt.
14	...	...	...	4-3	...	...	...	1-5	...	10 Co. S. Div.
15	...	...	...	5-3	...	...	...	2-3	...	23 Field Batt.
16	1802	...	...	...	6-1	...	...	3-3	...	14 Co. S. Div.
17	...	...	...	...	7-1	...	...	4-3	...	36 Field Batt.
18	...	...	...	...	6-2	...	...	3-2	...	13 Co. S. Div.
19	...	...	...	...	7-2	...	...	4-2	...	35 Field Batt.
20	...	...	...	...	6-3	...	...	...	...	34 Field Batt.
21	...	...	...	...	7-3	...	...	Reduced	...	...
22	1818	...	...	...	8-1	...	...	3-1	...	53 Field Batt.
23	...	...	...	...	8-2	...	...	3-5	...	2-25. Red. 1871.
24	...	...	...	...	8-3	...	...	4-5	...	54 Field Batt.
25	1842	...	...	...	...	...	...	5-1	1-6	18 Co. S. Div.
26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5-2	2-6	59 Field Batt.
27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5-3	3-6	60 Field Batt.
28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5-4	4-6	3-25. Red. 1871.
29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5-5	Reduced	...

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INDEX TO NAMES OF OFFICERS.

ROYAL NAVY.

Austen, C.B., Rear-Adl. C. J., viii.

Dorville, Lieut. J. W., viii.

Gray, Captain T. C., R.M., xii.

Hay, Lieut. Edward, xii.

Kennedy, Lieut. Charles B. D., viii.

Lambert, Commodore George R., viii.

Loch, C.B., Captain Granville G., viii.

Peel, K.C.B., Captain Sir W., xii.

Rice, Lieut. George W., viii.

Shadwell, Commander Charles F. A., viii.

Sotheby, C.B., Captain E. S., xii.

Vaughan, Commander J. W., xii.

Wilson, Lieut. W. C. F., xii.

Wratislaw, Lieut. Henry R., xii.

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

Adye, J. M., C.B., xi.-xiii.

Anderson, J. R., C.B., xii., xiii.

Arbuthnot, H. T., xii, xiii.

Auchinbell, J. C., xii., xiii.

Barker, Sir G. R., K.C.B., xii., xiii.

Barry, W. W., xii., xiii.

Biddulph, R., xii., xiii.

Brown, W. S., xii., xiii.

Burnaby, A. D., xiii.

Burnett, E. S., xii., xiii.

Calvert, A. M., xii., xiii.

Campbell, J. McC., xii., xiii.

Chalmers, C. D., xii., xiii.

Cottingham, E. R., xii., xiii.

Crawford, W. T., xii., xiii.

Cuthbert, E. C., xii., xiii.

D'Aguilar, Sir C. L., K.C.B., xii., xiii.

Desaguiliers, T., xv.

Dupuis, Sir J. E., K.C.B., xii., xiii.

Dyer, H. C. S., xii., xiii.

Edmeades, H., xii., xiii.

Egan, E., xii., xiii.

Fitzmaurice, M. H., xii., xiii.

Ford, A., xii., xiii.

Franklen, C. R., xiii.

Fraser, Hon. D. McD., C.B., xiii.

Geary, H. Le G., xiii.

Gibbon, J. R., C.B., xii., xiii.

Gilmour, W., xii., xiii.

Goodenough, W. H., xii., xiii.

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Goodyear, J., xv.
Gordon, S. E., C.B., xii., xiii.
Greene, D. S., xii., xiii.
Grylls, S. M., xiii.

Hall, W. J., xiii.
Hardy, W. N., xii., xiii.
Henry, G. C., xiii.

Johnson, A. C., xii., xiii.
Johnston, C., xii., xiii.

Kyle, S. C., xii., xiii.

Lawson, R., xvii.
Le Mesurier, W. G., C.B., xii., xiii.
Longden, C. S., xii., xiii.
Lyon, F., xiii.
Lyon, F. L. H., xiii.

Maberly, E., xii., xiii.
Maitland, E., xi.-xiii.
Majendie, V. D., xiii.
Markham, E., xiii.
Maude, F. C., C.B. V.C., xi.-xiii.
Maxwell, S. J. M., xiii.
Michell, J. E., xiii.
Middleton, W. A., xii., xiii.
Milman, W. D., xii., xiii.

Oliver, J. R., xii., xiii.

Pattison, J., xv.
Pennycuick, J. F., xii., xiii.
Pickering, C. H., xii., xiii.

Ramsden, J. C. F., xii., xiii.
Riddell, C. J. B., xii., xiii.
Rideout, A. K., xiii.
Robertson, J. xiii.

Smart, G. J., xii., xiii.
Smith, C. H., C.B., xii., xiii.
Smith, W., xii., xiii.
Soady, F. J., xiii.
Staveley, E., xii., xiii.
Strange, T. B., xii., xiii.

Talbot, H. L., xii., xiii
Tarleton, E. D. L., xiii.
Thring, J. E., xii., xiii.
Torriano, C. E., xii., xiii.
Tracey, H. A., xii., xiii.
Travers, F. J., xii., xiii.
Turner, N. O. S., xii., xiii.
Tyler, C. J., xiii.

Walcott, C. E., xii., xiii.
Waller, W. N., xii., xiii.
Warren, F. G. E., xii., xiii.
Whinyates, F. A., xii., xiii.
Wood, Sir D. E., K.C.B., xii., xiii.

Yates, H. P., xii., xiii.
Young, C. F., xii., xiii.

BENGAL ARTILLERY.

Abbott, Aug., C.B., i.-iii. xii., xviii.
Abbott, Sir James, K.C.B., i., ii., vi., vii., xiv.
Abercombie, J., iii., v., vii., xiii., xviii.
Ahern, J., Condr., x.
Aislabie, R., x., xiii.
Alexander, D. C., xi., xiii.
Alexander, F., vi., vii.
Alexander, Sir J., K.C.B., i., iii., iv., xvii.
Alexander, James, xi.-xiii.
Allen, J., xvii.
Anderson, J., i., v., vi.
Anderson, P. C., viii., xii., xiii.
Anderson, W., C.B., i.-iii., xvii.
Angelo, J. A., v., vii., ix., xiii.
Ashburner, B., x., xiii.
Ashe, St. G., viii., x., xi., xiii.
Atlay, E., C.B., v., vii., xii.
Austen, A. G., v. xii., xiii.
Austin, E. G., iv., vii.

Backhouse, J. B., C.B., i.-iii., xvii.
Bailie, W. A., xv.
Baillie, G., ix., xiii.
Baillie, H. D'O., iv.
Baldwin, R. H., xiv.
Barnes, C. H., xiii.
Barr, W., i.
Battine, W., C.B., xvii.
Bazely, F. R., xi., xiii.
Beaghan, F., xvi.
Bell, W., xvii.
Best, R., xvi.
Biddulph, E., C.B., iv., xvii.
Bird, W., xii., xiii.

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Bishop, H. P., vi., vii., ix., x., xii., xiii.
Black, A., xv.
Blake, G., xvii.
Blunt, C. H., C.B., v., vii., ix., x., xii., xiii.
Boddam, H. M., xiii.
Bogle, A. H., xii., xiii.
Boileau, F. B., v., xvii.
Boileau, J. P., xvii.
Bonham, J., xi., xiii.
Bosworth, T., v., vii.
Bourchier, Sir G., K.C.B., iv., ix., x., xii., xiii.
Bowie, C. V., vii.
Boyle, H. D., xvi.
Bradford, E. O., xii., xiii.
Brayser, J., C.B., v., xi.
Brind, F., C.B., iv., v., x.
Brind, Sir J., K.C.B., ix., x., xii.-xiv.
Broadbridge, J., xv.
Brooke, Sir G., K.C.B., v., vii., xviii.
Brooke, J. H., xvii.
Broome, A., xvii.
Brougham, T., ii., iii., v., xiv.
Brown, Birnie, iv.
Brown, Clement, C.B., xvi., xvii.
Brown, G. R., v., vii.
Brown, R., xvi.
Brown, W. Tod, C.B., vii., xi., xiii.
Browne, Marmaduke W., xvii.
Bruce, H. LeG., C.B., iv., vii., xiii., xiv.
Bruce, R., xv., xvi.
Bruce, R. R., vii.
Bryce, J. H., xi., xiii., xiv.
Buckle, E., xviii.
Buckley, J., V.C., Condr., ix.
Budd, S., vii., ix., xiii.
Bunny, A., C.B., v.-vii., ix., x., xii., xiii.
Burnett, F. C., vii.
Burnett, J., xvi.
Burney, F. W., x., xiii.
Butler, E. W., xvi.
Butt, F. R., xiv., xvii.

Cadell, H. M., viii., ix., xii., xiii.
Caldwell, Sir A., G.C.B., xvi.
Campbell, G., C.B., iv., v., vii.
Campbell, J. H., ix., xiii.
Carey, De Vic F., xiii.
Carleton, H. A., C.B., xii.-xiv., xviii.
Carnegie, N., xvi.
Cartwright, J., xviii.
Chichester, H., ix., xiii.
Christie, A., iii.
Christie, E., vii.
Christie, P., iv., vi., vii.
Clarihue, J., xv.
Clark, E., xvi.
Clifford, G. H., iv., v., vii.
Clifton, C., xv.
Coddington, F., xiii.
Collier, J., xvi.
Conolly, C., vii.
Conran, H. M., v., vii.
Constable, G., xvi.
Cookes, C. H., vii., x., xiii., xiv.
Cookworthy, C., v., vii., x., xi., xiii.
Cooper, G. L., i.-iii., xi., xiii.
Cordner, J. E., xiv.
Cornish, F., W., ii., iii.
Couchman, W. D., xiii.
Courtenay, H. R., v.
Cox, C. V., C.B., iv., v., vii., xviii.
Cox, W. F., v., xiii.
Cracklow, G., ix., x. xiii.
Cranch, P., xvi.
Craster, W. R., ix., xiii.
Crowe, Condr., ix.
Cunliffe, F. J., xi., xiii.
Currie, M. E., v.
Currie, R., xi., xiii.
Curtis, J., xvii.

Daniel, J. H., vi.
Darling, A., vii.
Dashwood, F., v., xvii.
Davidson, A. H., ix., xiii.
Davis, C., xv.
Dawes, M., C.S.I., i.-iii., vii., ix., x., xiii.
Day, E. F., i., iv.-vii., xvii.
Day, E. W., vi., vii.
Deare, C. R., xv., xvi.
Deare, G., xvi.
De Bude, F. R., vi., vii., x., xiii., xiv., xviii.
Delafosse, H., iii.
Delamain, W. H., vii.
Delane, W., vii.
Dempster, C., vii., x., xiii.
Denniss, G. G., C.B., iv., v.
de Teissier, Baron, H. P., vii.
Dickens, C. H., C.S.I., xiii.
Dickens, T. H., ix., xiii.
Dickson, W., vii.
Dirom, T. A. (Pasley-Dirom), xii., xiii.
Dixon, A., xii., xiii.
Dixon, C. G., xiii.
Dobbin, G. M., viii., ix., xiii.

Digitized by Google

Douglas, C., iii., xiii.
Douglas, H., xvi.
Douglas, S., v., vii., xiii.
Douglas, R., xvi.
Dowall, T., xvi.
Dowell, W., xii., xiii.
Downes, J., xv.
D'Oyly, E. A. C., v., vii., x., xiii.
Drummond, J. P., xvi.
Duff, P., xv., xvi.
Duncan, F. K., i., v.
Dundas, C. S., v., vii.
Dunn, A., xvi.
Dyke, E. H., xii., xiii.
Dyke, G. H., xvii.

Earle, E. L., xiii.
Eckford, J. A. H., x., xiii.
Egerton, J. F., v.
Elliott, M., ix., xiii.
Elliott, W., xv., xvi.
Elwood, T. M., xvi.
Evans, H. J., ix., x., xiii.
Ewart, D., vii., xvii.
Eyre, F. V., xiii.
Eyre, Sir V., C.B., K.C.S.I., ii., iii., xi.-xiii.

Fagan, R. C. H. B., ix., xiii.
Faithfull, H., xvi., xviii.
Faithfull, H. J. Y., v.
Farrington, J. J., iv.
Feade, W., xvi.
Finlay, E., Condr., x.
Fitzgerald, Sir Aug., Bart., iii.-v., xiv.
Fitzgerald, G. F. C., xiii.
Fitzgerald, M. M., x., xiii.
Flemyng, W., xvi.
Fooks, W. K., vi., vii., ix., xviii.
Fordyce, Sir J., K.C.B., v., vii., xiv., xviii.
Forrest, G., V.C., ix.
Francis, H., v.-vii., xii., xiii.
Franks, R. R., xii., xiii.
Fraser, Affleck, xiii.
Fraser, Andrew, xvi.
Fraser, E., ix., xiii.
Fraser, J. McK., viii., xi.-xiii.
Frith, J. S., vii., ix., xii., xiii., xviii.
Frith, W. H. L., xvii., xviii.
Fuller, G., xvi.
Fulton, J., xiii.

Gaitskell, F., C.B., ix., xiii.
Gale, C., xvi.
Garbett, H., i., ii., v.-vii., ix., xiii.
Geddes, W., C.B., iv., v., vii., xvii.
Gibb, J. S., xii., xiii.
Gibson, C., xv.
Gillespie, A., x., xiii.
Gilmore, J. F., v.
Girardot, H., xii., xiii.
Glass, Andrew, xvi.
Goodridge, E. J., vii.
Gordon, D. W., x., xii., xiii.
Gowan, G. E., C.B., iv., v., xvii.
Gowan, W. M., vii.
Grace, H., xvi.
Graham, C., C.B., i.
Graham, E., xvi.
Graham, C. T., vi.
Grant, C., C.B., i., iv., v., vii.
Grant, W., xvi.
Gray, T., xvii.
Gray, W. J., vii., ix., xiii.
Green, C., xv.-xviii.
Green, W. H., xvi.
Greene, C. A., i.-iii.
Greene, T., xvi.
Griffin, E. C., x., xiii.
Griffiths, J. C., v., ix., xiii.
Grote, F., xvii.
Gully, W., ix., xii., xiii.

Hamilton, Sir W. Stirling, Bart., ix., x., xiii., xiv.
Hammond, H., xiii., xiv.
Hammond, P., Condr., x.
Hardwicke, T., xviii.
Hare, R. T., ix., x., xiii.
Harington, H. E., V.C., x., xii., xiii.
Harris, T., xv.
Harrison, E., v.
Harward, T. N., xi.-xiii.
Hawkins, A. W., i.-iii., x., xiii.
Hawkins, E. L., xiii.
Hay, S. S., xvi.
Hay, W., vi., vii.
Haydon, T., v.
Heath, A. H., vii., ix., xiii.
Hetzler, R., C.B., xvi.
Heyland, A. S., xiii.
Heyland, W., xv.
Hildebrand, E. H., ix., xiii.
Hill, Justly, xv.
Hill, T., xvi.
Hills (Hills-Johnes), Sir J., G.C.B., V.C., ix., xiii.
Hind, A., xvi.
Hitchins, H. O., xii., xiii.
Hodgson, W. E. J., xvii.
Hogge, C., C.B., v., vii., ix., xii., xiii.
Holland, G., iv., v., vii., xii., xiii.
Hopper, W., xvi.

Digitized by Google

Horsford, Sir J., K.C.B., xv.-xviii.
Horsford, R., v., vii., xiii., xviii.
Hotham, J., xvii.
Hughes, T. E., xiv.
Hume, E. T., ix., xii., xiii.
Humfrays, A., iv.
Humphreys, R., xvi.
Hungerford, T. J. W., C.B., xiii.
Hunter, C., ix., x., xiii.
Hunter, J., vi., viii.
Hussey, Vere W., xvi.
Hutchinson, C., xvi.
Huthwaite, Sir E., K.C.B., v., vii.
Huyshe, A., C.B., iv., vii., xiii.
Hyde, J. C., xvii.

Jackson, H. D., xiii.
James, M., viii.
Jennings, W., xv.
Johnson, Sir E. B., G.C.B., C.I.E., v., vii., ix., xii., xiii., xviii.
Jones, H. L., xiii.
Jones, Jasper L., xv.
Jons, M., Condr., x.

Kaye, E., C.B., i., ii., v., vii., ix., x., xiii.
Kaye, Sir J. W., K.C.S.I., xviii.
Kennedy, C. P., xvii.
Kennion, T. E., v., xiii.
Kinch, J., xv.
Kindersley, N., xv.
Kinleside, R. R., vii., x., xiii.
Kirby, G., xiii.

Lamb, J. H., vii., x., xiii.
Lambert, P. C., v.
Lane, J. T., C.B., iii.-v., vii.
Larkins, G., iii., x., xiii.
Latham, H., xiii.
Launder, R., xv.
Lawrence, Sir H. M., K.C.B., iii., v., vii., xi., xiii.
Lawrenson, G. S., C.B., xvii., xviii.
Leathes, H. S., iv.
Legertwood, A., xvi.
Lemarchand, C. S., x., xiii.
Lewes, C. E., viii., x., xiii.
Lewin, E. P., xi., xiii.
Lewin, W. C. J., xvii.
Liddell, H., xv.
Light, A., ix., x., xiii
Lindsay, A. H., C.B., ix., x., xii., xiii.
Low, J. A., xiii.
Ludlow, E. H., vii.
Lumsden, T., C.B., xvii.
Luxford, J. B. B., xvii.

Macalister, N., xvi.
Macdonald, J. H., iv.
MacFarlan, D., C.B., xi., xiii.
MacGregor, Sir G. H., K.C.B., i.-iii., xii., xiii.
Machell, L., v., vii., xiii.
Mackenzie, Murray, i., ii., vi., vii., ix., x., xiii.
Mackinnon, W. A., C.B., vii., xii., xiii.
Macintyre, J., xvi.
Macleay, J. R., xii., xiii.
Macleod, Sir A., Kt., C.B., xvii., xviii.
Macleod, H. J. Bannatyne, v., vii.
Macsween, H. D., v.
Maister, G., iv., vii., xiv.
Mallock, H. A., xiii.
Mallock, Z. M., viii.
Manderson, G. R., C.B., viii.-x., xiii.
Manson, J. A., vii.
Manvill, G. H., Condr., x.
Mara, P., v., xi.
Marshall, W. B., xiii.
Martin, Flemyng, xv.
Martin, J., iv., x., xiii.
Mason, G., C.B., xv.
Mason, W., xv.
Master, E. P., v., vi.
Mathews, A. N., xvi.
Maule, R., ii.
Maxwell, H. H., C.B., iv., v., xii., xiii.
Maxwell, W., xiii.
Mayaffre, J., xvi.
Maynard, C. W., ix., x., xiii.
Maynard, Foster, xvi.
Mayne, A. O., xii., xiii.
McAuliffe, R., v.
McDonald, T., xv.
McLeod, F. H., ix., x., xiii.
McMorine, C., xvii.
McNeill, D., iv., v., vii., xii., xiii
McQuhae, W., xvii.
Mecham, R., vi., vii., xiv.
Melville, J. S., xi., xiii.
Mercer, C. McW., xiii.
Mill, J., v.-vii., xi., xiii.
Miller, W., v.-vii.
Milligan, G., iv., v.
Mills, C. E., iv.
Milrick, J., xiii.
Moir, G., C.B., iv.-vii., xii., xiii.
Money, E. K., iii., ix., xiii.
Money, J., viii.
Monsel, R., xvi.
Montagu, E., xvi.

Digitized by Google

Montgomery, H., v., vii.
Morland, R. S. B., xvii.
Morris, R., xvi.
Mowatt, J. L., vii., ix., xiii.
Murray, H., x., xiii.
Murray, R., C.S.I., vii., xi.
Mylne, W. A., vii., xi., xiii.

Neal, M., xv.
Nelly, J., xvi.
Nelson, G. G., xiii.
Newall, D. J. F., v.-vii.
Nicholl, T., ii., iii.
Nicholl, T., xiii.
Noble, S., xvi.

O'Brien, W., xiii.
Oldfield, J., vii.
Olpherts, H. A., vii., ix., x., xiii.
Olpherts, Sir W., K.C.B., V.C., iv., v., xi., xii.-xiv.

Parker, C., xvi.
Parker, W., xvi.
Parlby, S., xvii., xviii.
Paton, R. M., v., vii.
Pattenson, H. T. T., v.
Payne, G., xvi.
Pearse, T. D., xv., xvi.
Pearson, A., v., vii., x., xiii.
Pearson, J. R., xiii.
Pemberton, D. S., xiii.
Pennington, G., C.B., xvi., xvii.
Percival, J., viii., xi.-xiii.
Perkins, H. G., ix., xiii.
Pew, P. L., i., iii., xvii.
Pillans, W. S., v.
Pixley, A. W., vii.
Playfair, Sir H. L., Kt., xvii.
Pollock, Sir G., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., iii., xviii.
Pollock, R. H., iii., v.
Presant, T., vii.
Price, J. C. G., xii., xiii.
Pulman, T. W., vii.
Pulman, T., xiv.

Quayle, W. F., vi., vii.

Raban, G., C.B., xvi.
Raikes, P. B., xiii.
Raper, J. F., vi., vii.
Raynor, W., ix.
Reid, C. S., C.B., viii.
Reilly, N., Condr., x.,
Remmington, F. F., C.B., iv., v., vii., ix., x., xii., xiii.
Renny, G. A., V.C., v., ix., x., xiii.
Richards, W., xvi.
Richardson, J. L. C., iii.
Roberts, Lord, ix., x., xii.-xiv.
Roberts, Roderick, xvii.
Roberts, R. G., xvii.
Robertson, A., ii., iii., vii., viii., x., xiii.
Robinson, C. G., xiii.
Robinson, J., xvi.
Rodber, J., xvii.
Roddy, P., V.C., xiii.
Ross, W. A., vii.
Rotton, A., xiv.
Russell, W. C., v., xi.-xiii.
Ryan, T., ix, x., xiii.
Rybot, G. O., xiii.
Ryley, T. B., iii., x., xii.

St. George, Sir R. de L., xiii.
Salt, T. H., vii., ix., x., xiii.
Salwey, E., xiii.
Sampson, G., xv.
Sanders, T., i., iv.
Sankey, M. C., vi., x., xiii.
Sconce, J., x., xiii.
Scott, C., xv.
Scott, E. W. S., ix., x., xiii.
Scully, J., Condr., ix.
Sealy, C., xvi.
Shakespear, J. D., vii.
Shakespear, Sir R. C., K.C., i.-iii., vii., xiii.
Shaw, G. W., Condr., ix.
Sheels, Moses, x.
Sherwood, J. D., xvi.
Shipton, W., xvi.
Shuldham, J. H., xiii.
Simeon, E., vii., xii.-xiv.
Simons, A. P., v., vii., xi., xiii.
Simons, F. C., vi., vii.
Sissmore, T. H., vii., xviii.
Sladen, J. R., iv., vii., xiv.
Sloane, W., xvi.
Smalpage, F. E., x.
Smith, L., iii.
Smith, R. A., xiii.
Smith, T. P., xiii.
Smithett, H., xi.-xiii.
Smyth, J. H., C.B., iv., xii., xiii.
Somerville, W. T., ix., xiii.
Sotheby, F. S., C.B., ii., iii.
Sotheby, G. M. W., x., xiii.
Spencer, T., vii., x.
Stallard, S., xiv.
Stark, H., xvi., xvii.
Stewart, A., xv.
Stewart, C., ii., iii.
Stewart, W., v., viii., x., xiii.

Digitized by Google

Stewart, W. J., xii., xiii.
Stokes, S., vii., xiv.
Strangford, G., xv.
Stubbs, F. W., xii., xiii.
Swiney, G., xvi.
Swinhoe, F. W., vi., vii., xiii.
Swinley, G., v., vii., xviii.
Swinton, A., xiii.

Taylor, C. S. S., xiii.
Taylor, J., xvi.
Tennant, Sir J., K.C.B., iv., vii., xviii.
Thompson, J., vi.
Thompson, P., ix., xiii.
Thomson, D., ix., xiii.
Tilfer, J. T., xvi.
Timbrell, C. W., v., xiii.
Timbrell, H. V., xii.
Timings, H., i.
Todd, E. D'A., i., ii., v.
Tombs, Sir H., K.C.B., V.C., iv., v., vii., ix., xii., xiii.
Townsend, S. E., xiii.
Traill, G. B., ix., xiii.
Trower, J., v.
Tulloh, J. S., C.B., v., vii., xi.
Tulloh, R., xvi.
Turnbull, F. H., xiii.
Turner, Sir F., i.-iii., ix., x., xii., xiii.
Turton, J., v., viii.

Vaughan-Arbuckle, C. V., viii.
Voyle, G. E., viii.

Wake, A. J., xii., xiii.
Wakefield, J. W., xvii.
Walker, A., xiii.
Walker, E. W. E., v., vii., xii., xiii.
Walker, R., i.-iii.
Waller, R., ii., iii., v., vii.
Warburton, R., i.-iii.
Ward, F. W., xiii.
Wardlaw, W., xv.
Warner, W. K., iv., v., vii.
Warter, H. De G., xiii.
Watkins, A., xvi.
Watson, J. E., vii., xiii.
Welsh, D. J., viii., xiii.
Wheelwright, C. A., v., vii.
Whish, Sir W. S., K.C.B., vi., vii., xviii.
Whitefoord, J., iv.
Wiggens, C. H., xvii.
Williams, B. R., vii.
Willis, H., xvi.
Willoughby, E. H., xiii.
Willoughby, G. D., viii., xiii.
Wilson, Sir A., Bart., K.C.B., vii., ix., xii., xiii., xviii.
Wilson, W., ix., xiii., xiv.
Winbolt, W., xvi.
Wintle, A., iv.
Winwood, R., xv.
Wittit, J., xvi.
Wittit, W., xvi.
Wood, H. J., C.B., v.
Woodcock, S. C., v., vii., xiv.
Worthington, J. Y., vi., vii., ix., xiii.

Young, J., xvii.
Young, J., ix., xiii.

SURGEONS—BENGAL ARTILLERY.

Anderson, F., M.D., v.

Ballard, G., xvii.
Beatson, J. F., M.D., vii.
Brown, C. G., M.D., v., vii.
Brown, J. C., xiii.
Bryce, A., M.D., ii., iii.
Buckle, H. B., vii.

Clarke, J. J., xii.
Craigie, G., M.D., vii.
Cumberbach, W. S., iii.

Davidson, W. G., viii.
Dempster, T. E., v., vii.
De Renzy, A. C., B.A., viii.

Edlin, E., v.

Faithful, R. W., iii.

Graham, J., M.D., v.

Hare, E., ii.
Henderson, J., xvi.

Ireland, W. W., ix., xiii.
Irving, J., M.D., xii.

Koe, H., ii., iii.

Mackinnon, Campbell, C.B., vii., xiii.
McCosh, J., xiii.
McRae, D., iii., vi., vii.

Digitized by Google

Paton, A., ii.

Rae, G., i., ii.
Rankin, G. C., vi.
Rumley, H. W., v., vii.

Scott, D., M.D., vii.
Smith, D. B., ix., xiii.
Steel, J., M.D., v.
Stewart, Haldane, vi.

Thomas, W., xvii.
Thompson, G. F., M.D., vi., vii.
Tritton, E., vii.
Tucker, St. G. W., M.D., v.

Wake, C., xvii.

VETERINARY SURGEONS.

Barrett, W. P., iii.
Bicknell, I., xiii.

Cullimore, D., v.

Dawson, C. J., ix.

Hoey, J. R., xiii.
Hulse, H. C., vii.

Kettlewell, G., ix.

Siddall, J., vii.

Turner, C., vii.

MADRAS ARTILLERY.

Anstruther, P., C.B., viii.

Back, J., viii.
Baird, J. S., viii.
Baker, W. C. L., viii.
Berdmore, H. T., viii.
Blair, G. F., viii.
Bradford, W. J., xii., xiii.
Bridge, L., viii., xii., xiii.
Burgoyne, F., viii.

Cadell, R., xii., xiii.
Campbell, G. G. F., xii., xiii.
Chamier, S. H. E., xii., xiii.
Cooke, C. J., viii.
Cotter, G. S., xi.-xiii.
Couran, G., xvii.
Crump, C. W., xi.

Dallas, N., viii.
Dangerfield, viii.
Desborough, C., xii., xiii.
Donaldson, C., xvii.

Foord, H. S., viii.
Foulis, A., viii.

Goldingham, G. A., xiii.
Gordon, B. L., xii., xiii.
Gosling, W. C. F., viii.

Hadow, F. E., xii., xiii.
Harrison, C. H., viii.
Hitchins, B. C., viii.
Horne, P. D., viii.
Jefferis, J., viii.

Laurie, W. F. B., viii.
Limond, J., xvii.
Lloyd, M. B. S., viii.

Magrath, J. R., viii.
Martin, G. C. M.
Mein, J. D., viii.
Montgomery, H., viii.

Neilson, J., xvii.

Oakes, A. F., viii.
Onslow, G. W., viii.
Orr, W. A., xiii.

Peach, R. A., viii.
Pearse, G. G., C.B., vi., x., xiii.
Penny, S., xiii.
Playfair, E. M., viii., xii., xiii.
Purvis, C. A., viii.

Rippon, S., xii., xiii.
Robertson, J. R. J., viii.

Scott, J. D., viii.
Seton, R. S., xvii.
Sinclair, J. de C., xiii.
Stewart, M., viii.

Taylor, J. W. F., viii.
Thomas, L. F. C., xi.-xiii.

Yeoman, C. L., viii.

Digitized by Google

BOMBAY ARTILLERY.

Allom, C. E., vi., vii.
Anderson, D. G., vi., vii.
Anderson, W. H., vi.

Bailey, B., vi.
Bayly, A. A., vi.
Baynes, E. J., i.
Baxter, R. T. C., ii., iii.
Berthon, H. T. B., vi.
Blake, E. S., ii., iii.
Blood, C., C.B., ii., iii., vi., vii.
Blunt, A., vi., vii.
Brett, R. B., ii., iii.
Brett, W., i.

Clay, F. W., vi.
Coghlan, W. M., i.
Cotes, C. E. H., vi., vii.
Cotgrave, T. E., i., ii.
Cramond, J., ii.
Crawford, A., vi.
Creed, H., i., ii.
Creed, R., ii.

Erskine, D., ii., iii.

Farquharson, E. A., i.
Forster, H., i.
Fuller, C. B., iii.

Gaisford, T., i., ii.
Giberne, H., ii., iii.
Gibson, G. W., i.
Graham, T. W., vi.
Grant, J., ii.

Hamilton, J., vi., vii.
Heathorn, T. B., vi.
Henderson, W. H. J., vi., vii.
Hicks, T. W., vi.
Hutt, G., C.B., i.-iii.

Jacob, J., i., ii.

Keir, J. T., vi.
Kemball, Sir A. B., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., i., iii.

Leeson, J. S., ii., vi., vii.
Leith, A. H., ii.
Leslie, J. T., C.B., ii., iii.
Lightfoot, J. G., vi., vii.
Lloyd, J., i.-iii.

Marett, P. D., vi.
Martin, J. H. M., i.
McDougall, D., vi., vii.
M'Donell, T. G., i.

Petrie, J. G., iii.
Pontardent, F. J., i.-iii.
Pottinger, E., C.B., i.-iii.
Pownoll, T. C., iii.
Pruen, G. A., i.-iii.

Reid, J. H., vi.
Rowan, A. F., iii.

St. Clair, W. A., i., ii.
Schinhausen, F. J., vi.
Sealy, G. P., i., ii.
Shekleton, J., vi.
Shekleton, T. S., vi.
Sinclair, J., iii.
Smith, J. C., iii.
Stamford, H., ii., iii.
Stevenson, T., C.B., i., ii., xvii.
Stevenson, W., vi., vii.
Strutt, C. H., xiii.

Terry, W. S., ii., iii.
Turnbull, S., vi., vii.

Warden, R., i., ii.
Welland, E., iii.
Whitlie, W. T., ii., iii., **xvii.**
Wilmot, H. J., vi.
Woollcoombe, J. D., xiii.
Woosnam, J. B., i., vi.
Worgan, J., iii.
Wormald, R. C., i.
Wray, E., iii.

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